



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

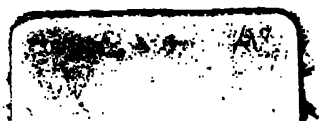
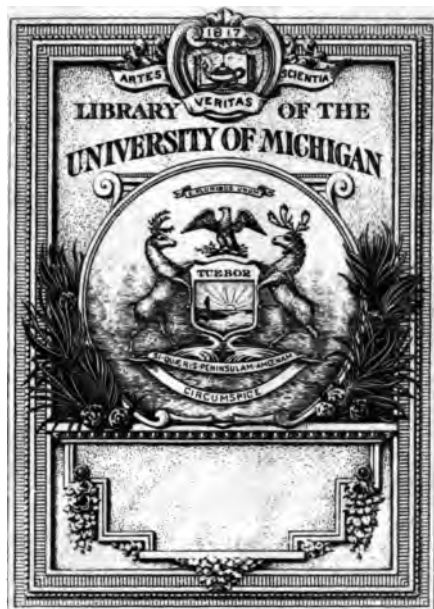
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

A 891,544



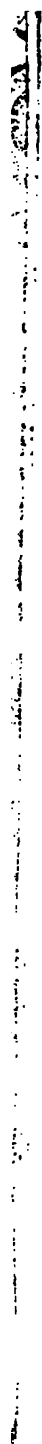
1

2

3







19604

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1793.

A NEW EDITION.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; .
J. OTRIDGE; J. CUTHELL; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN;
E. JEFFERY; LACKINGTON AND CO.; J. BELL; J. ASPERNE;
AND SHERWOOD, NEELY, AND JONES.

1821.



LONDON: Printed by J. NICHOLS and SON, 25, Parliament-street.

P R E F A C E.

ANOTHER volume of the Annual Register is now offered to the attention, and, as we trust, the approbation of the Public. It contains the history of a most important, interesting, and eventful period. It involves all the extraordinary events, which, through this year, have agitated Europe ; and the progressive state of the French Revolution, which is the parent of them. The Reader, therefore, when he finds that our historical department is greatly enlarged, will do us the justice to believe, that we are governed by those considerations which will support our pretensions to his favour ; that we accommodate our labours to the nature of our work, as it may present itself before us ; and that we are not deterred by any extraordinary demands which

which may be made upon our exertions, by the multiplying events, both foreign and domestic, of the times that are passing by us.

In the Preface to the volume with which the work commenced, its nature and design were fully explained; and, by the increasing favour which has attended its progressive publication, its object may be said to have been completely obtained. Nor shall we hesitate to add, that the nation at large has been furnished, by its means, with a copious source of solid information and elegant amusement; with knowledge, which at once instructs and adorns the mind; and, by its diversity, heightens the intercourse of social life. It has, indeed, been long and universally acknowledged, that the Annual Register has amply gratified the taste it has contributed to improve. To this opinion of the original work, we must beg leave to add, in behalf of ourselves who have undertaken to continue it, that we shall keep in view the merits of its original writers; and, as we shall endeavour to observe the same impartiality, to look to the same resources, and
to

P R E F A C E.

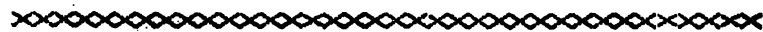
v.

to practise the same industry, may we not, without presumption, encourage the hope, that we shall receive the same approbation.—Nor will it surely be considered as a waste of professions, when we represent ourselves as being influenced by the genuine spirit which characterises every true Briton; that we are firm supporters of our most happy and glorious constitution, which has so long preserved, and will, we doubt not, continue to preserve to us, a state of unrivalled freedom and prosperity; that in every situation and circumstance, our country will be most dear to us; and that it is not as literary men alone we shall be ever ready to devote ourselves to its service.

The volume, for the year 1791, has been published by gentlemen with whom we have no concern. They have also announced a succeeding volume for 1792, which does not appear to be yet completed. To revive therefore, the languid expectations of the former purchasers of DODSLEY'S *Annual Register*, and to free them from any disappointment in the delivery of those
volumes,

volumes, which are wanting to render the work complete to the present time, the proprietors consider it as their duty to declare, that they will publish two volumes every year till that object is attained. It is also their fixed intention to publish the volumes for the years 1791 and 1792, with all possible expedition. At the same time, they beg leave to announce the *Annual Register*, for the year 1797, to be in such an advanced state, as to promise a very early appearance.—In short, with every other endeavour to merit a continuance of the public patronage, they will not fail to observe the same punctuality that distinguishes the volume which is now presented to it.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1793.



THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E U R O P E.

CHAP. I.

Conduct of France. Opening of the Scheldt. The French Decree of Fraternity. Clubs and Societies of Republicans and Levellers. Associations formed to counteract them in London and every part of the Kingdom. Militia embodied. Parliament summoned. Internal condition of France. Diminution of the Party in Opposition. Speech from the Throne. The Address moved. Debate on the Address, in the House of Commons and House of Lords. Debate in the House of Commons on bringing up the Report of the Address. The Motion of Mr. Fox for sending a Minister to negotiate with France. Debate on that Motion. General Reflections.

WE now approach the period when Great-Britain relinquished its neutral character, and became a party in the war that had traversed the Austrian Netherlands, and threatened the dominions of the United Provinces.

The zeal with which the French Convention propagated revolution-

ary principles; the emissaries which it encouraged in this country; the connection it had formed with certain political societies established in London; and the manner in which deputies from them had been received at their bar, had already, it was alleged, excited the vigilance of the British government,

[B]

and

and compelled it to employ such measures as the important and extraordinary circumstances of the country appeared to demand: that, at length, however, France, disdaining to continue its base and artful designs against the constitution and government of Great-Britain, or despairing of any final advantage being reaped from them, had risen at once into an avowed intention of provoking it to war, and that in this view, among others, it was determined by the executive power of France, to set aside the law of nations, and to trample on treaties, by declaring not only its design, but its right, to open the navigation of the Scheldt. It was added, that the French had already obtained possession of the Belgic Provinces by force of arms, and were impelled by their mad ambition to encroach on Holland, with a view to a similar subjugation of that country: that the Convention, therefore, as a preparatory step to this continuation of their aggrandizing project, had made known in November 1792, their design of opening the Scheldt, in direct opposition to treaties of which England was a guarantee, and to the manifest disadvantage of the commerce of the United Provinces, who were the allies of England, to whom they naturally looked for that protection, which they had a right to demand.

It was further declared, that the French Convention also, as a kind of general declaration against all subsisting governments, had, on the 19th of November, issued a decree in the name of the French Republic, "that they would grant fraternity and assistance to all those

people who wish to procure liberty; and they charged their generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend such citizens as have suffered, or are now suffering, in the cause of liberty." This decree, which was ordered to be printed and translated in all the languages of Europe, contained a formal declaration to extend universally the new and destructive principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage revolt in all other countries; even in those which possessed the exclusive sanctions of a neutral character.

The alarm of danger which had been spread throughout this kingdom, not only to the public peace, but the constitution itself, began to yield to the means which were now employed to unfold and controul those practices by which it had been produced. It was said to have arisen from the pernicious principles of the rights of man, first propagated by the French, and since disseminated through this country: that under various pretences, but particularly that of parliamentary reform, clubs and societies were established, which met in various parts of the kingdom, and circulated the doctrines of the French Convention, among the middle and lower classes of the people, to make them discontented with the government beneath which they lived, and those who administered it: that thus they hoped to prepare their minds for any attempt that might be hereafter made to overturn the government of the country: that in some of these works, which artifice contrived to convey into the lowest cottage, the constitution was mention-

ed with some degree of distant respect, but represented as lost amid the abuses of those whose duty it was to administer its benefits: while others described the constitution of Great-Britain, which had so long been the admiration and envy of Europe, and afforded such unrivalled happiness to those who had lived beneath it, as an invasion of those rights, to which every one had an equal claim, and of which the wealthy and the powerful assumed the power of disposing, under the pretence of ancient custom and hereditary privilege.

That such proceedings required to be checked, controuled and punished, could not be denied by any who possess just notions of the nature of man in his social state; and therefore government employed such measures as appeared to be the best calculated to correct this growing and threatening mischief. His Majesty's proclamation, and the vigilant attention of ministers, checked its career. But though the arm of law is sufficiently strong to keep the open invader of the constitution in awe, it was not altogether enabled to sift out the secret arts which were working under ground, and by hidden approaches were undermining the fabric of public happiness. It became necessary therefore to aid the more unwieldy efforts of law in counteracting the operations of these secret enemies, by employing their own weapons against them. Accordingly, in November last, an association was instituted at the Crown and Anchor-tavern in the Strand. This measure was first, we believe,

suggested, we know it was first entered upon by a Mr. Reeves, for the avowed purpose of protecting liberty and property against the daring attempts of republicans and levellers, which immediately increased into a very numerous body of subscribers, among whom were many respectable characters in the kingdom. The merchants of London followed the example; and associations, for the support of the constitution, sprung up, not only in different quarters of the metropolis, but in every part of the kingdom. The effects of these associations were such as might be expected from the spirit and zeal with which they were conducted and maintained; but we must defer a precise description of them till we come to that period of our history which will particularly require it. It was, however, deemed necessary to take some general notice of these establishments as being preliminary to, and co-operative with, those measures of government which the circumstances of the moment appeared to demand, and these pages are about to display.

These circumstances were of such a nature, that the King availed himself of the power he possessed by law, to embody the militia, to convene parliament before the time to which it was prorogued, and to call on the representative wisdom of the people for aid and council in such an important crisis.

From the memorable 10th of August, when Louis XVI. lost the poor remains of former power, to the period when he was about to lose his life, the interior government of France offered nothing to

the view of mankind but scenes of atrocity and horror, that make humanity shudder in the recollection of them. But though republican fanaticism might triumph in these proceedings; though it might delight in the murder of one sovereign, and applaud the menaces which were uttered against every other, the wise, the good, and the humane of all countries, could not but execrate the conduct of the French government, and consider with horror the mischief it portended to surrounding nations.—Visionary men, whose heated fancies can work up imaginary good from the blackest scenes of human distress; or those who, ruined by their excesses, may hope to derive individual advantage from general confusion; or mischievous spirits, who consider evil as their good, could alone delight in the view of those pictures which France presented, to satisfy their frantic hopes, or their diabolic malignity.

Among the circumstances of this eventful period, we cannot omit noticing the change which took place in the state of the opposition party. Some of its most distinguished supporters imagining that this was a time of alarm and danger, when all party spirit should subside, when all party contentions should cease, and when all men of all parties should unite to support the government of the country, considered our external as well as internal enemies, to be of a species which had never yet been encountered; and that no weapon could so effectually oppose their diabolic designs as an unanimous

and determined spirit of resistance. Such was the general state of public affairs at the meeting of parliament which took place on the 13th of December, 1792. This meeting of parliament, therefore, will be distinguished by two extraordinary circumstances. Some of those members of both houses who had been for years the opponents of government, will be seen to support its measures not only with their votes but their eloquence; and the prime minister will not possess a seat in it. Mr. Pitt having accepted the office of warden of the Cinque Ports, was obliged to wait for the forms of re-election; so that the very important debates, of which some account will be immediately given, did not receive the advantage of his superior talents and splendid eloquence.

The speech from the throne declared, that his Majesty having judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia, he had called the parliament together within the time limited for that purpose. It attributed these measures to seditious practices that had already been discovered, and a spirit of tumult and disorder that had shewn itself in such acts of riot and insurrection, as to require the interposition of a military force to support the civil magistrate. It continued to mention, that the industry employed to excite discontent, on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and that this design has evidently

evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries.

His Majesty declared, that he had observed a strict neutrality in the present war, on the Continent, and uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but that it was impossible for him to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and encreasing indications which appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandisement, as well as to adopt, towards his allies, the States-General, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, he felt it to be his indispensable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law; and that he had also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation of his naval and military force, being persuaded that these exertions were necessary in the present state of affairs, and were best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.

In the conclusion of the speech, his Majesty expressed the great pleasure he felt in mentioning the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of Marquis Cornwallis, which had led to the termination of the war, by an advantageous

and honourable peace; and which, from their tendency, promised to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions in that part of the world. After directing the attention of parliament to such measures as might appear necessary for the future government of those valuable possessions, and to secure the important advantages which might be derived from thence to the commerce and revenue of this country,

The speech concluded with recommending to parliament to adopt such measures as might be necessary, under the present circumstances, of enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms.

“In endeavouring (added his Majesty) to preserve and to transmit to posterity the inestimable blessings which, under the favour of Providence, you have yourselves experienced, you may be assured of my zealous and cordial co-operation; and our joint efforts will, I doubt not, be rendered completely effectual, by the decided support of a free and loyal people.”

The address was moved by sir James Saunderson, the lord-mayor of London.

In his speech, the right hon. magistrate particularly stated, that the seditious practices which had been considerably checked by his Majesty's proclamation at the close of the last session, were renewed with augmented force. That numerous societies being established within the city of London, corresponding and confederating with other societies in different parts of the united kingdoms, all formed under

6] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

under specious pretences, but actually tending to subvert the constitution of the country. These societies, so connected, concerted and executed the means of circulating with great activity and industry, and free from all cost to the receivers, a great variety of pernicious pamphlets and publications, accommodated to the perusal of the meanest capacity, and manifestly tending to create doubt and discontent in the minds of the lower classes of his fellow-subjects; and, by slow but sure means, to alienate their minds from their allegiance to the King, and from their attachment to the constitution, as established by law.—Under these circumstances, and recollecting also the fatal consequences of insurrection, and want of timely exertion some years ago, in the capital; and recollecting likewise the calamities which have more recently overwhelmed the metropolis of a neighbouring kingdom, from an apparent want of precaution, he felt himself bound in duty to put his fellow-citizens on their guard, and the decided manner in which they had seconded him, had given vigour to his feeble efforts. Their loyal, seasonable, and determined conduct, at this important crisis, aided by the firm and temperate measures of prevention adopted by government, had restored tranquillity to the city, and awed the societies to which he had alluded into a change of conduct. He observed, that beneficial as the preparations of government had been respecting internal commotion, they might be found still more useful and provident, if applied to ex-

ternal danger. He then mentioned the situation of our ancient ally, the States General of the United Provinces; for, added he, if measures have been, or are to be pursued, as respecting them, repugnant to the law of nations, and positive treaties, approved by parliament and the country; it appeared evident to him that we ought to interpose; and that we are, by these preparations, the better able to do it with effect.

Mr. Wallace, after enlarging on the several topics of the speech, seconded the address.

Lord Fielding thought it the duty of every man who was a friend to the constitution in church and state, to hazard every thing, at this alarming period in support of it. For his part, he added, if ministers required extraordinary powers on the present occasion, he was ready to vote them.

Lord Wycombe founded his opposition to the address, on its being in a great measure, unintelligible to him; though he should not hesitate to say, that the speech calumniated the people of England; who, instead of discovering any symptoms of insurrection, were, at that moment, overflowing with loyalty. He believed, that with respect to forms of government, there might be different opinions held in England;—but they were merely speculative; and ought not to occasion any alarm to the ministers of the crown, unless they were called forth into action, and made the ground-work of active measures.—He spoke, with great concern, of that part of his majesty's speech which adverted to the possibility of a foreign war: he could

own

not perceive, in the existing circumstances of Europe, sufficient cause for such an event; and it was his opinion, that nothing but an actual invasion could justify it on the part of Great-Britain.

Mr. Fox, after some general observations, and the usual apology of considering the King's speech as that of the ministers, declared it to be his firm opinion and belief, that every fact asserted in the speech was false, and all its insinuations unfounded; that no insurrection existed; and that the alarm, whatever it might be, was not occasioned by any actual circumstances that could justify reasonable apprehension, but by the artful designs and practices of ministers.

In his observations on the affairs of France, Mr. Fox expressed his disapprobation of the manner in which Mr. Wallace mentioned the effect that the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick had on many persons in this country: "What," exclaimed he, "is this to be considered as a sign of discontent and of a preference to republican doctrines, that men should droop and be dejected in their spirits, when they heard that the armies of despotism had triumphed over an army fighting for liberty? If such dejection be a proof that men are discontented with the constitution of England, and leagued with foreigners in an attempt to destroy it, I give myself up to my country as a guilty man: for I freely confess that, when I heard of the surrender or retreat of Dumourier; and that there was a probability of the triumph of the armies of Austria and Prussia over the liberties of France, my spirits drooped, and I was dejected."

After enlarging, in a strain of superior animation, on the power which he accused government of having dared to assume over the minds and speculative opinions of men, he inveighed against the injustice of complaining that seditious pamphlets were in circulation, without stretching forth the arm of law to punish and suppress them. He then noticed the publications and conduct of the association at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in terms of great disapprobation, and proceeded to speak of the calling out of the militia, which he considered as a fraud on the part of ministers, because it was founded on false pretences, and done with a view to raise those apprehensions in the minds of the people, in order that they may be the more readily duped into a support of the present government. Mr. Fox now passed on to the succeeding passage of the speech, which, in his opinion, implied an apprehension of war; an event which he most sincerely deprecated, because, he said, there never was a moment when this country had so much reason to wish for peace as the present, and that there never was a period so little favourable to a rupture with France with any other power. He mentioned several examples of fortunate negotiations, by which wars had been prevented; and reprobated, in very pointed terms, the backwardness of ministers to avert the evils of war, by sending an ambassador to the executive government of France.

After some spirited animadversions on the conduct of ministers, from the beginning of the French troubles to the present time, he applied

pplied the plot of Titus Oates, in the reign of Charles the Second, to the artificial fears of the existing period, and warned his friends who had lately separated from the opposition party, of being, like the celebrated Lord Russel, the dupes of similar deception. "But," exclaimed Mr. Fox, "if it should be asked, what I propose to do in times of agitation like the present? I will answer at once, and without reserve. If there is a tendency in the dissenters to discontent, because they conceive themselves to be unjustly suspected and cruelly calumniated; what should I do? I would instantly repeal the test and corporation acts, and take from them, by such a step, all cause of complaint. If there were any persons tinctured with a republican spirit, because they thought that the representative government was more perfect in a republic, I would endeavour to amend the representation of the commons, and to prove, that the house of commons, though not chosen by all, should have no other interest than to prove itself the representative of all. If there were men dissatisfied in Scotland or Ireland, or elsewhere, on account of disabilities and exemptions, of unjust prejudices and of cruel restrictions, I would repeal the penal statutes, which are a disgrace to our law books. If there were other complaints of grievances, I would redress them where they were really proved; but, above all, I would constantly, cheerfully, patiently listen. I would make it known, if any man felt, or thought he felt, a grievance, he might come freely to the bar of this house, and bring his proofs; and it should be made ma-

nifest to all the world, that where they did exist, they should be redressed; where they did not, that it should be made manifest. I love the constitution, continued Mr. Fox, as it is established. I know that it is calculated for the happiness of man, and that its constituent branches of king, lords, and commons, could not be altered or impaired, without entailing on this country the most dreadful miseries. It is the best adapted to England, because the people of England think it the best; and the safest course is to consult the judgment and gratify the predilections of a country. Heartily convinced as I am, that, to secure the peace, strength, and happiness of the country, we must maintain the constitution against all innovation; yet I do not think so superstitiously of any human institution, as to believe that is incapable of being perverted; on the contrary, I believe, that it requires an increasing vigilance, on the part of the people, to prevent the decay and dilapidations to which every edifice is subject. I think also that we may be laid asleep to our real danger by these perpetual alarms to loyalty, which appear to be daily sapping the constitution; under the pretext of guarding it from the assaults of republicans and levellers, we run the hazard of leaving it open on the other, and more feeble side. We are led insensibly to the opposite danger; that of increasing the power of the crown, and of degrading the influence of the commons house of parliament.

Mr. Fox concluded his speech with an amendment to the address, which merely proposed, that the house should enter into an immediate

diate examination of the facts, which were stated in his Majesty's speech, as the causes for assembling the parliament.

Mr. Windham commenced a very argumentative answer to Mr. Fox, by an apology for opposing those political friends with whom he had so long acted. He asked, Was the country, at this moment, in a state of danger, or not? He was told, indeed, that there was no real cause for alarm among the people; that the only alarm which was felt had been created by government. The powers of government, therefore, must have been strange and wonderful indeed, to produce the alarm every day expressed in different parts of the kingdom. It was his belief, however, that there were serious and well-founded alarms, from the conduct, not of the officers of government, but from those who had sworn on enmity to all government. Did not the whole country feel it? Was not every town, village, or hamlet, filled with apprehension! Could a man enter into his own house; or could he walk in a field, without observing, that it occupied the whole attention of all ranks and descriptions of people. If a man would not believe any thing but what he saw, nor see any thing but what he liked, it was not very probable that he would see much of the alarm in question: but if he was at the pains to observe, the alarm was visible enough. He had himself observed it: he had seen the intention of the enemies of the present constitution expressed in various shapes. He had seen it in the confidence of their agents, in the boldness of those who wished

the subversion of the constitution. He appealed to the house whether they did not know and feel that there was a general alarm throughout the country. The next point to be considered in the order Mr. Fox had taken, was, how far it might be fit to check the cause of this mischief by law, the question of the policy of doing it, the right hon. gentleman had determined in the negative. It was true, that the measures now pursued over the country, were such as had never been employed before; but it must be observed, in answer to this, that there never had been such an occasion before. Speculative opinions had been published from time to time in this country, and they might have been continued to be published, but the manner of publishing, as well as the works published of late, were entirely new. The machine was so well constructed, there were such skill, contrivance, and management in the engineers, that, unless parliament were on their guard, and the sensible and honest part of the community active in counteracting their designs, the whole form of our government might be easily subverted. He spoke not from distrust merely, or rumour, but he knew, and it was notorious that there had been, and was now, a constant communication between persons in Paris, and persons in London, the object of which was the destruction of our present form of government. This sort of counter alliance of the Englishman in Paris, and the Frenchman in London, had been regularly formed, and the effect of it was felt already in an alarming degree; for in every town, in every village,

village, nay, almost in every house, these worthy gentlemen had their agents, who regularly disseminated certain pamphlets; these agents were vigilant and industrious, delivered these pamphlets gratis, a proof there must be somewhere a society to defray the expence; for these agents could not afford to be thus generous to the public without assistance; they could not pay for them out of their own pockets. No; the whole was a well-arranged methodized plan, for gradually undermining the principles of the British constitution.

"The system," said Mr. Windham, "to which he had alluded, had been carried throughout the country. Great pains had been taken with the poorer part of the community, to wean their affections from government; and it was a fact notoriously known, that the whole plan was supported by a purse, which, he believed, was made up in France. It might be said, in answer to such an opinion, that the French had no money to contribute on such an occasion, but the reply was obvious; that those who are in a state of desperation, have always the most money to squander upon acts of profligacy and dishonour. The manner in which this business was conducted, was very artful. On putting these works of sedition into the hands of the labourer, they always told him that they were intended for his instruction. Again, it was said, that the object of these publications was the propagation of truth, and the improvement of the condition of man;—on the contrary, it was to reverse the order of society altogether. Some gentlemen, he said,

affected to treat these things with contempt, but they ought not, in his mind, to be so regarded. It was true that the high ranks of life were not contaminated by jacobin principles; but if they were to cast their eyes downward, they would see these lurking underneath a sort of subterranean heat, that might burst forth with great violence, if not immediately extinguished.

With respect to the combined armies that marched towards Paris, he believed, that their motives were good; and though the maxim, that no country ought to intermeddle, with the internal affairs of another, might be right in a limited sense, he could not admit it in the degree insisted upon by many modern politicians. Besides, it might be asked, did France pursue only her own internal regulation? Did she keep good faith in her decree, "That she abandoned for ever all ideas of foreign conquest?" It was her object to lower this country, and in that she would persist, while she had any prospect of accomplishing it. What was to be said for the French in the war against the king of Sardinia? Still worse was their conduct at Geneva: but, above all, who would applaud their decree to give liberty to all mankind, which could be considered as no better than an avowal of their design to disturb every power in Europe? They talked, indeed, of giving to every place where their arms were victorious, a choice of the form of government; but did they wait for the sense of the majority? Not they indeed. When two or three were gathered together, it was enough for them. What were their intentions to this country? Refer to the correspondence

ence of the jacobin club of Manchester, and the jacobin club of Paris. Did any man believe that they would hesitate to bring an army into the heart of this country, if they thought themselves safe in so doing. Thus, from all circumstances, minute in themselves, but of the most serious importance, when combined, it would appear, that the alarm was not fictitious, but real. Mr. Windham concluded by declaring, that Ministers had acted right in calling out the militia.

Mr. Grey regretted the necessity he was under of opposing the hon. gentleman who had spoken last, while he supported an administration, whose uniform bad conduct was still more aggravated by their present measures. The situation of danger, in which the country was at present placed, arose not from the combinations of levellers and republicans, who, he believed, were but few in number, and still less formidable; not from any riots which had originated from circumstances purely local; not from any insurrections, the existence of which had been attached to no particular spot; but the danger arose from the measures of ministers, which had shaken the pillars of the public security, which had threatened our commerce with the most fatal consequences from a war, and which had ever been attended with a still more serious evil, by introducing a practice hostile to the principles of the constitution itself. The hon. gentleman who had spoke last, had not made the distinction between alarm and danger. He had mistaken his own apprehensions for the danger of which he was afraid. He was ready to allow, that writ-

ings of a certain tendency had been circulated in great profusion, in consequence of the very means which had been taken to suppress them; but the seditious effects which these writings were stated to have had upon the minds of the people, he completely denied. He did not believe the minds of the people to be so perverse as to be disaffected to a constitution from which they enjoyed so many blessings. Their natural good sense would prevent them from adopting any doctrines subversive of that constitution. He was not a friend to Paine's doctrines, but he was not to be deterred by a name from acknowledging that he considered the Rights of Man as the foundation of every government, and those who stood out against these rights as conspirators against the people. He then entered into a detail of the conduct of ministers, particularly in raising the late alarm, and concluded with comparing, as Mr. Fox had already done, the delusions of the popish plot in the reign of Charles the Second, to the impressions produced by those alarms, which ministers had taken so much pains to excite.

Mr. Dundas could not refrain from expressing his astonishment at what he had heard that night respecting universal liberty, and the unlimited right of discussion. He allowed, indeed, that reasoning to be fair, which stated, if there existed discontents in consequence of grievances, that the proper method of getting rid of those discontents was, to remove the grievances which afforded ground of complaint. But what conduct could
be

be adopted, when the complaint was not concerning any particular grievance existing in the constitution, when the redress demanded was not to be accomplished by any partial remedy; but when the constitution itself was held out as a grievance, and nothing less was aimed at than a total subversion of the present system of government. In this case, he asked, was it not proper for ministers to use every means in their power to prevent seditious notions from being instilled into the minds of the lower classes, and to guard them from discontents which might be attended with such fatal consequences? In consequence of the pernicious doctrines which had been disseminated with so much industry and artifice, the lower classes had been impressed with an idea of liberty and equality, not flowing from the privileges of the constitution; but on the principle that one man is as good as another, and that there ought to be no distinction of claims, since the rights of all men were founded on the same basis. Nay, it has not only been proposed to confound distinctions, but to invade the rights of property, and establish an equal division of possession among all the members of the community. It has also been asserted, that the time was come for the people to assert their own rights, and to follow the example which France had given them.

These were facts, which he stated directly, either from his own observation, or information; and would any one afterwards pretend to assert, that there was no ground for alarm, or to deny the existence of danger? It had been said that

the effect of the proclamation had been to circulate more extensively writings of a seditious nature. He would not deny that nothing was more favourable to the success of any work than to render it an object of public curiosity, and that from this cause the very means taken to suppress a publication had often a direct contrary effect. But this had not been the case in the present instance; the people would never have heard of Paine's work, in consequence of the proclamation, if the utmost art and industry had not been used by those who first promoted that publication, to circulate it among them.

The only subject of debate this evening, was the existence of that alarm which had been stated to prevail in the country. This alarm had been represented as not founded in any real danger, but merely a device of ministry to answer their own purposes. And here he could not help adverting to the different and contradictory charges brought against ministers, as suited the present views of those gentlemen who were hostile to their measures. At one time they were completely vilified, and represented, so far from having any weight in the country, as disregarded and contemned, as distrusted in their measures, and incapable of giving any impression to the public sentiment. At another time, they were described as having in their hands the whole opinions of the people, as capable to give them any direction they chose, and convert them to any use which might suit the object of their temporary policy, and on this ground it was that they were described as having created the late alarm. But he

he appealed to the members coming from the country, and who had opportunities to be acquainted with the situation of the public mind, to declare from their own observation and experience, whether such an alarm had not existed previous to the issuing of the proclamation for calling out the militia, and summoning the attendance of parliament. The fact was, that an universal and most serious alarm had been excited among the country gentlemen, farmers, &c. and some active measures were necessary on the part of government, in order to restore confidence to the country, and prevent the dangers which threatened its security.

The National Convention had shewn themselves disposed to countenance every complaint of grievances from the factious and discontented in this country; in proof of which Mr. Dundas read addresses that they had received with great applause from several societies in different parts of this kingdom. Was not this then, he asked, a time for just alarm, when persons wished to subvert the constitution in conjunction with foreign powers, and when so many appeared to be anxious to exchange the liberty of the British constitution, for the mad and ruinous licentiousness of France? After stating that the sole view of France was the aggrandisement of its dominions, he supported that opinion by the conduct of the French, respecting Savoy, Geneva, and the Netherlands. He then contended, that the interest and honour of this country equally required that we should protect Holland; and while he prayed that war might be averted, he should

consider it not only as justifiable, but absolutely necessary, if France continued to interpose in concert with the factious of this country to subvert the constitution. He then proceeded to describe the ferment that had appeared in various shapes in different parts of the kingdom, and considered ministers as fully justified in the measures which they had adopted at this important and alarming period.

Mr. Sheridan contended, that if there were, in reality, any seditious persons in this country, who wished to overturn the constitution, their numbers were as small as their designs were detestable: Ministers themselves had created the alarm; and it was the duty of that house, before they should proceed farther, to go into an enquiry respecting the circumstances which were alleged as the ground of that alarm. Ought they to rely upon the information of ministers, or act in consequence of that information, when there was reason to think that they themselves had forged the plot. He hoped it was not understood, that those who rejoiced in the revolution in France, approved likewise of all the subsequent excesses. The formidable band of republicans, who had been mentioned to exist in this country, Mr. Sheridan represented as nothing more than men in buckram. So far from its being the wish of any description of men, that a French army should be introduced into this country, it was his opinion, that were one French soldier to land upon our coast, with the idea of effecting any change in our government, every hand and heart in the country would be fired by the indig-

be adopted, when the complaint was not concerning any particular grievance existing in the constitution, when the redress demanded was not to be accomplished by any partial remedy; but when the constitution itself was held out as a grievance, and nothing less was aimed at than a total subversion of the present system of government. In this case, he asked, was it not proper for ministers to use every means in their power to prevent seditious notions from being instilled into the minds of the lower classes, and to guard them from discontents which might be attended with such fatal consequences? In consequence of the pernicious doctrines which had been disseminated with so much industry and artifice, the lower classes had been impressed with an idea of liberty and equality, not flowing from the privileges of the constitution; but on the principle that one man is as good as another, and that there ought to be no distinction of claims, since the rights of all men were founded on the same basis. Nay, it has not only been proposed to confound distinctions, but to invade the rights of property, and establish an equal division of possession among all the members of the community. It has also been asserted, that the time was come for the people to assert their own rights, and to follow the example which France had given them.

These were facts, which he stated directly, either from his own observation, or information; and would any one afterwards pretend to assert, that there was no ground for alarm, or to deny the existence of danger? It had been said that

the effect of the proclamation had been to circulate more extensively writings of a seditious nature. He would not deny that nothing was more favourable to the success of any work than to render it an object of public curiosity, and that from this cause the very means taken to suppress a publication had often a direct contrary effect. But this had not been the case in the present instance; the people would never have heard of Paine's work, in consequence of the proclamation, if the utmost art and industry had not been used by those who first promoted that publication, to circulate it among them.

The only subject of debate this evening, was the existence of that alarm which had been stated to prevail in the country. This alarm had been represented as not founded in any real danger, but merely a device of ministry to answer their own purposes. And here he could not help adverting to the different and contradictory charges brought against ministers, as suited the present views of those gentlemen who were hostile to their measures. At one time they were completely vilified, and represented, so far from having any weight in the country, as disregarded and contemned, as distrusted in their measures, and incapable of giving any impression to the public sentiment. At another time, they were described as having in their hands the whole opinions of the people, as capable to give them any direction they chose, and convert them to any use which might suit the object of their temporary policy, and on this ground it was that they were described as having created the late alarm. But he

he appealed to the members coming from the country, and who had opportunities to be acquainted with the situation of the public mind, to declare from their own observation and experience, whether such an alarm had not existed previous to the issuing of the proclamation for calling out the militia, and summoning the attendance of parliament. The fact was, that an universal and most serious alarm had been excited among the country gentlemen, farmers, &c. and some active measures were necessary on the part of government, in order to restore confidence to the country, and prevent the dangers which threatened its security.

The National Convention had shewn themselves disposed to countenance every complaint of grievances from the factious and discontented in this country; in proof of which Mr. Dundas read addresses that they had received with great applause from several societies in different parts of this kingdom. Was not this then, he asked, a time for just alarm, when persons wished to subvert the constitution in conjunction with foreign powers, and when so many appeared to be anxious to exchange the liberty of the British constitution, for the mad and ruinous licentiousness of France? After stating that the sole view of France was the aggrandisement of its dominions, he supported that opinion by the conduct of the French, respecting Savoy, Geneva, and the Netherlands. He then contended, that the interest and honour of this country equally required that we should protect Holland; and while he prayed that war might be averted, he should

consider it not only as justifiable, but absolutely necessary, if France continued to interpose in concert with the factious of this country to subvert the constitution. He then proceeded to describe the ferment that had appeared in various shapes in different parts of the kingdom, and considered ministers as fully justified in the measures which they had adopted at this important and alarming period.

Mr. Sheridan contended, that if there were, in reality, any seditious persons in this country, who wished to overturn the constitution, their numbers were as small as their designs were detestable: Ministers themselves had created the alarm; and it was the duty of that house, before they should proceed farther, to go into an enquiry respecting the circumstances which were alleged as the ground of that alarm. Ought they to rely upon the information of ministers, or act in consequence of that information, when there was reason to think that they themselves had forged the plot. He hoped it was not understood, that those who rejoiced in the revolution in France, approved likewise of all the subsequent excesses. The formidable band of republicans, who had been mentioned to exist in this country, Mr. Sheridan represented as nothing more than men in buckram. So far from its being the wish of any description of men, that a French army should be introduced into this country, it was his opinion, that were one French soldier to land upon our coast, with the idea of effecting any change in our government, every hand and heart in the country would be fired by the indig-

indignity, and unite to oppose so insulting an attempt.

As to the question of a war, he should vote that English minister to be impeached, who should enter into a war, for the purpose of re-establishing the former despotism in France; who should dare in such a cause to spend one guinea, or spill one drop of blood. A war in the present moment he considered ought only to be undertaken on the ground of the most inevitable necessity. He did not consider the opening of the Scheldt as a sufficient ground for war, nor did he believe that the Dutch would on this account apply to this country for its hostile interference, unless they had previously received instructions for the purpose.

Mr. Thomas Grenville acknowledged himself to have been struck with the danger to which this country had been exposed by a seditious spirit that had made its appearance, and he had accordingly voted for the proclamation that had been brought forward; but he did not think that any event had since taken place, which could justify the calling out the militia, and assembling the parliament.

Mr. Burke commenced his speech with complimenting the lord mayor of London for his public conduct, and congratulating the metropolis, for the services, which, at different times, it had rendered to the constitution, under whose auspices it had risen to its present opulence and grandeur; when, after glancing with his usual ardour at several topics connected with the debate, and the French Revolution, he affirmed, that there was a faction in this country who wished to sub-

mit to France, in order that our government might be reformed upon the French system; and that the French encouraged this faction, and were disposed to aid them in their views of overturning our constitution. To prove the truth of these assertions, he read the addresses of the English and Irish resident at Paris, and of Joel Barlow and John Frost, deputies from the Constitutional Society of London to the National Convention. After a train of striking remarks on the detail of these proceedings, he declared that the question, at this time, was not whether we should make an address to the throne, but whether we should have a throne at all, and recommending an unanimous determination to employ the most effectual means to stay the progress of the French arms.

Mr. Anstruther declared his firm belief in the existence and reality of the public evils stated in the speech; and that the measures consequently adopted by administration were necessary and expedient. He desired the house to recollect the mischiefs which had happened five years before the bill had passed, authorising his majesty to call out the militia, and summon parliament, in cases of insurrection, from the want of similar precautions to those which had been employed on this occasion. So far from thinking that ministers had excited a premature or groundless alarm, it was his opinion that they had been too late in adopting those measures which the times so peremptorily required.

Mr. Erskine justified himself as a member of the society for parliamentary reform, and blamed the conduct

conduct of ministers for their delay in prosecuting the author of *The Rights of Man*, till a year and an half after its publication. He then proceeded to remark on the different representations Mr. Burke had given, at different times, of the state of France, and concluded with recommending the house to govern the people by their affections, and instead of loading them with abuse and calumny, to meet their complaints, to redress their grievances, and, by granting them a fair representation, to remove the ground of their dissatisfaction.

The Attorney-General, sir John Scott, after stating the different modes which seditious persons had adopted in order to work on the minds of the lower classes of the people, stated that the delay which had taken place in prosecuting a particular work (supposed to mean the rights of man) arose from the length of time necessary to be employed in taking the previous steps before a prosecution could be commenced.

The Solicitor General, sir John Mitford, entered into a detail of the law by which parliament had been so suddenly called together. Cases of insurrection, he remarked, were not, as had been stated, now for the first time introduced into law as authorizing his majesty to call out the militia, and summon parliament; the same power had been given in former laws, though in some late instances the case of insurrection, which was now acted upon, was omitted; the phrase some how or other had then slipped out of the law, and was now only revived.

Mr. Fox insisted on the pro-

priety of his motion, deprecated unanimity on the present occasion: and gave notice that he should attend on the morrow to propose other amendments on the report.

The house divided,

For the address . . . 290

For the amendment 50

Majority . . . 240

In the house of lords the address was moved by the earl of Hardwicke. He observed, that the most striking part of the speech from the throne was the calling out of the militia, and their lordships needed not to be put in mind, that the power of calling them out was vested in the crown, whenever there were grounds for apprehension of any intended invasion by a foreign power, or internal insurrection in the kingdom. In such cases, it became the indispensable duty of ministers to advise that measure, and the law had wisely provided, that the parliament should be immediately assembled; so if any weak or wicked administration were to do so from improper motives, they must be amenable to parliament for their conduct within fourteen days; but he was confident it would appear, in the present instance, a very laudable measure, and must be highly flattering to the people. Because when it was visible to all, that wicked and ill-disposed persons were endeavouring to disturb the tranquillity of this country, and the happiness of all classes in it, the militia were relied on, and from a confidence in them, no apprehension of danger remained,

His lordship gave an ample portion of praise to the ministers for
the

the neutrality which had hitherto been observed respecting France, deprecated the spirit of conquest and aggrandizement which appeared in the conduct of its infatuated rulers, deplored the enormities which they committed, and lamented that the conduct of nations should not be the same in every view, as that of individuals, and as strictly guided by justice and honour. He then proceeded to consider the other topics of the speech, and concluded with professions of the most zealous attachment to the constitution of his country.

Lord Walsingham seconded the motion. In such a crisis of affairs, as the present, his lordship asked, what was the most dignified part which a great nation could take? The answer, said he, is to be found in the speech. "Be firm and temperate in your conduct; preserve your faith inviolably; adhere to your alliances; be true to yourselves, and take that part which your interest, because your honour, dictates. The noble lord then went into a chain of argument to prove his position.— Suppose, said he, that we should forbear to assert ourselves in the manner that becomes us, how long and under what circumstances, should we be able to forbear? Should we not, in the course of a few months, be dragged into the quarrel in spite of ourselves, and with the disgrace of having abandoned an ally whom it was our bounden duty to support? To which may be added, another important consideration; that in such a case her force would become neutral, if not employed against us. We ought

then to come forward with that spirit and confidence, which a good and a just cause naturally inspires.

The duke of Norfolk opposed the address, because the very serious measure which was offered to their consideration did not appear to be justified by the existing circumstances of the country, and called upon ministers to unfold the real causes of that alarm which had become so general throughout the kingdom. The speech stated a desire to preserve peace: but he did not understand how war, and there was every appearance of such an event, was formed to preserve it. And here he could not help remarking that it was rather strange to determine on going to war with any country for an interference with another, when we had no ambassador, or person of any description, to treat with that country, and remonstrate on the conduct which displeased us. If we went to war on account of the Scheldt, it would be a desperate war, and not to be justified.

The marquis of Lansdowne, after reproaching ministers for refusing to answer the enquiry made of them by the noble duke, and expressing his astonishment at the unexpected assembling of parliament, went into a long detail of cases in different reigns, which he contrasted with the present proceedings. He went into the history of associations in that and former periods, and commented in very severe terms on that which met at the Crown and Anchor tavern; though he bestowed considerable commendations on that of the merchants of London, which assembled at Merchant Taylor's hall.

Hall. He then said, that, after searching every where, it was evident to him that the real motive of the conduct of administration was war, and had nothing to do in fact with insurrection, although parliament was assembled by that manoeuvre, and he must desire them to take care how they plunged the country into a war, with a parliament illegally assembled. The noble marquis concluded with deprecating the war, in a particular manner on account of the Scheldt, and by recommending ministers to put an end to grievances by redressing them.

Lord Grenville supported the conduct of administration. He read extracts from a variety of papers to prove, that the apprehensions of ministry were well-grounded, and completely justified the measures that had been adopted for the security of the country. He then adverted to the motion for a parliamentary reform at the conclusion of the last session of parliament, which would serve as a development of the subsequent discontents. In consequence of this notice, societies had been formed over the whole kingdom, who, by their communication with the National Convention of France, professed a disposition to supersede parliament, and establish a new system of things. His Lordship then took a view of our situation relative to the powers of Europe, and concluded with a comparative view of the conduct of Great-Britain and France.

Lord Stormont supported ministers in a speech of considerable length, in the course of which he quoted two curious passages from the writings of Condorcet. The

VOL. XXXV.

noble secretary of state, said his lordship, has adduced many proofs of a concert between the levellers at home, and persons in foreign parts. He has also proved, by authentic documents, the reigning and avowed principles of the National Convention. I will beg leave, said he, to add some passages from one of the authors who have been just quoted, from Mons. Condorcet, a person of eminence among the literary characters of France. He is now a legislator, and in an elaborate address to the Dutch, or Batavians, as he calls them, after exhorting them to union, that is, to alter their subsisting government, and form a democracy like that of France, he says, "Such union between free states is their primary want, their dearest interest, so long as the earth is stained by the existence of a king, and by the absurdity of hereditary government, so long as this shameful production of ignorance and folly remains unproscribed by the universal consent of mankind." In another place he says (bear with me, my lords, whilst I repeat it), "George the third sees with anxious surprise that throne totter under him, which is founded on sophistry, and which republican truths have sapped to its very foundation." I translate literally, and hold the original in my hand, if any noble lord wishes to see it. To such language, this, and every succeeding day will furnish the best reply. They will shew that not only parliament, but a vast majority of the people, (however the minds of some may have been poisoned) have the most grateful sense of the numberless blessings they have enjoyed under the mild, provident, and benefi-

[C]

cent

cent government of the house of Brunswick. Every day will shew we have learnt, from the uninterrupted experience of more than a century, that limited hereditary monarchy, poised and balanced as ours was at the glorious revolution, is, for a great country like this, the best form of government that ever was framed. It unites more of the different forms, as they are technically called, than was ever combined in one system. To the vigour, energy, dispatch, and secrecy of a strong executive power, directed by one governing mind, it joins the fullest protection of the rights of the subject under the dominion of equal law: it unites, in a word, the largest portion of real, rational, civil liberty, that ever has been enjoyed by man, Lord Stormont concluded in the following manner: "When any danger threatens the existing government and constitution of my country, I am called by the voice of duty to join in their defence. I cannot shrink from, or elude that duty, by saying to myself, 'I do not like these ministers; I wish the administration was in different, and, as I may think, in abler hands.' It is not this or that minister, this or that denomination of men, that I join upon occasions like these. I range myself under the broad banner of the constitution. I add one to the great phalanx that is to shield it from the poisoned arrows directed against it. I join in the defence of *that*, which, whilst it remains inviolate, must afford numberless blessings and comforts to us all; but which, if ever it should receive a mortal wound, if ever it should fall, must, in its fall, bring immediate uni-

versal ruin. I know the blessings of peace; I know the calamities inseparable even from prosperous war: but, my lords, as much as I value the blessings of peace (no man can prize them more), I shall ever be of opinion, that even those blessings may be bought too dear. They must not be purchased by the intolerable sacrifice of the national honour."

Lord Rawdon delivered his opinion with great animation against ministers, on the same grounds as the other lords who had preceded him; and lord Stanhope, after a very exalted eulogium on the British constitution, defended the character of Condorcet, execrated that of the duke of Brunswick, and imputed the massacres of the 10th of August to his manifesto.

The marquis Townshend and Lord Portchester gave their decided opinions in favour of ministers. The marquis of Lansdowne then moved an amendment to the address, which was negatived without a division. The address was then put and carried in the affirmative.

December 14.—When the lord mayor had brought up the report of the address, Mr. Fox rose to move an amendment, of which he had given notice on the preceding day.

He declared it to be his opinion, that, from the moment ministers knew that a league was formed against France, this country ought to have interfered. France had justice completely on her side, and we, by a prudent negotiation with the other powers, might have prevented the horrid scenes which were afterwards exhibited, and saved to the necessity of being reduced

reduced to our present situation. We should have held out to Europe a lesson of moderation, of justice, and of dignity, worthy of a great empire: this was the conduct which ought to have been adopted, and which ministers had neglected. There was general advantage, however, resulting from this: it taught the proudest men in this world, that there is an energy in the cause of justice, which, when once supported, nothing can defeat. Whoever conceived him to be of opinion, that the aggrandizement of France was a matter of indifference to this country, mistook him grossly: for the French had conducted themselves in such a manner, as to induce him to believe that the power of France might be formidable to this country. Though without allies, and with almost ruined finances, she was more formidable than she had ever been; she was formidable now from her freedom, the animated effects of which were beyond human calculation. All the inhabitants of Europe who felt any thing in the cause of freedom, held a sympathy for them, and wished them success, regarding them as men struggling with tyrants and despots, while they were endeavouring to form for themselves a free government. Mr. Fox then took a general view of the situation of Europe, and argued from the actual state of it, but particularly of those powers on whom we should look for aid, that war would be a very dangerous, if not ruinous, measure for this country. In support of this principle, he entered into an examination of the internal state of the British dominions; and argued, if discontents did really exist, that the taxes which must be raised

to support the war, would certainly increase them. He then urged, in a very forcible manner, an immediate negotiation with the executive government of France, to prevent the approaching horrors of war: when, after giving notice that he should, on the following day, offer a motion to the house to that effect, he moved an amendment to the address, beseeching his majesty to employ every species of honourable negotiation in order to prevent a war with France.

Mr. Sheridan seconded the amendment; which, if adopted, would still, he believed, rescue the country from a war.

Mr. Burke, considering it as admitted that France must not be permitted to open the Scheldt, and that she must also be either induced by negotiation, or compelled by arms, to restore the conquests she had made, thought it a very extraordinary way of effecting either purpose, to represent our internal situation as rotten, and our allies not to be depended on. With regard to our internal situation, he esteemed it far from being rotten, though the constitution was certainly assailed by persons whose activity, if not checked in time, may be likely to endanger it. As to the fidelity of our allies, if it was not now to be relied on, surely Mr. Fox did not take the best mode of confirming it, by acknowledging the sovereignty, and entering into negotiations with the new republic of France, their most inveterate enemy. But supposing the policy of such negotiation, were we sure that the French would come to any reasonable terms with us? And yet this was the contingency for which we were to renounce our present friends, the ancient and established govern-

governments in Europe. France had not yet been recognized by any other power. And what was the peculiar time when we were desired to address an ambassador to them? At the very moment, perhaps, when the merciless savages had their hands red with the blood of a murdered sovereign; thus giving sanction to an act which barbarians would condemn, giving currency to the crime of regicide, and affording a preliminary to the murder of our own sovereign. The French republic was *sui generis*, and bore no analogy to any other which ever existed in the world. It therefore did not follow that we ought to recognize it, merely because different powers in Europe had recognized the republic of England, under Oliver Cromwell. England did not at that time attempt to turn all the states of Christendom into republics: it did not wage war with sovereigns; it professed no principle of proselytism; and therefore, whatever neighbouring nations might have to expect at that time from her friendship, they had nothing to fear for the existence of thrones. The same might be said of America. But France wanted to make proselytes to her opinions, and turn every government in the world into a republic. If every government was against her, it was because she had declared herself hostile to every government. He knew of nothing to which this strange republic could be compared, but to the system of Mahomet, who with the Koran in one hand, and a sword in the other, held out the former to the acceptance of mankind, and with the latter compelled them to adopt it as their creed. The Koran which France held out,

was the declaration of the rights of man, and universal fraternity; and with the sword she was determined to propagate her doctrines, and conquer those whom she could not convince. He by no means wished to hurry the nation into a war. He wanted to make the people see that France had really declared war against them, and that the two states might be considered as actually engaged in it. France had passed a variety of decrees, every one of which might fairly be considered as a declaration of war against every government. She had resolved to wage an eternal war against kings and kingly government; and she had actually received Englishmen at the bar of the convention, whom, in contempt of the king and parliament, she professed to consider as the representatives of the people of England. Was this no provocation? was this no attack upon the government of Great Britain?—Mr. Burke now passed at once into Ireland, and concluded with some strong observations on the claims of the Catholics of that kingdom.

Mr. Yorke, after referring to the speech of Mr. Burke, as conveying all his sentiments on the subject before the house, spoke of the opposition in terms of severe invective. He allowed them eloquence and talents, but denied that they possessed either patriotism, moderation, or candour. To these assertions, Mr. Adam replied, with great spirit, and then proceeded to combat the reasonings of Mr. Burke. It was supposed, he said, by that gentleman, that disregard to property, immorality, and every bad and vicious principle, were necessary, to attach themselves to this

this country, if it should enter into a negotiation with France. Mr. Adam said, he considered such an opinion as a libel upon the good sense and virtue of Englishmen. That he believed them to be too much attached to their constitution, and to that system of sound, just morality which had been long the established characteristic of this country; to run the risk of any such corruption: that they heard with horror, and shuddered at the events which crowded the present history of France: that the enjoyment of a free constitution gave them rights which were dear to them: that besides it gave them the means of being taught and instructed, by men of talents, education, and virtue, in all the different public situations of life. He said, that there was a new and most dangerous doctrine taught by Mr. Burke, that sentiment and passion, not safety and security, were to operate in national intercourse; and contended, that the latter alone should be chief object of every government. He said, that it was the bounden duty of the governors to use every means to avert the evil of war: but, above all, never to allow passion to interfere with the important principle of national safety: that upon this principle, all wise nations had acted at all times: that, during the contest of the red and white roses, the kings *de facto*, in this country, had been treated with, as well as those *de Jure*: that the Netherlands, when they threw off the yoke of Spain, as well as the seven united Provinces and Cromwell, had all been treated with. And why? Because that assemblage of men called a nation, whoever or whatever administered their affairs, became

dangerous to neighbouring nations; and therefore the *de facto* governors were acknowledged, negotiations entered into, and wars averted, by the wise policy of considering the safety of the state as the supreme law; not the passion, or violence, or indignation, or disgust which might actuate. That besides this, if all was done that could be done by negotiation, and nothing resulted, the whole nation would be satisfied, and with one heart and one voice would encounter their difficulties; and by that bravery and spirit, the result of rational freedom, we should maintain the fame for which we had always stood conspicuous among the nations of the earth.

After Lord Carysfort had made some pointed observations on the conduct of the French, and the claims as well as loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland, Mr. Dundas entered on a defence of himself and his colleagues. He stated, that a coincidence of circumstances which no human foresight could either foresee or prevent, had conspired to render our immediate interference absolutely necessary in supporting the honour and independence of Britain. There was every reason to apprehend, that the French meditated an attack on Holland; and if England were to abandon the treaty with Holland, she would lose at once the respect hitherto offered to her high character, and be no longer considered by any other nation as worthy of confidence. He then enlarged on the comparative prosperity of this country with that of France, and from the general unanimity and the variety of resources which England possessed, he derived the most flattering hope, that
if

if we should be forced into a war, its termination would be honourable and advantageous to the British name and people.

Mr. Powys considered the political intentions declared by Mr. Fox, to be peculiarly baneful to this country; and that his amendment tended to alienate the people from the executive power. Negotiation appeared to him to be impracticable. To whom was an ambassador to be sent? Who could be sure that they who had proscribed our king, would accept an ambassador from him. He approved the speech and the address: they breathed nothing but the faithful preservation of our treaties abroad, and the security of our internal peace. If he had his wish, he would draw a line round France, to prevent the spreading of her infection: he would avoid meddling with her; but if she meddled with us, no choice remained for Great Britain.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that he should vote against the amendment, not as being determined for war, but because he believed the amendment would by no means tend to peace. He frankly declared, that as, at all times, war ought to be deprecated as the greatest of human evils; so there never was a period when it appeared more likely to be injurious to this country than the present. He could not feel the force of the arguments for war that might seem to have been suggested by what had been said concerning the distressed situation of the French, and the flourishing state of Great Britain. He preferred to the amendment, the language of the address, which, concurring with the speech from the throne, plainly declared, that the House of Com-

mons approved of the neutrality his majesty's ministers had hitherto observed, and of their determination to avoid a war, if it were possible, consistently with justice. This, he fully trusted, would be the conduct of administration. If we should find ourselves compelled by the obligations of solemn treaties to engage in war, as men of conscience and integrity we must submit to the necessity; but nothing less than this necessity could justify the measure, and he begged it to be understood, that it was on this ground only that he felt it his duty to support government in their present measures.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

On the following day, December 15th, after the house had returned, from presenting the address to his majesty, Mr. Fox rose to make his promised motion; by which, he said, he did not mean to imply any approbation of the conduct of the existing French government, or of the proceedings which had led to the present state of things in France. His object was simply to declare and record his opinion, that it was the true policy of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation with which it had relative interests, without enquiring or regarding how that government was constituted, or by what means those who exercised it came into power. This was not only the policy, but frequently the practice. If we objected to the existing form of government in France, we had as strong objections to the form of government at Algiers; yet at Algiers we had a consul. If we abhorred the crimes committed in France, we equally abhorred

abhorred the crimes committed in Morocco; yet to Morocco we had sent a consul. By these acts we were neither supposed to approve of the form of government at Algiers, nor of the crimes committed in Morocco. From this motion no opinion was to be implied, but the opinion he had stated. It would have been better, if what he proposed had been done sooner, and there were circumstances that made it less proper now than at an earlier period. But this was not imputable to him. The earliest period was now the best: and this was the earliest opportunity that the meeting of parliament afforded him. It would have been still better, if the British minister had not been recalled from Paris; but had continued there as the ministers of some other courts had done. He concluded with moving, "that an humble address may be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions, that a minister may be sent to Paris, to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of executive government of France, touching such points as may be in discussion between his majesty and his allies, and the French nation." The motion was seconded by Mr. Grey.

Lord Sheffield rose, in great agitation, and not only reprobated in the most pointed terms the object of the motion; but declared himself to be almost ashamed of his former enthusiasm for the right honourable mover of it. In respect to war, he believed every man wished to avert it: that the surest means of avoiding it would be by vigorous preparations for it; and, if it could not be avoided,

that it would be better policy to meet it than wait for it. That the disturbers of the world, when they had over-run other nations, envying and dreading our prosperity, would not fail with double force to visit us.

His lordship concluded with approving the promptness and vigour of the measures that ministers had adopted, at the same time he disapproved of what appeared to him to be an unjustifiable interpretation of the word insurrection. In his opinion they would have done much better, if they had acknowledged that in consequence of some uncommon danger which impended, they had for the public good laid themselves under the necessity of applying to the legislature for indemnity; but that he had not objected to the address, or supported the amendment, because he would not seem to countenance the many mischievous principles and suggestions which had been heard in that house the two last days from the mover of the amendment.

Mr. T. Stanley expressed his astonishment at what had fallen from Mr. Fox during the last three days, and hoped that he might be prevailed on to withdraw his motion.

Mr. M. A. Taylor defended the character of Mr. Fox. Mr. Grey rose for the same purpose. Their arguments went to the same objects; to the purity of their own motives, and their confidence in those of their right honourable friend. Mr. Grey delivered himself with great energy. He was asked, said he, if Great Britain was to sneak and crouch to France. No; neither sneak nor crouch, but negotiate like a great and high-spirited nation, and if redress was refused

of his friend was peculiarly calculated to avert it.

The Master of the Rolls, after proposing to Mr. Fox, or some of his friends, to go on this embassy, made a very humorous comparison between Barlow and Frost, who had already been received by the Convention as deputies from some of the societies in this country, and an ambassador from the king of it. He supposed that on such an occasion the latter would be asked by the French rulers, do you come from the king of Great Britain? If you do there can be no business for you here, as we have vowed enmity to all kings. You may therefore be gone.

Mr. Windham contended, that those who argued against the recognition of the republic of France, were not only fortified by experience, but by higher principles, by the interests of nations, and by the dictates of humanity. Thus very powerful arguments ought to be used, more powerful, he said, than any that had been brought, to induce the house to assent to the motion of his right honourable friend; for by recognizing the republic of France, what consequences would Great Britain produce? The complete alienation of those powers with whom she was at present allied; not only the alienation of allies, but by giving the whole weight of her character to France, she would place all the rest of Europe in a situation deplorable indeed; she would arm every subject, of every kingdom, against the powers that governed those kingdoms; she would produce consequences as fatal to the future interests of the world, and as much to be lamented, as the retreat of

the combined armies from France, which he looked upon to be the most fatal event that had ever happened.

If he were to be asked, whether he would submit to an evil, or wait for a necessity, he was not quite sure that he would not wait for compulsion, and take that for his justification. That Great Britain should be the first country to be less shocked with massacre and murder! That she should be the first country to evince a want of feeling, filled him with anguish, and with horror! That she should be the first to preclude herself from forming a part of any confederation, was disgraceful! If submission to France must be the consequence, necessity should first justify that submission. Well did the House know, that no inquiry could be made into the origin of governments; the greater the space of time, therefore, that elapsed from that origin, the smaller was the crime incurred. Evils, by mere time, become less; by time the government of France might become less shocking and less wicked.

Mr. Whitbread made some general observations on the propriety of the motion, and then proceeded to observe, on the doubt expressed by Mr. Windham, whether he should prefer the hazard of an evil from future compulsion, or receive it by immediate submission. "The hon. gentleman has said, that it would be a degradation for us to negotiate with the French at present; but that the time might come when necessity would compel us. What then did we say to the French by this? You are a parcel of assassins; but if you assassins compel us, we must negotiate with you.

able and useful alliances for any new allies whatever; and least of all for such allies as the French. Mr. Jenkinson, in considering the particular moment when the embassy was proposed, exclaimed: On this very day, while we are here debating about sending an ambassador to the French republic; on this very day is the king to receive sentence, and, in all probability, it is the day of his murder. What is it then that gentlemen would propose to their sovereign? to bow his neck to a band of sanguinary ruffians, and address an ambassador to a set of murderous regicides, whose hands were still reeking with the blood of a slaughtered monarch, and who he had previously declared should find no refuge in his dominions? No, sir, the British character is too noble to run a race for infamy; nor shall we be the first to compliment a set of monsters, who, while we are agitating this subject, are probably bearing through the streets of Paris, horrid spectacle! the bloody victim of their fury.

Mr. Francis complained of the manner in which the opposers of the motion conducted the debate; not by appeals to the understanding, but by exciting the passions, and agitating the feelings. He marked the unjustifiable conduct of the house, in addressing his majesty for the strict neutrality he had preserved, and for his assurance of maintaining peace by a firm and temperate conduct, and that nothing should be neglected on his part that can contribute to that important object; while no steps whatever are taken to prevent war. As for the treaties which have been urged as motives to become

parties in the contest with France, he asked if they preclude all preliminary negotiation; and if they did, is any nation bound to its own destruction? He concluded with requiring, that such serious matters should be seriously considered. We are as much bound, he said, to debate and deliberate now, as we may hereafter be to act with vigour and decision.

Mr. Erskine could not assent to any one of the arguments which had been employed against sending an ambassador to France, while he agreed to every reason that had been assigned in favour of such a measure. If war was inevitable we must boldly meet it; but where is that war to end? Were we, he asked, resolved not to terminate it until the French had, in our opinion, formed a government of moderation and of justice, or perhaps what they would never have, a government equal to our own? Were we to plunge into the misery and horror that await a war, merely because we cannot, from a nice punctilio, send a person to France to represent the dignity of this country? so that the reason which prevents us now from sending an ambassador to France, might prevent our bringing the war, when we should think it necessary, to a determination. On the subject of war he quoted some very beautiful passages from Dr. Johnson, and then entered upon a very animated eulogium of Mr. Fox, whom he represented as formed by Providence to guard, invigorate, and preserve our constitution, and to remedy the vices of the times. He concluded with a recapitulation of his sentiments concerning the war, and declaring his belief that the motion

of

of his friend was peculiarly calculated to avert it.

The Master of the Rolls, after proposing to Mr. Fox, or some of his friends, to go on this embassy, made a very humorous comparison between Barlow and Frost, who had already been received by the Convention as deputies from some of the societies in this country, and an ambassador from the king of it. He supposed that on such an occasion the latter would be asked by the French rulers, do you come from the king of Great Britain? If you do there can be no business for you here, as we have vowed enmity to all kings. You may therefore be gone.

Mr. Windham contended, that those who argued against the recognition of the republic of France, were not only fortified by experience, but by higher principles, by the interests of nations, and by the dictates of humanity. Thus very powerful arguments ought to be used, more powerful, he said, than any that had been brought, to induce the house to assent to the motion of his right honourable friend; for by recognizing the republic of France, what consequences would Great Britain produce? The complete alienation of those powers with whom she was at present allied; not only the alienation of allies, but by giving the whole weight of her character to France, she would place all the rest of Europe in a situation deplorable indeed; she would arm every subject, of every kingdom, against the powers that governed those kingdoms; she would produce consequences as fatal to the future interests of the world, and as much to be lamented, as the retreat of

the combined armies from France, which he looked upon to be the most fatal event that had ever happened.

If he were to be asked, whether he would submit to an evil, or wait for a necessity, he was not quite sure that he would not wait for compulsion, and take that for his justification. That Great Britain should be the first country to be less shocked with massacre and murder! That she should be the first country to evince a want of feeling, filled him with anguish, and with horror! That she should be the first to preclude herself from forming a part of any confederation, was disgraceful! If submission to France must be the consequence, necessity should first justify that submission. Well did the House know, that no inquiry could be made into the origin of governments; the greater the space of time, therefore, that elapsed from that origin, the smaller was the crime incurred. Evils, by mere time, become less; by time the government of France might become less shocking and less wicked.

Mr. Whitbread made some general observations on the propriety of the motion, and then proceeded to observe, on the doubt expressed by Mr. Windham, whether he should prefer the hazard of an evil from future compulsion, or receive it by immediate submission. "The hon. gentleman has said, that it would be a degradation for us to negotiate with the French at present; but that the time might come when necessity would compel us. What then did we say to the French by this? You are a parcel of assassins; but if you assassins compel us, we must negotiate with you.

you. Thus our confession that we negotiated from necessity on our side, would, according to the disposition we were pleased to give to the French, justify any act on theirs. We shall have given to a malicious disposition the highest possible provocation, and must bear the effect. In reply to the Master of the Rolls, he stated that there were ambassadors at Paris from several of the European powers. He then proceeded to argue on the subject of the Scheldt, and deprecated it as a cause of war; and after speaking of alarms, riots, and insurrections in a strain of ludicrous observation, he declared his high opinion of Mr. Fox, and that while that gentleman was the leader of their party, he should never despair of his country.

Mr. Grant opposed the motion before the House. All the celebrated writers on the law of nations, he said, had laid it down as a clear and indubitable principle of propriety, that rivers belonged to those who inhabited their banks, just as far, and no farther, than those banks extended. If the banks belonged to different people, then the dominion over the river was divided, each people possessing the part that was contiguous to their domain; and such was the policy of this distribution, that if it had not been so laid down by the ablest writers on the law of nations, it would have been a positive stipulation indispensably necessary under the law of nations, for without it no state could be secure. If the course of rivers was, as is contended by the French, as open and common to mankind as the sea itself, a fleet of French and Spaniards might sail up the Thames,

and we should have no right to molest them until they actually began hostilities. Agreeable to this law of nations, we find every other civilised state had invariably acted. The mouth of the Scheldt, therefore, he contended, being between the banks of Holland, gave them, under the law of nature and nations, a most incontrovertible right to the exclusive possession of that river as far as their banks extended; but, independent of general doctrine, that right has been repeatedly acknowledged and ratified by express treaty with the sovereign power of that country, which alone could have any pretence to interfere. As well might France interpose, therefore, between the Spaniards and English, relative to the regulations of the navigation of the river Mississippi in America. Their interference relative to the Scheldt shews no less arrogance and injustice, than a rooted contempt of existing order and moral obligation. Beside, why should we send an ambassador to France, when the subject matter of contention lay between our allies, the Dutch, and Brabant. The French had not conquered the Netherlands, by their own declaration; they had only restored the sovereignty of the people. Shall France be suffered, therefore, to arrogate to itself the umpirage of all disputes in Europe? The restless, meddling disposition of that country, which an honourable gentleman had declared was so long the scourge of mankind under the despotism of its crown, seemed now no less disposed to blast the happiness of man under the still more wild and unlimited despotism of the people. If France by surprise had seized on Portsmouth, or
any

any other of our harbours, or had declared its intention of doing so, would Englishmen condescend to send an ambassador to negotiate? They have declared publicly their intention of unjustly invading the rights of our allies; and their rights, while faith and honour remained in England, were the rights of Englishmen. What is there to negotiate? The French admit the subsisting treaties, but deny their force. Instead of a statesman, you should send a professor of casuistry. Nothing remained for inquiry but an abstract and metaphysical question on the moral competence of contracts. Shall it be allowed that the first principle of morals shall be controverted, and the community of nations turned into a school of metaphysical sceptics? At least *cui bono*? Suppose you settle the dispute with the present executive council; their successors, armed with the natural, imprescriptible rights of man, will, by the very same reasons, deny their right to settle it. You can obtain nothing short of total abandonment, but what the metaphysical wand of these perverted logicians will destroy as by magic. What? bind by treaty the rights of man! It is impossible, they would exclaim,—nature forbids it—right is paramount to treaty. Those with whom you negotiated thus exceeded their powers, and betrayed their constituents, and the contract is therefore void. Having surveyed the motion as it related to right and utility, he adverted, with much additional force, to the indignity such a proceeding would throw on the country, and concluded with giving a decided negative.

Sir William Young opposed a

negotiation with France, considering it in the character of a federal treaty with a foreign power: but in a domestic view, it struck him rather as a commercial treaty for the more easy and ready import of plots and treasons. When the duke of Brunswick, he said, sent to negotiate during his retreat, the haughty answer was that of the Roman to Pyrrhus: "We will not treat whilst you are in our country." Are we prepared for an answer of similar import? Are we prepared, as a preliminary step, to disembody the militia, and lay aside our naval preparations. If England could descend to so base and humiliating a procedure, yet another consideration is to be obviated. Can we acknowledge the constitution of the French?—or it should rather be asked, have they a constitution to acknowledge?—In short his mind was so framed, that it could admit no argument in favour of the motion that did not savour of national cowardice or treachery—of a mean and timid petition to France, or resort to French connections for the support of British treasons.

Mr. Burke, after some animated compliments to the young members who had opposed the motion, and some severe sarcasms on Mr. Erskine, who had supported it, entered, with his usual ardour and eloquence, into the state, condition, and views of France. "Why have the French," said he, "who cherish and protect the traitors, offered to aid and abet the downfall of our government? Because the unfledged republicans have determined to wage war against every monarchy. Having a king who commands the affections of his people,

people, the criminality on our part is unpardonable in their eyes. Kings are anointed with oil—the new sovereignty of the people with blood! The recent massacres, at which all Europe revolted, heightened this striking likeness; and none but the murderers themselves could help deploring the shocking barbarities, which exceeded all ancient and modern flagitiousness. Those who were advocates for an ambassador to Paris, ought seriously to reflect in what an awkward predicament they placed such a gentleman. They appointed an ambassador to a people who had no government, no administrators, and who had denounced the most implacable hatred against all kings! But, say they, ambassadors have been sent thither from other potentates. Be it so. But let no ambassador go thither from Great Britain. If we condescended to acknowledge them by an ambassador, might they not insult him by saying, Who sent you? The king or the people of England? The king, most certainly, answers the ambassador. The king! return from whence you came: we never sent for you: we have passed an irrevocable declaration against all tyranny! And thus, if the motion were agreed to, we should jostle in the dark, and expose ourselves to the insolence of the basest of mankind—monsters who outrage every law, human and divine.

Mr. Burke made the following ludicrous objection to the proposed negotiation:—If, when the British ambassador appears at the bar of the convention, his commission, among other things, happened to state—"George the Third, by the grace of God," would not

that pious assembly be instantly convulsed with laughter. The president, Robespierre, and Marat, sworn enemies to kings, would scarcely be able to keep their indignation within bounds. On the one side, citizen Frost would inflame their resentment; and on the other, citizen Paine would proceed to denounce us. Mr. Burke concluded a very eloquent but ~~de~~ultory speech, with reading, from a slip of paper, a declaration, which he wished to be avowed as the grounds of the conduct of the executive power, in order that the people of England might know that, if there must be a war, it had arisen from the proceedings of those among themselves, who, by their seditious practices, had provoked it; and that a war with France was necessary for the security of the liberties of England, the interests of Europe, and the happiness of mankind.

Mr. Courtenay arraigned Mr. Burke's opinion of the French, whom he accused of calumniating in a most opprobrious and unmanly manner. After some severe sarcasms on that gentleman, and defending the propriety of attempting to negotiate with France, he entered into an eulogium of the French, rejoiced at their successes, their glorious expedition in Brabant, and the liberation of Flanders. He had lived, he said, to see the genius of liberty inspire the French with a portion of noble ardour, which the slaves of despots found irresistible. From these vaunting descriptions of French valour, he proceeded to indulge his usual vein of pleasantry on the flights of Mr. Burke's imagination; and concluded with declar-

ing his high sense of the public and private virtues of Mr. Fox, and if he should ever separate from him, he should consider that day as the most degraded of his life.

Mr. Sheridan began by expressing his astonishment at the perverse manner in which the question had been argued, and the injustice with which the mover of it had been treated. His right hon. friend, he said, had recommended, that, before we plunged into a war, and drew upon the treasure and blood of the people of Great Britain,* we should try, if possible, to settle the matter in dispute by negotiation, and shew to the people we had so tried. This his right hon. friend had recommended as a duty which we owed to our constituents, be the character and principles of the power with whom we are disputing what they may. Was it credible that a proposition of this nature should have been received with such heat? Reason and duty at any other time must have supported it. But the fact was, that the moment was unfortunate; the time was full of heat and irritation; natural and artificial government had thought it their interest to inflame this disposition. Intelligence was expected of a catastrophe in France, which all humane hearts deprecated, and would equally deplore; in this temper, therefore, the public mind was worked up to a blind and furious hostility against France, and the dearest interests of our own country were to be risked at the call of a momentary enthusiasm, which, if not bottomed in sound policy and sound sense, was sure not to be lasting. Could there be a stronger proof of this temper,

than the manner in which Mr. Grant had supported his argument. The most successful passage in his able speech, turned upon a passionate appeal to the pride and dignity of the English nation. He thinks proper to assume, that any thing like negotiation at present, would be a petition for mercy and forbearance from the French nation; and then he triumphantly exclaimed, with a triumphant cry, acknowledging the excellence of his argument, "Draw your petition, and where is the man, with a British heart within his bosom, who will sign it!" What unfairness is this! said Mr. Sheridan. Was there no mode between nations of demanding explanations for an injury given or meditated, but by petition? Did we petition the court of Spain in the affair of Nootka Sound? Did we petition France in the dispute respecting this very Holland in 1787?

Mr. Sheridan now proceeded to treat in a vein of pointed ridicule the opinion of Mr. Windham, that he had rather the negotiation, if it ever took place, should be a matter of necessity, and not of choice.—The question, he said, was not merely whether we should go to war or not, but on what principles, to what end, and with what confederacy we should go to war. For his part he had declared, and he hoped with sufficient fairness and frankness, that, if war must be, the defence of the country and its constitution would be the single consideration in his mind; and for that purpose, he would support the executive government, in whatever hands his Majesty placed it. But, in this declaration, he referred to a war, undertaken on the necessity,

sity, and directed to the objects stated by his majesty and his ministers. He did not refer to the crusade of chastisement and vengeance, which the zeal of some gentlemen recommended, and the clamour of the House seemed so ready to adopt. He never would consent that one English guinea should be spent, or one drop of English blood be shed to restore the ancient despotism of France, that bitterest foe which England ever knew. Sooner than support such objects, or such a project, he would rather violate the proud feelings which he shared in common with the House, and petition for peace with any concession, and almost by any sacrifice. He then declared, that, from the commencement of the revolution, he had been of opinion, that, if there had been a statesman-like administration, they would have considered the post of minister at Paris, as the situation which demanded the first and ablest talents in the country; and highly as he valued his right hon. friend, unparalleled as he thought his talents were, he should not hesitate to declare, that, as minister in Paris, there was scope and interest for the greatest mind that ever warmed the human bosom. The French had been uniformly partial, and even prejudiced in favour of the English. What manly sense, what generous feeling, communicating with them might have done, and, above all, what plain dealing might have effected, he believed was not easy to calculate; but the withholding all these from that nation in our hollow neutrality, he was sure, was an error, which would be for ever lamented.

Mr. Dundas considered the cir-

cumstance of Lord Gower's quitting Paris after the horrors of the tenth of August, as a measure which was connected not only with the dignity but the interest of Great Britain; and as for the motion before the House, he was willing to put it upon this issue.—If under the former government of France, while we had an ambassador in France, and France an ambassador here, the French government had received persons from this country complaining of the constitution, and proposing an alliance to subvert it, and given a favourable answer to such persons, what would have been the duty of his majesty's ministers? Would it not have been to recal our ambassador, and order the French ambassador to quit this country? How then could we now send an ambassador to France, when the present French government had openly and vauntingly pursued the same conduct.

Mr. Fox said, that the chief point maintained by him in making this motion, was, not that the people are always to be consulted on the expediency of going to war, but that on all occasions they ought to be truly informed what the subject of the war is. Whenever you do treat, added he, and that you must treat some time or other, nobody can deny, you must treat with the existing powers; and if you refuse to do that now, which you know must be done at some time or other, you give away the opportunity of saving Holland from a war, of preserving to her the monopoly of the Scheldt without a war, and of obtaining the revocation of that resolution of the executive council, of which I perhaps think as ill as you do.

The

The motion was negatived without a division.

At this time his majesty's ministers appear to have been in a situation as unexpected, as it is without example. It was occasioned by the disunion of the opposition party, respecting their political opinions, so that the division of the phalanx, which adhered to its old principles, declared their reprobation of ministers for employing artifices to conjure up false alarms among the people, to serve their own purposes; while the seceding part accused them of an actual neglect of duty, and a shameful want of vigilance, in a season of such apparent danger. Which of these branches of the opposition were well founded in their respective opinions, may be discovered, by referring to the situation and conduct of France at this period, and the effects of them both on our own country. France had not only denied the obligation of a treaty which had been considered as the corner stone of the balance of Europe, and repeatedly renewed; which had been coeval with the establishment of Dutch freedom, and was in fact essentially necessary to the independence of Holland; a treaty in which France could have no concern, except in fulfilling its own stipulation, to guard it against infringement; and which could only be a matter of contest between the sovereign of the Dutch republic, and the sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands. France could have interfered only from one or other of the following motives: As assuming to act as sovereign of the Netherlands; or because she proclaimed a new code of the law of nations, by which she presumed to

dictate to every country, and to model every government by her own standard. Could we then, without resigning the spirit of independent Britons, and the faith due to an ancient ally, submit to such an insolent and unjust claim as that of opening the Scheldt on the part of the French. But they affected, upon their present system, to despise all treaties, and to regard that which we are now considering as extorted by avarice, or compelled by despotism.

By the decree of the nineteenth of November, the French engaged to assist the people of every country in procuring freedom, by which they may be supposed to mean the same that they enjoy themselves. We have, however, seen French freedom in definition; we have seen it in illustration, and have now an opportunity to compare the theory with the practice. Flanders offered a curious specimen of the nature of their freedom. They had there endeavoured to propagate their doctrines; but, finding that the inhabitants were not disposed to give them such a favourable reception as they expected, they employed the method of inculcating their opinions of freedom by force. Their general had issued a proclamation, that whoever should refuse to embrace the tree of liberty, should be considered and treated as a wretch who did not deserve to live. But it has been said, that they gave an explanation with respect to this decree. But what was the explanation which they had given? They had stated, as their justification, that it was not their intention to assist a few individuals, but only to interfere where a great majority should be disposed to shake off their govern-

government. But be this as it may, nothing can be more apparent than their intention to promote rebellion in other countries, and to declare war against all established authorities. This kind of war was, in fact, an inexpiable war against all legitimate power, and was designed to terminate in its extinction. The splendour of conquest had, in former times, been considered in the respect which had been shewn to the government and rights of the conquered. The Romans, with an invariable policy and scrupulous justice, never failed to preserve the government, the habits and the customs of those nations whom they had vanquished. This mode of proceeding they considered as the best security for their conquests. For the present age, alas! had been reserved the idea of a war of extirpation; a war which tends to annihilate whatever has been held most dear, and found most valuable among mankind. This was a species of war which had never been carried on even by the most cruel despots, and is only to be exemplified in the conduct of these modern republicans, the founders of a system of what they call freedom and happiness.—But this is not all. The French are also endeavouring to propagate throughout Europe principles, as inconsistent with all established governments, as they are with the general happiness of mankind. But, however wild and extravagant their doctrines may be, they have certainly made proselytes in this country, who are active in their mischievous purposes, deeply enraged against all establishments, harbouring the most dangerous designs, and confident

Vol. xxxv.

of foreign aid. The proclamation which was made by his majesty's command, in the month of May, had produced the most beneficial effects. Men, who had been loud in their commendations of the measures of France, became more moderate and reserved; and, in proportion as the success of the combined armies against France became more probable, they sunk into discouragement and silence. After the horrid massacres of the tenth of August, their partizans seemed almost entirely to have abandoned them; but, as a melancholy proof how much, in the eyes of mankind, success constitutes the justice, and misfortune the guilt of any measure: no sooner did the tide of war turn in favour of the French, than their former supporters flung their dejected spirit from them, and resumed their courage. Sedition again broke out with augmented force: clubs and societies, established for the purpose of spreading jacobine doctrines, were formed in various parts of the kingdom, and a mode of regular communication established between them. Embassies were even sent from them to France, to congratulate the national assembly of that country on their success: and to encourage the hopes they expressed of a speedy revolution in this kingdom.

Such being the state and conduct of France, as well as the effects which had been produced by it in the country, there appears to have been sufficient grounds for that alarm, which prevailed throughout it; and to justify the means which government has employed to calm the fears and awaken the confidence of the people.

[D]

As

As to the associations which had been formed at the Crown and Anchor, and other places in London, as well as in different parts of the kingdom, by the friends of the constitution, they did not take place, till clubs and societies had multiplied, for the dangerous purposes of increasing sedition, creating anarchy, disseminating libels, and bringing into contempt the jurisprudence of the country. These associations were formed upon those genuine principles of the constitution, by which all men are bound to assist in putting the law in force, and in aiding and assisting the magistracy, in the performance of their important duty. They had no other object but to strengthen the hands of government, and, by keeping all good subjects on their guard, to prevent the insidious designs of their enemies. They were constituted for the preservation, and not for the destruction of civil and religious liberty.

That this was a period to send an ambassador to negotiate with the ruling powers, whoever or whatever they might be, with a view to prevent an impending war, is an opinion which, though supported by great talents and eloquence, met with a cold reception in parliament, and found no partizans among the people at large. It had all the ap-

pearance of a mere party question, was very generally considered, in the progress of its hasty agitation, as an impracticable and disgraceful measure, and that sentiment was soon confirmed by a circumstance which must settle all opinions upon that subject for ever. *On the very same day*, when Mr. Fox made his motion, to address his Majesty to send a minister to *France, to treat with the executive government there*, the convention published a decree, in which it takes upon itself to legislate for the human race, and in which, according to the eleventh article, the French nation declare, "*That it will treat as enemies the people who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equality, are desirous of preserving their prince and privileged casts, or of entering into an accommodation with them.*" The nation promises and engages not to lay down its arms until the sovereignty and liberty of the people, on whose territories the French armies shall have entered, shall be established; and not to consent to any arrangement or treaty with the princes, and privileged persons, so dispossessed, with whom the republic is at war." We shall in vain, says a sagacious commentator on his decree, search the annals of the world, for an edict of such rapacious, ruinous, and insulting despotism.

CHAP. II.

General Remarks. Debate on the Alien Bill in the House of Lords. Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion to send a Minister to France. Mr. Pitt's Motion to address his Majesty to communicate the Orders received by Lord Gower when he quitted Paris. Those Orders brought up by Mr. Dundas. Parliamentary Conversation thereon. Debates on the Alien Bill in the House of Commons. Assignment Bill. Bill for prohibiting Naval Stores, Arms, &c. The Corn Indemnity Bill. Messages from his Majesty relative to the Correspondence between Lord Grenville and Mr. Chauvelin. The same taken into Consideration by both Houses of Parliament. Addresses to his Majesty thereon. A Message from his Majesty to the Commons, announcing a public Declaration of War by the French against his Majesty and the United Provinces. The same taken into Consideration and an Address. His Majesty's Answer. The same Message to the Lords and an Address. Mr. Fox moves Resolutions against the War. Resolutions moved by Mr. Grey on the same Subject. Petition from the Town of Nottingham praying a Reform in Parliament. Mr. T. Grenville moves Resolutions relative to contested Elections. Motion of M. A. Taylor against the Erection of Barracks. Mr. Dundas offers to the House of Commons a Statement of the Situation of Affairs in India. Debates in both Houses of Parliament on the Slave Trade. Mr. Sheridan's Motion, relative to the Existence of Seditious Practices in this Country. General Observations.

AS the number of foreigners and aliens which were at this time in Great-Britain was very considerable, and as many of them had conducted themselves in such a manner as to justify a suspicion of their evil intentions towards this nation; it was thought a necessary measure, by his majesty's ministers, to apply to parliament, to provide for the public tranquillity, by subjecting the resort and residence of aliens to certain regulations. Accordingly, lord Grenville, on the 19th of December, brought a bill into the House of Lords for that purpose.

It must indeed be acknowledged that this bill was an extraordinary measure; but was not the country in a situation to render extraordi-

nary measures necessary? and cases might be found in history, which, though not exactly the same, bear some affinity to it. The period which appears to have produced circumstances the most similar to the present was the reign of queen Elizabeth. At that time the great and overgrown power of Philip II. agitated and alarmed every surrounding nation. Actuated not only by ambition, but by a religious fanaticism intent on the propagation of its own doctrines, its most powerful efforts were exerted against this island. Money and seditious writings, as well as forces and secret emissaries, were employed to excite plots in England, insurrections in Ireland, and attacks from Scotland against the queen; but

but they were all frustrated by the wise regulations of that princess and her councils.

When the second reading of the Alien bill was moved by lord Grenville on the 21st of December, the marquis of Lansdowne expressed a wish that government would enter into an immediate negotiation with France, for two important objects. 1st. To propose to the ruling powers in that country to receive back the people whom they had thought proper to banish, or to contribute to the means of their support in exile. The other was an object which interested every man of virtue, justice, and humanity. He alluded, he said, to the fate of the unfortunate king, whom it must be the wish of every noble lord in that house, and of every man in the nation, to save from the horrid fate which appeared to menace him. He accordingly moved two resolutions, recommending the house to address his majesty, entreating his royal interference, by way of negotiation, with the executive power of France, for the purpose of averting the fate of Louis XVI. and to receive back, or make some provision for, the French emigrants in Great-Britain.

Lord Grenville opposed the first of them with great spirit and energy. He reprobated the proposed resolution for describing the unfortunate monarch under the simple appellation of Louis XVI. which was no more than was done by those who were heaping every indignity upon him, in order to manifest their abhorrence of the kingly office, which they had sworn to maintain to him and his posterity. He was also at a loss,

from the strange and fluctuating affairs of France for some time past, to whom an ambassador must address himself. His lordship said, that he had another very substantial objection to the resolution, which was, that it contained the words, "consistent with the respect due to an independent nation," which implied at least a recognition of the government at present subsisting in that unhappy country. Besides, the opinion of this country concerning the devoted monarch was already known in France, and precluded all necessity of sending any minister or remonstrance thither.—The duke of Norfolk admitted that there was ground for the objections made by the noble secretary of state; but thought that they might be so altered as to be deemed unobjectionable. At the same time he thought that a direct communication with persons in power at Paris might be productive of the most happy consequences. He could not, however, but wish that the first motion might be withdrawn, as tending perhaps to hasten the catastrophe it was designed to avert. With this proposition the noble marquis complied. The second resolution, relative to the French emigrants, was opposed by lord Loughborough, on the principle of its being impracticable; and by the duke of Norfolk, as interfering with the internal government of France. It was accordingly negatived.

The alien bill, in its progress through the House of Lords, was supported by the dukes of Richmond, Leeds, and Portland, and the lords Carlisle, Spencer, Stormont, Hawkesbury, Loughborough, and Grenville. It was opposed

posed by the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Lansdowne, lord Guildford, and lord Lauderdale; and finally passed without a division.—As the subject of this bill was debated in a more comprehensive manner in the House of Commons, than in the Upper House, the abstract of the debates on it which we shall think it necessary to give, will be taken from those of the former.

While the House of Lords were engaged in considering this important bill, the House of Commons, among other business of moment, had been employed, with that magnanimous and humane spirit which is such a distinguished feature of the British character, in contemplating the horrid and merciless catastrophe, with which the king and royal family of France were threatened, in order, if possible to avert it.—Mr. Sheridan first suggested such an interposition, but without offering any specific proposition: Mr. Fox supported his friend's suggestion, and the conversation which the union of such eloquence rendered truly affecting, ended in a motion from Mr. Pitt, to address his majesty to communicate the orders lord Gower received when he quitted Paris, after the deposition of their most Christian majesties.

On the following day the communication from his majesty was brought up by Mr. Dundas, and consisted of the copy of instructions sent to lord Gower, dated August 17, 1792.

“ My Lord,

“ In lord Grenville's absence I have received and laid before the king your last dispatches.

“ His Majesty has been very deeply afflicted in receiving the information of the extent and the deplorable consequences of the troubles which have happened in Paris, as well on account of his personal attachment to their most Christian Majesties, and the interest that he has always taken in their welfare, as for the earnest desire he has for the tranquillity and prosperity of a kingdom, with which he is on terms of friendship.

“ As it also appears, that in the present state of affairs, the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his most Christian Majesty, the credentials which have hitherto been made use of by your excellency can no longer be valid. His Majesty is therefore of opinion, that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on this account, as because this step appears to him the most conformable to the principles of neutrality which he has hitherto observed. His Majesty's pleasure therefore is, that you should quit that city, and return to England, as soon as you shall have been able to procure the necessary passports for that purpose.

“ In all the conversations that you may have occasion to hold before your departure, you will take care to express yourself in a manner conformable to the sentiments herein communicated to you; and you will take especial care not to neglect any opportunity of declaring, that at the same time his Majesty means to observe the principles of neutrality in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal government of France, he does not conceive that he departs from those principles in manifesting,

nifesting, by every possible means in his power, his solicitude for the personal safety of their most Christian Majesties, and the royal family. He most earnestly hopes that his wishes in that respect will not be deceived; that the royal family will be preserved from every act of violence: the commission of which would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout all Europe.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
"HENRY DUNDAS."

Mr. Pitt suggested to the House, whether a vote passed on the occasion, and framed in those indignant terms which became them might not, in the present furious temper of the French people, serve to disguise the atrocity of their conduct, and hurry them on to the commission of that very crime, which it is the object of that House to avert. He should, therefore, do no more than propose, that the paper which had been graciously communicated to them might be laid on the table of the House.

Mr. Fox expressed his concurrence with the minister's proposition. It was better, he said, that we should proceed no further, than we should engage ourselves too deeply. He thought the proceedings against the king of France to be highly unjust, and not only repugnant to all the common feelings of mankind, but also contrary to all the fundamental principles of law: for he regarded it as a principle of natural justice, an essential part of all human policy never to be departed from under any circumstances or pretence whatever in any country, "That the criminal law shall be rigidly

"construed according to its letter; that subsequent laws shall be adapted to crimes, but that all persons shall be tried according to the laws in being, at the time of committing the acts charged as criminal." If there was a point on which his opinion was more clear than on any other, it was upon the abstract rule of justice with respect to the trial of persons for offences against law, and he was sure it was impossible to keep up that rule without condemning, from the beginning to the end, the proceedings against the unfortunate king of France.

On the second reading of the Alien bill Mr. Secretary Dundas rose to state the objects of it. He observed, that so very great and extraordinary an influx of foreigners into this country must, at any time, have called for the attention of government, and rendered some measures on their part necessary. That attention was still more requisite, and the necessity of adopting some particular measures was still more urgent, when it was considered that this influx of foreigners had come from a country which had lately been the scene of very extraordinary transactions; where their constitution had been overthrown, the most convulsive proceedings taken place, and actions of the most dreadful enormity been perpetrated. In these transactions a very great number of the people, either from compulsion or inclination, had taken an active part. It was likewise to be considered, that the revolution which had been brought about was not confined to the country itself where it had first originated; that it af-
fected

fecting the whole of Europe, and was connected with principles which were directed against every government, and consequently against the government of this country. It became then a matter of serious attention, if the foreigners who had come into this country were influenced by those principles; and it was his duty not to conceal from the House, that many of those who had fled from their own country were liable to suspicion; many indeed had fled from persecution, and had come hither for refuge from those scenes of calamity and violence which they were compelled to witness in their own country; but there were likewise many of a different description; many who had been engaged in those very transactions of cruelty and outrage which, he was confident, none would set their face to defend. And this was not all: it became matter of still more serious consideration, since there had been found men in this country so infatuated as to have adopted those very principles which, in the country where they originated, had overthrown the constitution, and which were inimical to the principles of every government. There existed likewise those, in the acting government of that neighbouring country, who encouraged the addresses of the discontented and disaffected in this against our constitution, and who published decrees tending to favour their views, and flatter them with hopes of support. When he had stated those circumstances, he trusted that it would not be thought that there was not sufficient ground for some degree of caution in the present

moment. If it was allowed that there was ground for some measures to be taken, it would then only remain to be determined how far the measures brought forward by ministers, on the present occasion, were too strong or too excessive.

He then briefly stated the several active clauses of the bill. It was intended, in the first instance, to make all foreigners, arriving in the kingdom, give an account of themselves; to make them explain or give up such arms as they may have in their possession; he did not mean such arms as were natural for men or gentlemen to wear, but such as might naturally excite suspicion against the owners. It was also intended, that, in their several removals through the country, they should use passports, by which their actual residence, or occasional movements, might be notorious. For the same reason it was also intended to distribute those who received support into certain districts, where also they would be more liable to the cognizance of the civil power. Finally, it was proposed to pay particular attention to those foreigners who have come within the present year, or who may hereafter come without obvious reasons, and thus be rendered more liable to suspicion. He then entered into a detail of the particular regulations of the bill, which he concluded with stating, that he hoped the general principles upon which it was founded would, in the present circumstances, be considered as moderate and requisite to the safety of the state, and not giving a power to the executive government greater than the occasion justified. He added,

added, that as this bill was grounded on suspicion, and authorising the executive government to act upon that principle, it would be impossible, with any degree of propriety, to lay open the particular sources of information.

The debate which ensued was chiefly interesting from the apologies made by some of those members, who now ceased to act together, and was very remarkable for that very splendid, though desultory speech of Mr. Burke, in which, to enforce his account of the three thousand daggers manufactured at Birmingham, he threw down one of them on the floor of the House, and bid them look to it, as a sample of the fruits to be obtained by an alliance with France. At the same time, he exclaimed with great vehemence, that he would, to the utmost of his power, keep French infection from our country, their principles from our minds, and their daggers from our hearts.

On the motion of the third reading of the bill, it was supported by the marquis of Titchfield, the lords Mulgrave, Beauchamp, and Fielding, the hon. T. Grenville, Mr. Windham, Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Mitford, and Mr. Pitt. It was opposed by lord Wycombe, Mr. Grey, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Major Maitland and Mr. Fox. As the speeches of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox may be supposed to comprehend the commanding strength of argument on either side, we shall confine ourselves on the subject of this debate to extracts from them.

Mr. Fox said, that whatever progress the doctrines of France might make in other countries, they would make but little here, where rational liberty was enjoyed and understood.

He founded his hopes of this on his own opinion of the constitution, and the attachment of the people to it, and the event had justified his hopes instead of the fears of some other persons. If real danger had existed, if those from whom it was apprehended had been proceeding to action, if they had been rising in arms, if they had been going to take possession of the tower, then indeed calling out the militia would have been a wise and a necessary measure.* But if no such act was impending, to what purpose was a military force prepared? To repel opinion? Opinions were never yet driven out of a country by pikes, and swords, and guns. Against them the militia was no defence. How then were they to be met if they existed? By contempt, if they were absurd; by argument, if specious; by prosecutions, if they were seditious; although that certainly was not a mode which he would recommend, but it was a mode which ministers had before resorted to, and which they had still in their power. If, then, no act, founded on these opinions, was believed to be committed or intended, they who voted against the address on the first day of the session were right, for no good ground had been laid for the measures which they were called upon to approve. Could not ministers have prosecuted Paine without an army? Was any apprehension stated that the trial would not be suffered to go in the usual course? He had been asked by a learned gentleman whether or not a book with an evil tendency was to be declared innocent, because not coupled with any act, and without proof of extrinsic circumstances?

His

His answer was, certainly not, but the evil tendency must be proved. Sometimes the evil tendency might be evident from the book itself; sometimes it might not, without being coupled with extrinsic circumstances; and where this was the case, the extrinsic circumstances must be proved to the satisfaction of the jury before they were warranted in pronouncing guilty. The alarm then on the propagation of opinions could not justify the remedy which ministers had adopted, especially when it was coupled with a false assertion of insurrections; and therefore, if it did not create, it certainly augmented the alarm.

Another ground of alarm was the progress of the French arms. They who represented him as indifferent to that progress, did him great injustice. He was by no means so. He thought the same national spirit that under Louis XIV. had threatened the liberties of all Europe, might influence, and actually had influenced, the conduct of the French at present; and he might perhaps think that this national spirit was more likely to collect and act now than at the time to which he alluded.

He was clearly of opinion, that the navigation of the Scheldt, if not guaranteed to the Dutch, by the letter of the treaty of 1788, was virtually guaranteed to them by that treaty; and, if they insisted upon it, would be a good *casus fœderis* for going to war. Nor did he hesitate to declare, that, however he might disapprove any treaty at the time it was negotiating, when it was to be as religiously adhered to by those who disapproved of it as by those who made it. Hav-

ing discriminated the internal and external danger, he would ask how the measures that had been adopted were the proper remedy? If considered distinctly, either the measure or the mode did not apply. If connected, the remedy for the one was no remedy for the other. If France threatened to invade Holland, or refused an explanation of the offensive decree, calling out the militia would be right; but for crushing objectionable opinions or doctrines, assuredly not. He knew not how to fight an opinion, nor did history furnish him with instruction. The opinions of Luther and of Calvin had been combated by arms; there was no want of war, no want of blood, no want of confederacies of princes, to extirpate them. Were they extirpated? No; they had spread and flourished by bloodshed and persecution.

Melancholy, however, as the prospect was, Mr. Fox declared, that he saw more danger from pushing the present alarm too far, making the people see the picture all on one side, the danger of anarchy only, while they were inattentive to the abuses and encroachments of the executive power on the other. If the bill was intended to guard us against internal danger, while we were at war with France, we knew that in 1715 and 1745, the French had not been sparing of attempts to sow dissensions and excite rebellion in the country; and yet we had, by the commercial treaty, provided for the protection of Aliens of both countries, even after an actual declaration of war. Did it guard against the introduction of opinions? No. We had not yet come to the measure of prohibiting all French books and papers,

papers, which Spain had adopted. But these opinions were propagated by conversation. What then, did a Frenchman when he landed, find an audience to understand the terms of his philosophy, and immediately open a sort of Tusculan disputation? In short, if they were propagated at all, it must be by English agents, and these, if any such there were, would remain in the kingdom, if every foreigner was sent out of it.

The preamble of the bill was a complete delusion, for it stated the extraordinary resort of aliens to this country as the pretence of the bill, while every body knew that extraordinary resort to be occasioned by circumstances that had no connection with it. With respect to the emigrants, among whom it was meant to make a distinction by the bill, he would protect those who had fallen a sacrifice to their opinions in favour of the old government of France; not because he approved of their principles, but because he respected their misfortunes. With regard to those who suffered for their attachment to the new constitution, he had heard it said by a person of high rank, that if La Fayette were here, he ought to be sent out of the country. Was this to be endured? Was it fit to vest any ministers with such a power, merely in the hope that they would not abuse it? The third description, those who had fled for fear of punishment, for being concerned in the detestable massacre of the 2d of September, all men would wish to see removed; but this was a sufficient ground for a particular law. The horrors of that day ought not to be mentioned as the act of the French go-

vernment, or the French people, for both disclaimed it: but to disclaim was not enough. That the crime was not prevented or followed up by striking examples of punishment, would be an indelible disgrace to Paris and to France: but were we to go to war on account of these inhuman murders? No war could be rational that had not some object, which being obtained, made way for peace.

The prerogative of the crown to send foreigners out of the kingdom, said to be left untouched by the bill, ought not to remain in doubt. The single instance produced from the reign of Henry the Fourth was counterbalanced by another in the same reign, when the king did the same thing by the authority of parliament which he had done before by his own power. He believed that the prerogative did not exist, and if it did, that it was too dangerous to be suffered to remain. If, on the other hand, it was a prerogative for the good of the people: if, indeed, the word people was not expunged from our political dictionary: the good of the people being the only foundation that he knew for any prerogative, it was fit that it should be clearly defined and understood, either by an enacting or a declaratory law.

Mr. Pitt considered the present bill as a measure of precaution, no less fair when there occurred an occasion that called for it, than an augmentation of the naval or military force of the country: it was founded in facts of notoriety, and the most evident deductions of reasoning. If he was called upon to state the particular grounds upon which the bill was founded, the only

only difficulty which he should find was, that these grounds were in themselves far greater than the magnitude of the measure. If he should only state, that by some extraordinary occurrence, some unforeseen and inevitable calamity of nature, great numbers of foreigners had come into this country without the means of subsistence, without being brought for any purposes of commerce, or without any possibility of discrimination, even this he should consider as affording a sufficient object of jealousy and attention: but when it appeared that these came from a country whose principles were inimical to the peace and order of every other government; and though many of them, no doubt, had fled here in order to find a refuge from the sword of persecution, there was but too much reason to suspect, that among these had mingled emissaries for prey, regard for our own interests, and for the safety of the country, enforced the necessity of peculiar vigilance.

In addition to all these circumstances, we find, that, in the councils of that country, from which these persons had come, there had been adopted a system of propagating, by every means of art and force, principles inimical to the government of every country, and that they were now actually carrying on a war against the established governments of other countries, under the specious pretext of promoting the cause of freedom. When he had stated these circumstances, would it be said that the present bill had been brought forward without any evidence, or ground of danger. But he now came to the climax of all. In this

country itself there had been found persons who professed the same principles with those maintained in the councils of that neighbouring state, and held out the model of their government as an object of applause and imitation; nay, who had industriously propagated, and publicly avowed, that they acted with them in concert: they had held a correspondence with the affiliated societies of jacobins; they had presented addresses to the convention, and had there been received, encouraged, and cherished, and had, in return, met with offers of fraternity and succour. Was there then not reason to suppose, that persons might have been sent to this country with a view of carrying on that concert? Was not this obvious to the understanding and feelings of every honourable gentleman present? He should state nothing from his own personal information, as he considered that there was, in the present instance, sufficient ground of action and decision without such information: he should only, in general, say, that, as far as he had opportunity of knowing, he had reason to be confirmed in every suspicion, which arose from that situation of affairs which he had now described.

Mr. Pitt expressed his surprise, that Mr. Fox, in the present instance, should separate domestic from external danger. He should have considered the domestic alarm as sufficient ground for the present bill; much more when the consideration of external danger was added to it; yet, after all that has been stated, there are some who pretend to tell us, that they fear no internal alarm, that they see no cause of danger. Notwithstanding the

the general sentiment of the country, and of that House, they have the hardihood to treat the whole as the effect of ministerial artifice. Had ministerial artifice made those who had hitherto acted upon a system of opposition, now concur in the opinion of this danger? Had it made all the members of that House, except ten or fifteen, agree in the same sentiment? Had ministerial artifice excited but one opinion in the country with respect to this danger? But it was said, that the alarm had been produced by the measures of calling out the militia, and assembling parliament. He would ask whether the week before these measures had been adopted, the appearance of alarm had been greater or less than the week before, or at the present moment. He had expected that his exertions, on the present occasion, would be seconded by the efforts of the friends of order; but he could hardly expect that the effect could be so great, as that the alarm, which had lately prevailed in some places, to a degree of despondency, should be so completely annihilated, that even the existence of the danger should, in a short time after, be called in question. At the same time he hoped, that the effect produced would not be a sense of security, which must be fatal. While vigilance was maintained, he should consider the country to be in a state of safety. The Alien bill was now read a third time and passed.

While this bill was in its progress through both Houses of Parliament, another measure, which may be, in some measure, considered as connected with it, was brought before the House of Commons by the Attorney General, who moved,

December 26, for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the circulation of assignats, bonds, promissory notes, &c. issued under the authority of France; which, after some trifling opposition from Mr. M. A. Taylor, was passed into a law. About the same time, another bill was passed, to enable his Majesty to restrain the exportation of naval stores, particularly salt-petre, arms, and ammunition.

An order of council having been issued for preventing the exportation of corn to France, an act of indemnity, as is usual on such occasions, passed the Commons on the 26th of December, and afterwards received the royal assent.

We cannot be altogether inattentive to the official junction which Lord Loughborough now formed with his Majesty's ministers. January 26th, 1793, this nobleman was called by his Majesty to succeed Lord Thurlow on the Chancery bench.

The momentous business which next engaged the attention of parliament, was a message from his Majesty, presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Dundas, the 28th of January, 1793.

“GEORGE R.

“His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons, copies of several papers, which have been received from Mr. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian King, by his Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; and likewise copy of an order made by his Majesty in council, and transmitted by his Majesty's commands to the said Mr. Chauvelin, in consequence
of

of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

"In the present situation of affairs, his Majesty thinks it indispensibly necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the House of Commons to enable his Majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjecture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions; for supporting his allies; and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are particularly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

The House agreed to take the above message into consideration on the first of February. That business, however, was deferred to the following day, when Mr. Pitt commenced this important debate. He said, amidst the many important objects arising from the message of his Majesty, which now came to be considered, there was one which particularly called for their attention. That attention, indeed, could not fail to be separately directed to that calamitous event (the murder of the French King) that act of outrage to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity; an act which, in this country, and the whole of Europe, had excited but one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence, and could not fail to excite the same sentiments in every civilized nation. He should, indeed, better consult his own feel-

ings, and those of the House, could he draw a veil over this melancholy event. It was, in all its circumstances, so full of grief and horror, that it must be a wish, in which all united, to tear it, if possible, from their memories, to expunge it from the page of history, and remove it for ever from the observation and comments of mankind.

*Excidat ille dies avo, neu postera credant
Secula! nos certe taceamus, et obruta
multa
Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.*

Such, he continued, were the words applied by an author of their own, to an occasion (the massacre of St. Bartholomew) which had always been deemed the standing reproach of the French nation, and the horrors and cruelties of which had only been equalled by those atrocious and sanguinary proceedings which had been witnessed in some late instances. But, whatever might be their feelings of indignation and abhorrence with respect to that dreadful and inhuman event, to which he had set out with calling their attention; that event now was past; it was impossible that the present age should not now be contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it, or that the breath of tradition should be prevented from handing it down to posterity. They could now only enter their solemn protestation against that event, as contrary to every sentiment of justice and humanity, as violating the most sacred authority of laws, and the strongest principles of natural feeling. Hence, however, they might derive an useful theme for reflection—a lesson of salutary warning. For in this dreadful transaction, they saw concentrated the effect of those
those

those principles pushed to the utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of legislation by which society was held together, which were established in opposition to every law, divine and human, and presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to enlarge on the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of this country, where equal protection is extended to all, and where there exists so high a sum of human felicity. He then briefly contrasted it with the situation of France, and entered, without any preliminary observations, on the consideration of the papers which had been laid upon the table.

It would appear, he said, from the first paper, that the system on which his majesty had uniformly acted, was founded on the very principles, which had afterwards dictated the necessity of making preparations. His majesty had declined taking any part in the internal government of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. When he took that wise, generous, and disinterested resolution he had reason to expect, that the French would, in return, have respected the rights of himself, and his allies, and most of all, that they would not have attempted any internal interference in this country. A paper on the table contained on their part a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this

paper they disclaimed all views of aggrandizement; they gave assurances of their good conduct to neutral nations; they protested against their entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of the country, or making any attempts to excite insurrection, upon the express ground (stated in the paper) that such interference, and such attempts, would be a violation of the law of nations. They had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentence upon their own conduct; and the event of this evening's discussion would decide, whether that sentence would be confirmed by those who had actually been injured. During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe, nor did he, by the smallest act, give any reason to suspect his adherence to that system.

But what, he would ask, was the conduct of the French?—Had they also faithfully observed their part of the agreement, and adhered to the assurances which, on the ground of his majesty's neutrality they had given, to reject all views of aggrandizement, not to interfere with neutral nations, and to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies? What had been their conduct would very soon appear from the statement of facts. They had immediately shewed how little sincere they were in their first assurances, by discovering intentions to pursue a system of the most unlimited aggrandizement, if they were not opposed and checked in their career. The first instance of their
success

success in Savoy had been sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately adopted the course to annex it for ever to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same, wherever they should carry their arms. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree, they had stated their plan of overturning every government ; and substituting their own ; they threatened destruction to all who should not be inclined to adopt their system of freedom ; and, by an horrid mockery, offered fraternization, where, if it was refused, they were determined to employ force, and to propagate their principles where that mode should fail, by the mouths of their cannon. They established, in their instructions to the commissioners whom they appointed to enforce the decree, with respect to the countries entered by their armies, a standing revolutionary order : they instituted a system of organizing disorganization. And what was the reason which they assigned for all this ? "The period of freedom," said they, "must soon come ; we must then endeavour, by all means in our power, to accomplish it now ; for should this freedom be accomplished by other nations, what then will become of us ? Shall we then be safe ?"—A question they might well put, for well might they entertain doubts of their safety.—They had rendered the Netherlands a province in substance as well as name, entirely dependent on France. That system, pursued by the jacobine societies, in concert with their correspondents, had given a more fatal blow to liberty, than any which had ever

been suffered from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarchs.

To shew in what manner the French had conducted themselves towards neutral nations, he need only refer to the decree of the 19th of November, which had already been so often mentioned, and so amply discussed. He should, from a compilation, which contained a collection of addresses transmitted by certain English clubs and societies to the National Convention of France, which concentrated in one point of view, all the grounds of offence which the French had given to this country, read an extract from this decree. He then read that passage in which the French grant fraternity to all those people who should be desirous to gain their freedom, and offer them assistance for that purpose.—Some pretended explanations of this decree had indeed been given, but they contained an avowal and a repetition of the offence.

Mr. Pitt acknowledged that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the support of this country, in order to enable them to maintain their right to the exclusive navigation of that river. But might there not be prudential reasons for not making this requisition on their part, very different from those which should induce this country to withhold its support ? When the French opened the Scheldt, the Dutch entered their solemn protest against that invasion of their rights, which left them at liberty, at any time, to take it up as an act of hostility. If, from the sudden progress of the French arms, and the circumstance of their forces being at their very door, they,

they, either from prudence or fear, did not think proper to take it up as an immediate commencement of hostilities : because they had been timid, would England think itself entitled to leave its allies, already involved in a situation of imminent danger, to that certain ruin to which they were exposed, in consequence of a system, the principles of which threatened also destruction to England, to Europe, and to the whole of mankind?—Thus, in all those three assurances which they had given of their intention to reject any system of aggrandizement, to abstain from interfering in the government of any neutral country, and to respect the rights of his majesty and of his allies, they had entirely failed, and in every respect completely reversed that line of conduct, which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. As to their explanations, they contained nothing that either afforded any compensation for the past, or was at all satisfactory with respect to the future. On the 27th of December M. Chauvelin, on the part of the executive council, had presented the note complaining of the injurious construction of the decree of the 19th of November. On the 31st of December a member of that executive council (minister of the marine) addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the sea-ports; from which he would now read some passages :

“ The government of England is arming, and the king of Spain, encouraged by this is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on

the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us : but no—a people who has made itself free—a people who has driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and the Austrians—the people will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant.

“ The king and his parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Well! we will fly to their succour,—we will make a descent in the island—we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren—the tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed.”

Mr. Pitt called the attention of the House to this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and the parliament, and to the nature of that present which was intended to be made them. While such declarations were made, what could be thought of any explanations which were pretended to be given, or what credit was due to the assertions, that they entertained no intentions hostile to the government of this country. It was not probable, he added, that a war could be avoided ; and that war was preferable to a peace, which could neither be consistent with the internal tranquillity nor external safety of the country. He concluded by moving that an humble address be presented to his Majesty to the above effect.

Lord

Lord Beauchamp entered at length, and with great accuracy, into an account of the conduct of the French in the progress of their late conquests, and stated the probable consequences of them to our own country and to Europe. His Lordship seconded the motion.

Earl Wycombe conceived it to be his most indispensable duty to use every argument in his power to prevent a war. The country, he insisted, was in no danger whatever, being equally secured by its insular situation, its internal resources, and the strong attachment of the people to the constitution. As to the navigation of the Scheldt, he considered the opening of it as likely to produce great advantage to our commerce and manufactures, by affording them a new and more ready channel of communication with the continent of Europe. As for French principles, he had no idea to war against them: and with respect to the cruelties perpetrated in France, he attributed them to the infamous expedition of the duke of Brunswick, which might be called a fraternity of kings for the purpose of imposing despotism on all Europe. He considered the balance of power in Europe as a political fiction, a cover for any interference that caprice might dictate; and, consequently, by no means a fit inducement to engage in war. His Lordship then proceeded to consider the great accumulation of public burthens which must inevitably attend upon war, and gave a decided negative to the motion.

Mr. Whitbread, jun. after execrating the conduct of the National Convention respecting the murder of Louis XVI. enlarged upon

VOL. XXXV.

the manifestos of the duke of Brunswick, and considered that an equal degree of criminality might be justly attributed to the distinct powers who confined Mr. La Fayette in a prison, and consigned Louis XVI. to the scaffold. He did not think that war was justifiable upon any grounds stated in the papers on the table; nor would he allow that ministers had done their utmost to avert the calamity. After acknowledging that the decree of the 19th of November was not defensible, he entered at large upon the subject of a balance which he did not think could justify our entering into a war. He thought it an hard necessity that Great Britain should be forced to go to war to maintain to the Dutch the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt; at the same time he was decidedly for supporting the faith of treaties, where the *casus fœderis* was clearly defined. Mr. Whitbread concluded with refusing his assent to the address.

Mr. Anstruther entered on the various objects of the message in succession, and endeavoured to save the duke of Brunswick from the charge which had been so frequently made against him, of being the origin of the murders and mas-acres in France, by the observation, that it was not their enemies whom the French had murdered, but their brethren. He most heartily concurred in the motion for the address.

Mr. Fox, after execrating in very pointed terms the murder of Louis XVI. said, that the various topics which the minister had introduced into the debate, were brought forward to blind the judgment, by rousing the passions, and were none

[E]

of

of them the just grounds of war.— They were three—the danger of Holland, the decree of the Convention of the 19th of November, and the general danger of Europe from the progress of the French arms.

With respect to Holland, the conduct of ministers afforded a fresh proof of their disingenuousness. They could not state that the Dutch had called upon us to fulfil the terms of our alliance. They were obliged to confess, that no such requisition had been made; but added, that they knew the Dutch were very much disposed to make it. Whatever might be the words of the treaty, we were bound in honour, by virtue of that treaty, to protect the Dutch, if they called upon us to do so; but neither by honour nor the treaty, till then.

This he by no means construed into giving up the opening of the Scheldt on their part; but it pretty clearly shewed, that they were not disposed to make it the cause of a war, unless forced to do so by us. But France had broke faith with the Dutch; was this a cause for us to go to war? How long was it since we considered a circumstance tending to diminish the good understanding between France and Holland, as a misfortune to this country! The plain state of the matter was, that we were bound to save Holland from war, or by war, if called upon; and that to force the Dutch into a war at so much peril to them, which they saw and dreaded, was not to fulfil, but to abuse the treaty.

The decree of the 19th of November, he considered as an insult; and the explanation of the executive council as no adequate satisfaction; but the explanation shewed

that the French were not disposed to insist upon that decree, and that they were inclined to peace; and then our ministers, with haughtiness unexampled, told them, they had insulted us, but refused to tell them the nature of the satisfaction that we required. It was said, we must have security; and he was ready to admit, that neither a disavowal by the executive council of France, nor a tacit repeal by the convention, on the intimation of an unacknowledged agent, of a decree, which they might renew the day after they repealed it, would be a sufficient security. But at least we ought to tell them what we meant by security, for it was the extreme of arrogance to complain of insult, without deigning to explain what reparation we required: and he feared an indefinite term was here employed, not for the purpose of obtaining, but of precluding satisfaction. Next it was said, they must withdraw their troops from the Austrian Netherlands, before we could be satisfied. Were we then to come to that pitch of insolence, as to say to France, "You have conquered part of an enemy's territory, who made war upon you, we will not interfere to make peace, but we require you to abandon the advantages you have gained, while he is preparing to attack you anew." Was this the neutrality we intended to hold out to France?—"If you are invaded and beaten, we will be quiet spectators; but if you hurt your enemy, if you enter his territory, we declare against you." If the invasion of the Netherlands was what alarmed us so much, and that it ought to alarm us, if the result was to make the country an appendage to France, there

there could be no doubt we ought to have interposed to prevent it in the very first instance; for it was the natural consequence which every man foresaw, of a war between France and Austria. The French now said, they would evacuate the country at the conclusion of the war, and when its liberties were established. Was this sufficient? by no means: but we ought to tell them what we would deem sufficient, instead of saying to them, as we were now saying, "this is an aggravation, this is nothing, and this is insufficient." That war is unjust which tells not an enemy the ground of provocation, and the measure of atonement: it was also as impolitic as unjust; for without the object of contest, clearly and definitively stated, what opening could there be for treating of peace? Besides, before we engage in a war with France, it is but right, surely, that the people, who must pay and must suffer, ought to be informed on what object they were to fix their hopes for its honourable termination. After five or six years passed in war, the French might agree to evacuate the Netherlands as the price of peace; and was it clear they would not do so now, if we would condescend to propose it in intelligible terms? The experiment appeared, at least, to be worth a trial: but then we have no security against the French principles: surely we have the same security now, which they would be able to give us at the conclusion of a war.

With respect to the general danger of Europe, the same arguments applied, and to the same extent. To the general situation and security of Europe, we had been shame-

fully inattentive: we had seen the entire conquest of Poland, and the invasion of France, with such marked indifference, that it would be difficult now to take it up with the grace of sincerity: but even this would be better provided for, by proposing terms before we absolutely engaged in war.

Having thus contended, that none of the professed causes were grounds for going to war, Mr. Fox asked, what then remained but the internal government of France, always disavowed, but ever kept in mind, and constantly mentioned! The destruction of that government was the avowed object of the combined powers, whom it was hoped we were to join. To this then we came at last, that we were ashamed to own engaging to aid the restoration of despotism, and conclusively sought pretexts in the Scheldt and the Netherlands. Such would be the real cause of a war, if war we were to have, which he hoped soon to see as generally executed, as it now appeared to be popular. He knew, that for this wish, he should be represented as holding up the internal government of France, as an object for imitation. He thought the present state of government in France nothing less; but he maintained, as a principle inviolable, that the government of every independent state was to be settled by those who were to live under it, and not by foreign force. The conduct of the French in the Netherlands, was the same with such a war, as he was now deprecating. It was a war of pikes and bayonets, against opinions; it was the tyranny of giving liberty by compulsion; it was an attempt to introduce a system among a people

[E 2]

by

by force, which the more it was forced upon them, the more they abhorred. The French appeared less moderate, from pretending to be more so, than other nations; by overturning the ancient government, and imposing theories of their own, on a people who disliked them, while they pretended to liberate, instead of using their right of conquest. But was this such a crime in the eyes of Europe? As was said of the woman caught in adultery, which of the courts, would that of London or Berlin cast the first stone? The states of Brabant, they were told, had, *pacta conventa*, a legal and free government of their own. But were the states free under the house of Austria, under Joseph, Leopold, or Francis? O yes! for when Dumourier was triumphantly entering Brussels, and the Austrian governors making their escape at a postern, they sent back a declaration to the states, restoring their *magna charta*, the *joyeuse entrée*, which had been the perpetual subject of dispute with their sovereign, and which all their remonstrances could never obtain before. This was the government that acted with such honour to its subjects, and put the French to shame. He feared, that if they were to examine the conduct of foreign powers, in point of honour and good faith, they must be compelled to speak less civilly of them than policy would dictate. Why, then, had he touched upon it? Because the conduct of France was perpetually introduced to inflame and delude, and it was his duty to dispel the delusion, by shewing that it was not more execrable than that of its neighbours.

Mr. Fox then argued from the consequences that might result to Holland, and the actual state of Ireland, that we ought not to engage in a war with France. He afterwards proceeded to consider the principles which had been reprobated on the proposed address; it was not the principles, he said, which were bad, but the abuse of them. From the abuse, not the principles, had flowed all the evils that afflicted France. The use of the word equality by the French was deemed highly objectionable. When taken as they meant it, nothing was more innocent; for what did they say, "all men are equal in respect of their rights." To this he assented; all men had equal rights, equal rights to unequal things; one man to a shilling, another to a thousand pounds; one man to a cottage, another to a palace; but the right in both was the same; an equal right of enjoying, an equal right of inheriting or acquiring, and of possessing inheritance or acquisition.

The effect of the proposed address was to condemn, not the abuse of those principles, (and the French had much abused them,) but the principles themselves. To this he could not assent, for they were the principles on which all just and equitable government was founded.

He considered the atheism of France, if the French were atheists, as a ridiculous ground for war; and that, if we engaged in it to propagate the Christian religion, it should not be by a conduct contrary to the religion of Christ. He concluded, by exculpating himself, with great spirit, from the calumniating accusation of his being a partizan

partizan of France, and in correspondence with persons in that country.

Mr. Windham replied to Mr. Fox.—It had been said, he observed, that no specific object had been held out for which this country should go to war; nor in his opinion could it always happen, that, previous to entering upon a war, the precise object which was to lead to its termination should be distinctly known. At present we go to war for the security of this country, to attain which would be the object of the war, though it might be impossible to say how or when that was to be obtained: in the same way, when a person is attacked by a ruffian, the object is to escape, though it may be uncertain by what means that may be accomplished. In his opinion, from the present declared dispositions of the French, war was inevitable, and the only choice left us was the time, and he thought it by no means prudent to wait till they were ready to attack us. He conceived the French to be actuated by as great a spirit of conquest at present as they had ever been. War might, no doubt, occasion some discontents in this country; but impressed, as he was, that war was absolutely inevitable, neither that consideration, nor the calamities necessarily attending it, and which were always much to be regretted, bore at all upon his mind. His opinion of the views of the French, founded upon the whole tenour of their conduct for the last three or four years, could hardly be changed by any argument; and from thence conceiving it impossible that war could be avoided, he thought it should be undertaken

when it might probably be most effectually carried on; negotiation might, no doubt, be tried, but he had no hope that it would do any good.

Mr. Windham then proceeded to state strongly his ideas of the great danger of the propagation of French principles; and that opinions and principles, supported and propagated by arms, behoved to be opposed by arms. In his idea, the conquest of Britain by Louis XVI. would by no means have been a calamity equal to the propagation of French principles. In the one case, our persons might perhaps have been safe; all morality, order, and religion, would be totally overthrown in the other. This would be a war *pro aris & focis* to the greatest extent.

With respect to the Duke of Brunswick's expedition, which had been called the cause of despots, he confessed that he had wished them success, from the belief that the evil which that expedition was undertaken to remove was greater than any which could be apprehended from its success. He could, by no means, he said, join with Mr. Fox in his approbation of French principles, considered abstractedly; for they appeared to him as false in theory as in practice.—Who, he asked, ever expected advantages from war? But great as is the evil of war, he observed, that there must be a still greater evil; namely, the occasion of it. As to the idea that nothing but extirpation could effect the most desirable object of the war, that was viewing the matter in too dreadful a light: it might rather be hoped, that a people, who had of late so often changed their opinion, would again

again be induced to alter it, and to adopt sentiments more consistent with the good order of all governments, and the general tranquillity of Europe, as well as more conducive to their own happiness.

The motion for the address was carried without a division.

On the 28th of January, the marquis of Stafford presented to the House of Lords a message from his majesty, similar to that presented to the House of Commons; and on the first of February that message was taken into consideration by their lordships.

As we have given so large an extract from the very able debate in the House of Commons on this motion, we shall only observe, that it was supported in the House of Peers, by the Lords Grenville, Darnley, Carlisle, Portchester, Kin-noul, Stormont, and the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough; and opposed by the Lords Stanhope, Lauderdale, Derby, and the marquis of Lansdowne; when it was carried without a division.

It might here be expected that the preceding debates would have produced some reflections from us respecting the apparent views of France, and the probable designs of the British ministry: but we shall reserve our opinions on the subject of this chapter, to the conclusion of it. Instead of making observations on the possibility of preserving peace, we are called upon to record a declaration of war: but whether it was ignorantly or arrogantly provoked by the British government, or madly decreed by the French convention, will be the subject of our future and very attentive consideration.

On the 11th of February Mr.

Secretary Dundas brought up a message from his majesty to the House of Commons*.

On the 12th of February his majesty's message was taken into consideration.

Mr. Pitt said, whatever difference of opinion might formerly have existed with respect to subjects, on which, however, the great majority both of that House and the nation had coincided in sentiment, whatever doubts might be entertained as to the interest which this country had in the recent transactions on the continent, whatever question might be made of the satisfaction to which this country was intitled, or whatever question might be made of the mode of conduct which had been pursued by government, which lately had not been carried so far as to produce even a division; yet when the situation in which we now stood was considered, when those circumstances which had occurred to produce an alteration in the state of affairs since the last address, were taken into the account, he could not doubt but that there would be one unanimous sentiment and voice expressed on the present occasion. The question now was, not what degree of danger or insult we should find it necessary to repel, from a regard to our safety, or from a sense of honour; the question now was, not whether we should adopt in our measures a system of promptitude and vigour, or of tameness and procrastination; whether we should sacrifice every other consideration to the continuance of an uncertain and insecure peace? When war was declared, and the event no longer in our option, it remained only to be considered,

* See State Papers, p. 133.

sidered, whether we should prepare to meet it with a firm determination, and support his majesty's government with zeal and courage against every attack. War now was not only declared, but carried on at our very doors; a war which aimed at an object no less destructive than the total ruin of the freedom and independence of this country.

After having taken a view of the situation of the country at the time of his majesty's last message, and of the circumstances which had preceded and accompanied it, Mr. Pitt entered into a very extensive examination of the situation in which we stood at that important moment. When, said he, his majesty had dismissed M. Chauvelin, as by the melancholy catastrophe of the monarch, his character had ceased at the British court, eight days had been allowed him for his departure, and if during that period he had sent any more satisfactory explanation, it would still have been received. M. Chauvelin, however, instantly quitted the country, without making any proposition. The next event that succeeded, was an embargo laid on all the vessels and persons of his majesty's subjects who were then in France, contrary to treaty, and against all the laws of nations.

Notwithstanding this violent and outrageous act, such was the disposition to peace in his majesty's ministers, that the channels of communication, even after this period, were not shut: a most singular circumstance happened, which was the arrival of intelligence from his majesty's minister at the Hague, on the very day when the embargo became known here, that he had received an in-

timation from General Dumourier, that the general wished an interview, in order to see if it were yet possible to adjust the differences between the two countries, and to promote a general pacification. Instead of treating the embargo as an act of hostility, and forbearing from any communication, even after this aggression, his majesty's ministers, on the same day on which the embargo was made known to them, gave instructions to the ambassador at the Hague to enter into a communication with General Dumourier; and they did this with great satisfaction, on several accounts; first, because it might be done without committing the king's dignity; for the general of an army might, even in the very midst of war, without any recognition of his authority, open any negotiation of peace. But this sort of communication was desirable also, because, if successful, it would be attended with the most immediate effects, as its tendency was immediately to stop the progress of war, in the most practical, and perhaps, in the only practical way. No time was therefore lost in authorising the king's minister at the Hague to proceed in the pursuit of so desirable an object, if it could be done in a safe and honourable mode, but not otherwise. But before the answer of government could reach the ambassador, or any means be adopted for carrying the object proposed into execution, war was declared, on the part of the French, against this country.

He now proceeded to the declaration itself, which asserts, "that the king of England has not ceased, especially since the revolution of the 10th of Aug. 1792,

to give proofs of his being evil disposed towards the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads." But notwithstanding 'this assertion, the French have not attempted to shew any act of hostility on the part of his majesty; nor in support of the charge of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads have they been able to alledge any fact. In short, Mr. Pitt affirmed, that no accession to any such treaty had taken place on the part of the crown of Great Britain.

The next charge brought by the national assembly was, "that the king of England had ordered his ambassador at Paris to withdraw, because he would not acknowledge the provisional executive council, created by the legislative assembly." After the horrors of the 10th of August, and the 2d of September, after the suspension of the French monarch, to whom alone the ambassador had been sent, it certainly became proper to recall him. He could not remain to treat with any government to whom he was not accredited; and the propriety of his being recalled appears still more evident, when it is considered, that the banditti who had seized upon the government had been obliged, in the course of a month, to yield to the interest of a different party, but of a description similar to their own. When a government was overturned, it became a fair question how long an interval should intervene till the new powers should be acknowledged: and if that change of government was accompanied with the utmost tumult and distraction, it became a matter of extreme hardship that a war

should be the consequence to the nation, which should refuse to acknowledge it in the first instance.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to state another reason given by the convention for the declaration of war, "that the Cabinet of St. James's has ceased, since the same period, (the 10th of August) to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the heretofore king of the French: that, since the opening of the national convention, it has refused to resume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the powers of this convention: that it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credit in its name."

M. Chauvelin had been received at this court as ambassador of the king, and in no other character. From the period of the suspension of the king, he, for some months, ceased to hold any communication with the government here, or to act in any capacity: nor was it till the month of December that he had received his letter of credence to act here as the ambassador of the French republic. When these letters of credence had been tendered, they were refused; but it was to be considered whether it would have been proper to have recognised them, after the repeated instances of offence, for which no compensation had been made; and of which, indeed, every fresh act presented not only a repetition but an aggravation. And besides at that very moment, it was to be recollected, they were embarked in the unjust and inhuman process which

which had terminated in the murder of their king. Would it have been becoming in our government first to have acknowledged them at such a moment, when the power they had assumed was thus cruelly and unjustly exercised against that very authority which they usurped?

The following articles of the declaration were then collectively stated :

“ That the court of St. James’s has attempted to impede the different purchases of corn, arms, and other commodities ordered in England, either by French citizens or the agents of the republic.

“ That it has caused to be stopped several boats and ships loaded with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other foreign countries was free.

“ That in order still more effectually to obstruct the commercial operations of the republic in England, it obtained an act of parliament prohibiting the circulation of assignats.

“ That in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1786, it obtained another act, in the month of January last; which subjects all French citizens, residing in, or coming into England, to forms the most inquisitorial, vexatious, and dangerous.

“ That at the same time, and contrary to the 1st article of the peace of 1783, it granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs of the rebels, who have already fought against France; that it has maintained with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution : that

it has also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West-India colonies.”

With respect to the charge of having stopped supplies of grain and other commodities intended for France, what could be more ridiculous than such a pretext? When there was reason to apprehend that France meditated an attack upon the allies of this country and against the country itself, upon which it depended for the stores and ammunition necessary for carrying on hostilities; could we therefore be such children in understanding, and such traitors in principle, as to furnish to our enemies the means of hostility and the instruments of offence?—The French also considered it as a very offensive act in the British government, that it had not permitted assignats to be circulated in this country. They had truly great reason to be offended that we would not receive what was worth nothing; and that, by exercising an act which came completely within our own sovereignty, with respect to the circulation of any foreign paper currency, we thus avoided a gigantic system of swindling. Of the same nature was the pretext respecting the alien bill, which was provided to shield us from the artifice of the seditious, and perhaps from the dagger of the assassin. This bill the French considered as an infringement of the treaty of commerce: but how was that possible, when it was expressly declared in the treaty itself, that no act was to be considered as an infringement, unless proper explanation has first taken place. The next ground assigned in the declaration,

ration, was the armament which had taken place in this country.

The next reason assigned was—"That, in the same spirit, without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's has ordered a considerable naval armament, and an augmentation of the land forces."

"That this armament was ordered at a moment when the English minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French revolution in England, and was employing all possible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English nation, and of all Europe."

But under what circumstances, said Mr. Pitt, had the armament complained of taken place? At the period when the French, by their conduct with regard to the treaty of the Scheldt, manifested their intention to disregard the obligation of all treaties, and had discovered views of unbounded conquest. It was surely necessary at such a time to take measures of precaution, and to oppose with determinations those designs which threatened no common danger to our allies and to ourselves.

The succeeding articles of complaint on the part of the French, were—

"That the object of this armament, intended against France, was not even disguised in the English parliament.

"That although the provisional executive council of France has employed every measure for preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation, and has replied

to calumnies and violation of treaties only by remonstrances, founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of free men; the English minister has persevered in his system of malevolence and hostility, continued the armaments, and sent a squadron to the Scheldt to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium.

"That on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French Republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the British territory within eight days.

"That the king of England has manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his design of supporting it by different hostile resolutions adopted in his council, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to parliament for a considerable addition of land and sea forces, and putting ships of war in commission."

Here, as on every other occasion where the opportunity offers, the French Convention display their enmity to the British constitution, by taking every opportunity to separate the king of England from the nation, and by addressing the people as distinct from the government.—Another ground which the French had assigned for their vindictive resentment against us, was the grief which had been expressed in the British court at the fate of their unhappy monarch. Thus it appears that they make war upon us, first, because we love our constitution; secondly, because we detest their proceedings; and, lastly, because we presumed to grieve at the death of their murdered king. Thus would they deprive us of the last resource of humanity, to

to mourn over the victims of sorrow and injustice. It might be asked of them, in the emphatic words of the Roman writer. *Quis gemitus populo Romano liber erit?*—They would not only endeavour to destroy our political existence, and to deprive us of the privileges which we enjoyed as subjects of the most excellent constitution, but they would eradicate our feelings as men; they would make crimes of our sympathies, which were excited by the distresses of our common nature. They would repress our sighs and restrain our tears. Thus, except the specific fact, which was alledged as a ground of their declaration of war, namely, the accession of his majesty to the treaty between Austria and Prussia, which had turned out to be entirely false and unfounded, or the augmentation of our armament, a measure of precaution, indispensibly necessary for the safety of the country and the protection of its allies, all the others were nothing more than unjust, absurd, and frivolous pretexts; which never could have been brought to justify a measure, of which they were not previously and strongly desirous; and which shewed that, instead of waiting for provocation, they only sought a pretence of aggression. After some further observations on the conduct of France, Mr. Pitt proceeded to move an address, in answer to his majesty's message.

Mr. Powys seconded the address. He thought it the duty of every man to stand forward on the present occasion, in support of the government and constitution of the country. He promised to take upon himself the responsibility of laying burthens upon his constitu-

ents, where the cause was their protection and security. It had been asserted, he observed, that the present war was a war of kings against men; but in this country, the constitution of which is a limited monarchy, he considered the king as the key stone of it; and that to declare war against the king, is to declare war against the people. If it were asked, he said, what we should get by going to war; we should get, he would answer, just what we should lose by not going to war.—There were many who asserted that the constitution of this country had not been in danger; but he declared it to be his honest opinion that it had recently been in danger, from the combinations of bad men at home; and for his part, he less feared the arrows that fly by day, than the pestilence that walketh by night.

Mr. Fox said, if the minister had moved an address, simply alledging the cordial co-operation of the House in prosecuting a just and necessary war to a safe and honourable peace, to such an address, whatever might have been his opinion of the previous conduct of ministers, whether he had thought it temperate and conciliatory, or arrogant and provoking, he should have agreed. But the House was now called upon to vote that ministers had given no cause or provocation for the war, to give them indemnity for the past, and support for the future. This was the manifest tendency of the address; and to prevent the want of unanimity, which such an address could not but occasion, he should move an amendment, in which, he trusted, the warmest advocate of the war might concur.

But

But he must first examine the alledged causes of the war.—They were, as it appeared to him, in no respect different now from what they were under the government of Louis XIV. or Louis XVI. What then were these causes? not an insult or aggression, but a refusal of satisfaction when specifically demanded: what instance had ministers produced of such demand and of such refusal? He admitted that the decree of November 19th, entitled this country to require an explanation; but even of this they could not shew that any clear and specific explanation had been demanded. Security that they would not act upon that decree was indeed mentioned in one of Lord Grenville's letters, but what kind of security, was neither specified nor even named. The same might be said with respect to the opening of the Scheldt, and their conquest of Brabant. We complained of an attack on the rights of our ally; we remonstrated against an accession of territory, alarming to Europe; but we proposed nothing that would be admitted as satisfaction for the injury; we pointed out nothing that would remove our alarm. Lord Grenville said something about withdrawing their troops from the Austrian Netherlands; but if by that was understood a requisition to withdraw their troops, while they were at war with the emperor, without any condition that such evacuation of territory conquered from the enemy was to be the price of peace, it was such an insult as entitled them to demand satisfaction of us. The same argument applied to their conquest of Savoy from the king of Sardinia,

with whom, in his opinion, they were at war, as much as with the emperor. Would it be said that it was our business only to complain, and theirs to propose satisfaction? Common sense must see that this was expecting too much from one independent power to another.

There was much in the decree, by which the French declare war, which could not be fairly alledged as just cause of war. But under the former good government of France, was it unusual to croud into a manifesto, setting forth the causes of war, every complaint that could be imagined, good, bad, and indifferent?

To have suffered earl Gower to remain at Paris, after the 10th of August, would have implied no recognition of the government which succeeded that to which he had his formal mission, any more than to have negotiated with that government in the most safe and direct way, in preference to one that was the most indirect and hazardous. But the minister, who could not get rid of the idea of recognition, exclaimed, "Would you recognize a government which by its own confession is no government; which declares itself only provisional till a government can be framed?" This he would answer was the safest of all recognitions, if a recognition it must be; for the government being only provisional, we could only be understood to recognize provisionally, and were at liberty to act as the case might require, with any other power that might arise in its stead. But did not history shew us, that to treat and to recognize were not considered as the same? Did not we
treat

treat with Philip of Spain, as king, at the very time that we were at war to dispute his succession; and was not the recognition of his title far from being considered as admitted by us on that account, actually stipulated as an article of the peace? Did not France, when at war to dispute the accession of William III. to the throne of England, treat with him as king, and was not the recognition of his title also made one of the conditions of peace? Still, however, he would admit, that withdrawing our minister, or not sending another, was not a just cause of war on the part of France; but could it be denied, that to treat one nation in a manner different from others was a symptom of hostility?

None of the alledged grounds in the French declaration could be more absurd, than that the circulation of their assignats were prohibited in this country; for that was purely a measure of internal regulation, as much as it would be to prohibit the circulation of paper issued among ourselves that perhaps stood on a much surer capital. But even here we were not quite impartial; for although that paper was called worth nothing which at present brought fourteen pence halfpenny for half-a-crown, the paper created by that gigantic act of swindling, the assignats issued by the leaders of the combined armies, were not certainly worth more, but we had not thought it necessary to forbid the circulation of them; we had not prohibited the circulation of American paper even during the war, nor was it at all necessary, such paper wanted no prohibition.

The prohibiting the exportation of foreign corn to French ports,

while it was free to other countries, has been said to arise from preceding circumstances; and according to these circumstances, it might be a justifiable or unjustifiable act of hostility: but was an act of hostility so severe, that the circumstances which justified it would have justified a war, and no such circumstances, he believed, could be shewn. The alien bill was not a just cause of war, but it was a violation of the commercial treaty, both in the letter and the spirit. The minister, indeed, had said that the French had made regulations in their own country, by which the treaty had been already completely broken and at an end. But did he complain of those regulations; for it was expressly provided by the treaty itself, that no violation should put an end to it, till complaint was made and redress was refused.—Our sending a squadron to the Scheldt, was complained of by the French as an injury. And here ministers introduced the popular topic of their charming operations in Belgium; the disturbance of which they thought themselves entitled to resent as an aggression. He was as little disposed to defend their operations in Belgium as any other gentleman, although he saw not for what purpose they were here alluded to, unless to inflame the passions, and mislead the judgment; but if by that squadron we had disturbed them in their operations of war against the emperor, which he admitted we had not done, they would have had just cause to complain. Then, says the right hon. gentleman, they complain of our conduct on the afflicting news of the murder of their king; what, shall we not grieve for the untimely fate

fate of an innocent monarch most cruelly put to death by his own subjects? Shall we not be permitted to testify our sorrow and abhorrence on an event that outrages every principle of justice, and shocks every feeling of humanity? Of that event he should never speak but with grief and detestation. But was the expression of our sorrow all? Was not the atrocious event made the subject of a message from his majesty to both Houses of Parliament?

When he, Mr. Fox, proposed sending an ambassador to France, "What," said the right honourable gentleman, "send an ambassador to men that are trying their king!" If we had sent an ambassador, even then; had our conduct towards the French been more candid and conciliating the fatal issue of that trial might have been prevented: but, said the right hon. gentleman, we negotiated unofficially. The importance of this distinction, said Mr. Fox, between official and unofficial negotiation, to any wise purpose, he could never understand: but even to this mode of negotiation, the dismissal of M. Chauvelin put an end. But no sooner was that gentleman sent out of the kingdom, but ministers dispatched their orders to Lord Auckland to negotiate with gen. Dumourier, which reached him too late.

Our king had sat too long on the throne of a free kingdom; he had had too much experience that love of his people was a stronger defence than guards and armies, to forfeit that love, by transgressing the bounds which the constitution prescribed to him, were even his virtues and his wisdom less than they were known to be. What became

of that freedom of speech which was the boast of parliament, if he might not suppose, that by evil counsellors their ears might be poisoned, and their hearts deceived? He therefore feared, that this war would be supposed a war for restoring monarchy in France, and for supporting rather the cause of kings, than the cause of the people. He would be the last to draw a distinction of interest between the rich and the poor; for whatever the superficial observer might think, nothing was clearer, when philosophically considered, than that a man, who was not immediately possessed of property, had as great an interest in the general protection and security of property, as he who was; and therefore he reprobated all those calls upon the particular exertions of men of property, as tending to excite the idea of an invidious distinction, which did not exist in fact.

The ordering M. Chauvelin to quit the kingdom, and the prohibition to export corn to France, when exportation was allowed to other countries, were acts of hostility and provocation on our part, which, in the opinion of Mr. Fox, did not allow us to say, as the proposed address said, that war was an unprovoked aggression on the part of France. He therefore moved an amendment, which, after generally stating the French declaration of war, concluded in the following manner: "And nothing shall be wanting on our part that can contribute to that firm and effectual support which your majesty has so much reason to expect from a brave and loyal people, in repelling every hostile attempt against this country, and in such other

other exertions as may be necessary to induce France to consent to such terms of pacification as may be consistent with the honour of your majesty's crown, the security of your allies, and the interests of your people."

Mr. Secretary Dundas said, that he was certainly desirous of unanimity, but he could by no means agree to purchase it at the price of adopting the amendment proposed by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) which, under the appearance of affording support to the executive government, seemed totally to take away the idea of any real intentions to do so. For what, he asked, was the tendency of that amendment, and of the arguments of the right honourable gentleman? It was no other than this, that they must now fight, because war was declared by France, but that they were about to engage in a war unjust and unprovoked. Yet he seemed almost to admit, that the French had no justifiable cause for a declaration of war; for though he had made several observations on the recall of Lord Gower, the alien bill, and one or two other topics, he did not seem to consider them to be just causes of war. The right honourable gentleman, indeed, dwelt rather longer on the subject of the ships sent to the Scheldt; but whatever on that head might have been alledged on the part of France, Ministers were entitled to credit, when they solemnly asserted that that was done solely with the view to support our ally, the Dutch, whom they were bound to defend, and with no view to disturb the French in Belgium. With respect to the murder of the king, it had never been mentioned

as affording a ground for war with France, though it surely afforded an illustration of the danger of French principles, and to what length they would go, if not successfully opposed. The dismissal of M. Chauvelin had been adverted to and blamed, as putting a stop to negotiation; but the fact was, that M. Chauvelin was not dismissed, till after he had demanded to be received and acknowledged by this court, as accredited by the republic; and therefore it was clear, that that was not a measure whereby an end was put by us to conferences with unaccredited agents. As to the propriety or impropriety of refusing to acknowledge or receive an accredited ambassador, he would not at present say any thing. Even after an embargo had been laid on our vessels by the French, his majesty's minister's had listened to the proposal of M. Dumourier, which had been mentioned by his right honourable friend, and had sent instructions to Lord Auckland to enter into a conference with him. The chain of reasoning made use of by the right honourable gentleman in the subsequent part of his speech, appeared to him most extraordinary; for it seemed to be so managed, as to leave him an opportunity afterwards of attributing the cause of the war, to a wish to interfere in the policy of France.

It had been said that this was a war without an object, and that it was unjust and unnecessary. In answer to this, he would beg leave to refer to a paper delivered by Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, in which, after stating certain matters which had given cause of offence to this country, a requisition is made in the most distinct and precise

precise terms, that France should renounce all views of aggrandizement; should confine herself within her own territories, and should desist from violating the rights of other nations. France has now made a declaration of war, and proceeded to hostilities against this country, without any offence on our part, and without previous notice. As to the supposed treaty with the Emperor, which had been talked of, although he had formerly stated that there was no such treaty existing in January, he hoped he would not be so far misunderstood as to lead to a supposition that his majesty's ministers would not now endeavour to bring down every power on earth to assist them against France. Upon the subject of the proclamation, prohibiting the sending corn to France, he had been correct in his former statement, which was a necessary measure of precaution for the purpose of crippling the French.

Mr. Dundas concluded, by declaring that Great Britain entered into the war to secure her best interests, by effectually opposing a system of principles, which, unless they were crushed, would necessarily end in the destruction of this and of every other country.

Mr. Burke said, though he always attended with admiration and respect to the speeches of Mr. Fox, he could not help estimating that which he had just heard at a less account, as he had read every part of it in Mons. Brissot's speeches in the national convention, one only excepted, and that part was, "that France had used every means to conciliate the regards and good will of Great Britain." The right honourable gentleman had taken

great pains to acquit himself, and apologize for his vehement endeavours to exculpate France from the charge of aggression: but he professed, that he was at a loss to see what it was that made him so prompt to exculpation. If France meant nothing but what was good, and England nothing but what was bad, he certainly owed no apology for the part he took in her cause. As to the sentiments of the right honourable gentleman respecting the declaration of a specific object of the war, as well as the delicacy of interfering in the internal government of France, were they adopted by the House, this should be their language: "France! you have endeavoured to destroy the repose of all the countries of Europe, and particularly of England: you have reduced your own country to anarchy and ruin, and murdered your king: nevertheless, you may be assured, that, however horrible your crimes; though to the murder of your king you should add that of his infant son, his unfortunate queen and sister, and the whole remains of his family, not one hair of your heads shall be hurt. You may war against us, threaten us with destruction, and bring ruin to our very doors; yet shall you not be injured." Was ever, he exclaimed, such a declaration made in such circumstances?

Unlimited monarchy, the right honourable gentleman had said, was the object against which France directed the shafts of enmity. But he would be glad to know whether gentlemen would pretend to say that she was a friend to limited monarchy? No; she was an enemy to limited monarchy, as well as to unlimited monarchy, and to the limitation, as limitation,

limitation. The aristocracy of this country, all corporations, all bodies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, were the objects of her enmity. She shewed the most determinate malice, in the most express terms, against all parts of the British government, equally to those that limit or support monarchy; not to this or to that, but to the whole. If conquered by Louis XVI. we might be sure of our established forms being unmolested; but if by her, of total extinction. Gentlemen had, with much pertinacity, asked, "Have you asked satisfaction for this?" This, he contended, was all an error, either of misconception or of will. The acts of France were acts of hostility to this country; her whole system, her speech, every decree, and every act, bespoke an intention preclusive of accommodation. No man, he would venture to say, had a more lively sense of the importance of the question before the House, or of the evils of war than himself; a war with France, under such circumstances as now governed her conduct, must be terrible, but peace much more so. A nation that had abandoned all its valuable distinctions, arts, sciences, religion, law, order, every thing but the sword, was most formidable and dreadful to all nations composed of citizens who only used soldiers as a defence; as such, France should be resisted with spirit, vigour, and temper, without fear or scruple. In a case of such importance to this country, and to mankind, as the present, gentlemen should examine whether they had any sinister motive, as if in the Divine presence, and act upon the pure result of that examination.

VOL. XXXV.

He declared he had no hesitation to pronounce, as if before that presence, that ministers had not precipitated the nation into a war, but were brought to it by over-ruling necessity.

The putting the king of France to death, was done, not as an example to France, not to extinguish the race, not to put an end to monarchy, but as a terror to monarchs, and particularly to the monarch of Great Britain. This new-created empire of theirs, Mr. Burke said, was only secondary to the accomplishment of their plans of shaking all governments. This had been professed out of the mouth of their minister Cambon. He declared that the limits of their empire should be those that nature had set to them, not those of justice and reason; that is to say, the sea on one side, and the Alps and the Rhine on the other, together with a large cut of the Appenines, and all for the benefit of mankind, of liberty and equality. They directed their invectives and reproaches more at England than any other place. They executed their unhappy, innocent monarch, whom they well knew to be no tyrant, principally, as they alleged, for a warning to all other tyrants, and an example to all other nations. Even a few hours after the execution of Louis XVI. their minister of justice, Garat, addressing their convention, said, "We have now thrown down the gauntlet to a tyrant, which gauntlet is the head of a tyrant." He next read the declaration of the members who voted for the death of the king, some saying, "the tree of liberty could not flourish till sprinkled with the blood of tyrants;" others

[F]

declaring,

declaring, "that kings were no longer useful but in their deaths," &c. Gentlemen had said, that if lord Gower had been left at Paris, or another ambassador had been sent in his place, the unhappy fate of the king of France might have been prevented. This, he said, was answered by the fate of the king of Spain's ambassador, who had made, at the desire of his court, a requisition, but was refused. The murder of the king was intended only as a step to the murders of the other kings of Europe, for they had declared that no monarchical country could have alliance with them: this too, at the very moment that they were affecting to conciliate and explain away the decree of the 19th of November.

Mr. Burke readily allowed, that this was the most dangerous war in which we were ever engaged: that we were to contend with a set of men now inured to warfare, and led on by enthusiasm and the ardour of conquest, to such a degree, that they bartered the arts, commerce, industry, manufactures, and civilization itself for the sword. With regard to the means the French have of carrying on the war, the plan of supply they had proposed was worthy of attention. Their minister stated, that the country had been purged of 70,000 men of property, all of whose effects were to be confiscated, to the amount of two hundred millions sterling. Thus, like a band of robbers in a cave, they were reckoning the strength of their plunderers. He said, that they had two terms for raising supplies—confiscation and loan. The common people were relieved by confiscation of the property of the rich; and they reckon-

ed on the confiscation of property in every country they entered, with the brotherly intent of fraternizing, as a sufficient supply for their exigencies in that country, and their resource for making war, thus they made war supply them with plunder, and plunder with the means of war. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had spoken with some asperity of an intention in ministers to restore the ancient government. He would not compare that government with the government of Great Britain; but certain it was that it would be felicity and comfort, compared to the present state of tyranny exercised in France; for the very same papers out of which he had read the extracts before, contained the melancholy account, that 30,000 manufacturers were perishing for want, in Lyons alone. Thus their enormities have produced misery; their misery will drive them to despair; and out of that despair they will look for a remedy in the destruction of all other countries, and particularly that of Great Britain.

Mr. Sheridan rose professedly to repel the insinuations and charges of the last speaker against Mr. Fox, which he attempted with his usual ability in a speech of great length. Among other retorts on Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, he said, was charged with a dereliction of principle, in having that day omitted to express his apprehension of the increase of French power, be the French government what it may. It is most true, that Mr. Fox had not said one word upon that subject in his speech that day; but had he not in every one of his various previous speeches in this session, distinctly and

most forcibly avowed and urged sentiments on that head? How want to observe a gentleman begins his speech with taunting his right honourable friend, repeating things too often, reaching him in the next sentence for doing a repetition the most unnecessary he could have fallen into!

if the reproach was on that and extraordinary, it was still extraordinary that the general variation itself should come from a quarter from which it proceeded. A dread of France it seemed it to be a fundamental principle in the mind of a British gentleman; no alteration in her government can change this principle, or ought to suspend this apprehension, and who was the gentleman so tenacious of this creed? only man in all England who held the directly contrary doctrine. Had he or could we have forgotten, that in his very first continuous revilings at their revolution, only in the last session of parliament, he had expressly scorned and insulted them as a nation quashed for ever, and to be no more, and all in consequence of the change in their government; that he described the very as a gap and chasm in Europe.

Their principles had done, said he, than a thousand like Blenheim or Ramillies have effected against them; they even got power by their arms, like the usurpation of well, he could have respected them at least, but they blotted out of the European of power for ever! And the gentleman had only to record "*Gallia bello floruisse*"--yet this very man, said Mr. Sheridan, hav-

ing last year expressed all this with as much heat as he had this year expressed the contrary sentiment, arraigns my right honourable friend for having omitted to re-echo for a single hour his unalterable apprehensions of the power of France, be the changes of its government what they may: but the ambition of France, and her aggressions against this country, were not, according to the honourable member, the only causes of war. Religion demanded that we should avenge her cause. Atheism was avowed and professed in France. As an argument to the feelings and passions of men, Mr. Sheridan said, that the honourable member had great advantages in dwelling on this topic; because it was a subject upon which those who disliked every thing that had the air of cant and profession on the one hand, or of indifference on the other, found it awkward to meddle with. Establishments, tests, and matters of that nature, were proper objects of political discussion in that House; but not general charges of deism or atheism, as pressed to their consideration by the honourable gentleman; thus far he would say, and it was an opinion he had never changed or concealed, that although no man can command his conviction, he had ever considered a deliberate disposition to make proselytes in infidelity is an unaccountable depravity of heart. Whoever attempted to pluck the belief or the prejudice on this subject, style it which he would, from the bosom of one man, woman, or child, committed a brutal outrage, the motive for which he had never been able to trace or conceive. But on what ground was all this infidelity.

and atheism to be laid to the account of the revolution? The philosophers had corrupted and perverted the minds of the people; but when did the precepts or perversions of philosophy ever begin their effect on the root of the tree, and afterwards rise to the towering branches? Were the common and ignorant people ever the first disciples of philosophy, and did they make proselytes of the higher and more enlightened orders? He contended, that the general atheism of France was, in the first place, no honour to the exertions of the higher orders of the clergy against the philosophers; and, in the next place, that it was notorious that all the men and women of rank and fashion in France, including possibly all the present emigrant nobility, whose piety the honourable gentleman seemed to contrast with republican infidelity, were the genuine and zealous followers of Voltaire and Rousseau; and if the lower orders had been afterwards perverted, it was by their precept and example. The atheism, therefore, of the new system, as opposed to the piety of the old, was one of the weakest arguments he had yet heard in favour of this mad political and religious crusade.

Mr. Sheridan next argued on an observation of an honourable member's, who had said, that we refused to make any allowance for the novelty of the situation in which France stood after the destruction of its old arbitrary government. This Mr. Sheridan pressed very forcibly; insisting that it was a mean and narrow way of viewing the subject, to ascribe the various outrages in France to any other cause than this unalterable

truth, that a despotic government degrades and depraves human nature, and renders its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. But was the inference to be, that those who had been long slaves, ought therefore to remain so for ever, because, in the first wildness and strangeness of liberty, they would probably dash their broken chains almost to the present injury of themselves, and of all those who were near them? No—the lesson ought to be a ten-fold horror of the despotism which had so profaned and changed the nature of social men; and of a more jealous apprehension of withholding rights and liberties from our fellow-creatures, because, in so doing, we risked and became responsible for the bitter consequences: for, after all, no precautions of fraud or of craft can suppress or alter this eternal truth, that liberty is the birthright of man, and whatever opposes his possession is a sacrilegious usurpation.

The amendment of Mr. Fox was then negatived, and the address as moved by Mr. Pitt was carried without a division.

On the 11th of February a similar message was sent by his majesty to the House of Lords, who took it into consideration on the following day; when an address to the same effect as that of the Commons was moved by lord Grenville, and seconded by the duke of Portland. An amendment was moved by lord Stanhope, accusing his majesty's ministers of producing a rupture between this kingdom and France, and requesting to be informed of the objects which his majesty proposes to obtain by carrying on a war against France. A second amend-

amendment was proposed by lord Lauderdale, which, after lamenting the French declaration of war, assures his majesty of the most firm and effectual support, in repelling every hostile attempt against this country; and in such other exertions as may be necessary to induce France to consent to such terms of pacification as may be consistent with the honour of his majesty's crown, &c.

After a debate of considerable length, in which the address was further supported by the duke of Leeds, and the lords Morton, Stormont, Kinnoul, and Hawkesbury; and opposed by the marquis of Lansdowne, the two amendments were successively negatived, and the motion for the address carried in the affirmative without a division.

Though the several questions which had been agitated, since the commencement of the sessions in both Houses, evidently proved, that the conduct of ministers had the approbation, as they themselves possessed the confidence of parliament; the opposition, though diminished in numbers, seemed to have increased in energy, and to exert themselves with a more concentrated activity. Mr. Fox, accordingly, on the eighteenth of February, introduced a series of resolutions, with observing, that the necessity of the war might be defended on two principles: first, the *malus animus*, or general bad disposition of the French towards this country; the crimes they have committed among themselves; the systems they have endeavoured to establish, if systems they might be called; in short, the internal government of their country. On this principle, there were few in-

deed that would venture to defend it: and this being disavowed as the cause of war by his majesty's ministers, it was unnecessary for him to dwell upon it. 2dly, that various things have been done by the French, manifestly extending beyond their own country, and affecting the interests of us and our allies: for which, unless satisfaction were given, we must enforce satisfaction by arms. This he considered as the only principle on which the necessity of the war could be truly defended, and in this he was sure the great majority of the House and of the country were of the same opinion. His object was to record this in an address; and whatever objection there might be as to time or circumstances, could he obtain the sense of the House purely upon the principle, he should be very sanguine in his hopes of success. Such a record would be a guide to their conduct in the war, and a landmark on which to fix their attention for the attainment of peace. In examining the alleged cases of provocation, he had maintained that they were all objects of negotiation, and such as, till satisfaction was explicitly demanded and refused, did not justify resorting to the last extremity. He had perhaps also said, that ministers did not appear to have pursued the course which was naturally to be expected from their professions. He did not mean to charge them with adopting one principle for debate, and another for action; but he thought they had suffered themselves to be imposed upon, and misled by those who wished to go to war with France on account of her internal government, and therefore took all occasions

occasions of representing the French as utterly and irreconcilably hostile to this country. It was always fair to compare the conduct of men in any particular instance with their conduct on other occasions. If the rights of neutral nations were now loudly held forth ; if the danger to be apprehended from the aggrandizement of any power was magnified as the just causes of the present war ; and if, on looking to another quarter, we saw the rights of Poland, of a neutral and independant nation, openly trampled upon, its territory invaded, and all this for the manifest aggrandizement of other powers, and no war declared or menaced, not even a remonstrance interposed, for if any had been interposed, it was yet a secret, could we be blamed for suspecting that the pretended was not the real object of the present war—that what we were not told was in fact the object, and what we were told, only the colour and pretext :

Mr. Fox then proceeded to enlarge on those topics which had of late so often employed his eloquence, and concluded with moving the following resolutions :

“ That is not for the honour or interest of Great Britain, to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumstances of that country, for the purpose either of suppressing or punishing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there, or of establishing among the French people any particular form of government.

“ That the particular complaints which have been stated against the conduct of the French government

are not of a nature to justify war in the first instance, without having attempted to obtain redress by negotiation.

“ That it appears to this House, that, in the late negotiation between his majesty's ministers and the agents of the French government, the said ministers did not take such measures as were likely to procure redress without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained ; and particularly that they never stated distinctly to the French government any terms and conditions, the accession to which, on the part of France, would induce his majesty to persevere in a system of neutrality.

“ That it does not appear that the security of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been stated as grounds of war against France, have been attended to by his majesty's ministers in the case of Poland, in the invasion of that unhappy country, both in the last year, and more recently, the most open contempt of the law of nations, and the most unjustifiable spirit of aggrandizement has been manifested, without having produced, as far as appears to this House, any remonstrance from his majesty's ministers.

“ That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers, in the present crisis, to advise his majesty against entering into engagements, which may prevent Great Britain from making a separate peace, whenever the interest of his majesty and his people may render such a measure advisable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe that his majesty is acting in concert with other powers, for the unjustifiable purpose of compel-

compelling the people of France to submit to a form of government not approved by the nation "

These resolutions were supported by Mr. Grey, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Adam, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Smith, and Major Maitland: and opposed by Mr. Burke, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Powys, Sir Richard Hill, Sir Francis Basset, Sir George Cornwall, Sir Henry Houghton, and Mr. Windham. The House divided on the previous question, when there appeared

In favour of it	- - - -	270
Against it	- - - -	44

The resolutions lost by a ma-	
jority of	- - - - 226

This decided victory of the ministers did not, however, deter Mr. Grey from moving, on the 21st of February. an address to his majesty; which, as it contains the entire political creed of the opposition party, we shall recite at large.

After a short introductory speech, in which Mr. Grey declared his wish to be recorded as one of those who had, with every possible exertion, opposed those measures whereby we had been plunged into a war, he moved,

" That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty, that his faithful commons, animated by a sincere and dutiful attachment to his person and family, and to the excellent constitution of this kingdom, as well as by an ardent zeal for the interest and honour of the nation, will, at all times, be ready to support his majesty in any measures, which a due observance of the faith of treaties, the dignity of his crown, or the security of his do-

minions, may compel him to undertake

" That feeling the most earnest solicitude to avert from our country the calamities of war, by every means consistent with honour and with safety, we expressed to his majesty, at the opening of the present session, ' our sense of the temper and prudence which had induced his majesty to observe a strict neutrality with respect to the war on the continent, and uniformly to abstain from any interference in the internal affairs of France; and our hope that the steps his majesty had taken would have the happy tendency to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.'

" That, with the deepest concern, we now find ourselves obliged to relinquish that hope without any evidence having been produced to satisfy us that his majesty's ministers have made such efforts as it was their duty to make, and as, by his majesty's most gracious speech, we were taught to expect, for the preservation of peace: it is no less the resolution than the duty of his majesty's faithful commons to second his efforts in the war thus fatally commenced, so long as it shall continue; but we deem it a duty equally incumbent upon us to solicit his majesty's attention to those reasons or pretexts, by which his servants have laboured to justify a conduct on their part, which we cannot but consider as having contributed, in a great measure, to produce the present rupture.

" Various grounds of hostility against France have been stated, but none that appeared to us to have

have constituted such an urgent and imperious case of necessity as left no room for accommodation, and made war unavoidable. The government of France has been accused of having violated the law of nations, and the stipulations of existing treaties, by an attempt to deprive the republic of the United Provinces, of the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. No evidence, however, has been offered to convince us that this exclusive navigation was, either in itself or in the estimation of those who were alone interested in preserving it, of such importance as to justify a determination in our government to break with France on that account. If, in fact, the States General had shewn a disposition to defend their right by force of arms, it might have been an instance of the truest friendship to have suggested to them, for their serious consideration, how far the assertion of this unprofitable claim might, in the present circumstances of Europe, tend to bring into hazard the most essential interests of the republic. But when, on the contrary, it has been acknowledged that no requisition on the subject was made to his majesty on the part of the States General, we are at a loss to comprehend on what grounds of right or propriety we take the lead in asserting a claim, in which we are not principals, and in which the principal party has not, as far as we know, thought it prudent or necessary to call for our interposition.

"We must further remark, that the point of dispute seemed to us to have been relieved from a material part of its difficulty, by the declaration of the minister of foreign

affairs in France, that the French nation gave up all pretensions to determine the question of the future navigation of the Scheldt. Whether the terms of this declaration were perfectly satisfactory or not, they at least left the question open to pacific negotiation; in which the intrinsic value of the object, to any of the parties concerned in it, might have been coolly and impartially weighed against the consequences, to which all of them might be exposed, by attempting to maintain it by force of arms.

"We have been called upon to resist views of conquest and aggrandizement entertained by the government of France, 'at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe,' but asserted to be more 'particularly so, when connected with the propagation of principles, which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.'

"We admit, that it is the interest and duty of every member of the commonwealth of Europe to support the established system and distribution of power among the independent sovereignties, which actually subsist, and to prevent the aggrandizement of any state, especially the most powerful, at the expence of any other; and, for the honour of his majesty's councils, we do most earnestly wish, that his ministers had manifested a just sense of the importance of the principle to which they now appeal, in the course of late events, which seemed to us to threaten its entire destruction.

"When Poland was beginning to recover from the long calamities

ties of anarchy, combined with oppression ; after she had established an hereditary and limited monarchy like our own, and was peaceably employed in settling her internal government, his majesty's ministers, with apparent indifference and unconcern, have seen her become the victim of the most unprovoked and unprincipled invasion ; her territory overrun, her free constitution subverted, her national independence annihilated, and the general principles of the security of nations wounded through her side. With all these evils was France soon after threatened, and with the same appearance either of supine indifference, or of secret approbation, his majesty's ministers beheld the armies of other powers (in evident concert with the oppressor of Poland) advancing to the invasion and subjugation of France, and the march of those armies distinguished from the ordinary hostilities of civilised nations by manifestos, which, if their principles and menaces had been carried into practice, must have inevitably produced the 'return of that ferocity and barbarism in war, which a beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true military honour, have for a long time banished from the Christian world.'

" No effort appears to have been made to check the progress of these invading armies : his majesty's ministers, under a pretended respect for the rights and independence of other sovereigns, thought fit at that time to refuse even the interposition of his majesty's councils and good offices, to save so great and important a portion of Europe from falling under the do-

minion of a foreign power. But no sooner, by an ever-memorable reverse of fortune, had France repulsed her invaders, and carried her arms into their territory, than his majesty's ministers, laying aside that collusive indifference which had marked their conduct during the invasion of France, began to express alarms for the general security of Europe, which, as it appears to us, they ought to have seriously felt, and might have expressed, with great justice, on the previous successes of her powerful adversaries.

" We will not dissemble our opinion, that the decree of the national convention of France of the 19th of November, 1792, was in a great measure liable to the objections urged against it ; but we cannot admit that a war, upon the single ground of such a decree, unaccompanied by any overt acts, by which we or our allies might be directly attacked, would be justified as necessary and unavoidable. Certainly not, unless, upon a regular demand made by his majesty's ministers of explanation and security in behalf of us and our allies, the French had refused to give his majesty such explanation and security. No such demand was made. Explanations, it is true, have been received and rejected. But it well deserves to be remarked and remembered, that these explanations were voluntarily offered on the part of France, not previously demanded on ours, as undoubtedly they would have been, if it had suited the views of his majesty's ministers to have acted frankly and honourably towards France, and not to have reserved their complaints for a future period,

riod, when explanations, however reasonable, might come too late, and hostilities might be unavoidable.

"After a review of all those considerations, we think it necessary to represent to his majesty, that none of the points which were in dispute between his ministers and the government of France, appear to us to have been incapable of being adjusted by negotiation, except that aggravation of French ambition, which has been stated to arise from the political opinions of the French nation. These indeed, we conceive, formed neither any definable object of negotiation, nor any intelligible reason for hostility. They were equally incapable of being adjusted by treaty, or of being either refuted or confirmed by the events of war.

"We need not state to his majesty's wisdom, that force can never cure delusion; and we know his majesty's goodness too well to suppose, that he could ever entertain the idea of employing force to destroy opinions by the extirpation of those who hold them.

"The grounds, upon which his majesty's ministers have advised him to refuse the renewal of some avowed public intercourse with the existing government of France, appeared to us neither justified by the reason of the thing itself, nor by the usage of nations, nor by any expediency arising from the present state of circumstances. In all negotiations or discussions whatsoever, of which peace is the real object, the appearance of an amicable disposition, and of a readiness to offer and to accept of pacific explanations on both sides, is

as necessary and useful to insure success as any arguments founded on strict right. Nor can it be denied that claims or arguments of any kind, urged in hostile or haughty language, however equitable or valid in themselves, are more likely to provoke than to conciliate the opposite party. Deploring, as we have ever done, the melancholy event which has lately happened in France, it would yet have been some consolation to us to have heard, that the powerful interposition of the British nation on this subject had at least been offered, although it should unfortunately have been rejected. But, instead of receiving such consolation from the conduct of his majesty's ministers, we have seen them, with extreme astonishment, employing, as an incentive to hostilities, an event, which they had made no effort to avert by negotiation. This nation they could only excuse on the principle, that the internal conduct of nations (whatever may be our opinion of its morality) was no proper ground for interposition and remonstrance from foreign states; a principle, from which it must still more clearly follow that such internal conduct could never be an admissible justifiable reason for war.

"We cannot refrain from observing, that such frequent allusions as have been made to an event (confessedly no ground of rupture) seemed to us to have arisen from a sinister intention to derive, from the humanity of Englishmen, popularity for measures which their deliberate judgment would have reprobated, and to influence the most virtuous sensibilities of his majesty's people into a blind-

blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance.

"His majesty's faithful commons, therefore, though always determined to support his majesty with vigour and cordiality in the exertions necessary for the defence of his kingdoms, yet feel that they are equally bound by their duty to his majesty, and to their fellow subjects, to declare, in the most solemn manner, their disapprobation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers throughout the whole of these transactions—a conduct which, in their opinion, could lead to no other termination but that to which it seems to have been studiously directed, of plunging their country into an unnecessary war. The calamities of such a war must be aggravated in the estimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate situation which we have so unwisely abandoned, and which not only exempted us from sharing in the distresses and afflictions of the other nations of Europe, but converted them into sources of benefit, improvement, and prosperity to this country.

"We therefore, humbly implore his majesty's paternal goodness to listen no longer to the councils which have forced us into this unhappy war, but to embrace the earliest occasion which his wisdom may discern, of restoring to his people the blessings of peace."

After a few words from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Drake, the motion was negatived without a division.

On the same day Mr. R. Smith read a petition signed by about 2500 inhabitants of the town of Nottingham, stating, among other

things, that as the constitution now stands with respect to representation in parliament, the country is amused with the name of a representation of the people, when the reality is gone; that the right of election had passed away from the people almost altogether, and that thereby the confidence of the people with respect to parliament was weakened, if not destroyed. The petition therefore prayed the House to consider of the proper mode to effectuate a reform in parliament; and suggested, as one part of a general reform, that the right of election should be in proportion to the number of male adults in the kingdom. After some debate on the question of receiving the petition, the passages we have now recited were considered, by a large majority of the House, to be of such a nature as to justify a refusal to receive it. On a division there appeared for the petition 21

Against it - 109

Majority - 58

Several petitions respecting controverted elections remaining unheard in the third session of this parliament, it became absolutely necessary that some measures should be taken to enforce the attendance of members on the days fixed for ballots; Mr. T. Grenville, therefore, brought forward, on the following day, certain resolutions to produce that effect, which were severally moved, and after some amendments were proposed and agreed to, received the assent of the House.

The erection of barracks, which had taken place in several parts of the kingdom, though it was not altogether a new measure, was consi-

considered by those who remained of, and adhered to the old Whig party, as an unconstitutional expedient, and tending to the establishment of a standing army. But it appeared to be the more general opinion, that the circumstances of the country were such as made it necessary to adopt that mode of lodging troops in a greater extent, than in former periods; and that to dispose of them in barracks was now become a far better plan, than the distribution of them among the mass of the people.—Mr. M. A. Taylor, however, was so convinced of the unconstitutional tendency of these military buildings, that, (as soon as the House had agreed to the resolutions moved by Mr. T. Grenville,) he rose to make a motion on the subject. The question, he said, was precisely this: whether in the very heart and body of the country, a large standing army was to be kept up, and in a way totally unusual, as well as highly alarming: nor could he omit the observation, that standing armies are ever hostile to liberty. History affords innumerable instances of states being modelled by armies: in this country the same army which raised Cromwell to the protectorate, restored Charles the Second. Those distinguished characters who led the glorious revolution, thought it necessary to establish, by the declaration of rights, that no standing army should be kept up without consent of parliament; and, were the case otherwise, the doors of this House might as well be shut up: it was, however, without much difficulty, that they got king William III. to disband his forces. With regard to the peace establishment in this country,

it had continued nearly the same during the present reign; but it had increased much since the time of queen Anne: it now amounted to 18,000 men, which appeared to him much too large, and it would be still much more alarming if the proposition he was about to make should not be agreed to.

Mr. Taylor then alluded to the opinions of Mr. Harley, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Pelham, who expressed, in very strong language, their ideas of the danger that must arise to the constitution and to liberty, from quartering soldiers in barracks, and dissolving or lessening their connection with the body of the people. He also mentioned the opinion of lord Gage in 1739, who, in a speech against the augmentation of the troops, declared, that he considered the quartering of soldiers in barracks, and cutting off their connection with the people to be the most fatal, as it would prove the finishing stroke to liberty. If this should ever be attempted, said lord Gage, it would become the duty of the people to draw their swords, as the last effort of liberty, and never sheath them, till they had brought the authors and contrivers of the measure to condign punishment. Mr. Taylor said, he must add another great authority in judge Blackstone, whose opinion it was, that soldiers should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses should be allowed. In the argument which he was now maintaining, he had the prejudices of the people, the reason of the thing, and the weight of high authorities, to support him. In answer to them it was alleged first, that it is a great hardship

hardship on innkeepers to quarter soldiers on them ; and so it might ; because the price paid for hay and straw has not been raised for many years. But if a part of the large sums expended on building barracks, were applied towards a reasonable increase of the price paid for hay and straw, the innkeepers would be glad to have them : secondly, barracks are said to be necessary, to keep the minds of the soldiers, at the present moment, from being prejudiced and poisoned ; but experience has long evinced, that those walls must be high indeed which can keep opinions from passing them. But it may be said, that a better discipline can be preserved in barracks. Be that as it may, said Mr. Taylor, a constitutional army is still to be preferred, though its discipline may not admit of equal vigour. He therefore moved, that it is the opinion of this House that the uniform and persevering opposition of our ancestors to the erecting of barracks in this country, was founded upon a just sense of the true principles of our most excellent constitution, and that the opinion has been justified upon high legal and political authority, that the soldiers should live intermixed with the people, &c. according to the words of judge Blackstone already quoted.

Mr. Minchin confessed that he saw no danger in the measure which had been so much objected to by the honourable gentleman. He thought it on the contrary, attended with many advantages. And first it relieved a certain description of men from a grievous tax, which, during last war had been so very oppressive that seve-

ral publicans had given up their licences. It was likewise a measure very favourable to the exact observance of discipline. For though soldiers were at stated hours obliged to retire to their quarters, yet when they were quartered in a public house, this regulation could not be enforced. For in that case, when the officers went to bed, the soldiers might take the opportunity to leave their quarters, and might be engaged in riots or mischiefs, which there were no means of discovering or preventing. But this could not occur in barracks, which were equally conducive to the health and morals of the troops lodged in them. In public houses the soldiers were continually opposed to the temptation of expending that pay which might procure them solid nourishment, for noxious liquors, equally pernicious to their constitution and morals. With respect to the utility of barracks, he referred to the example of a sister kingdom (Ireland) where they had been always in use. There so much were their beneficial effects experienced, that those towns, where they were not erected, even made application for them, and could not be satisfied without such an establishment.

The motion was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Grey, and Major Maitland, and opposed by sir George Young, secretary at war, sir George Howard, lord Beauchamp, lord Mulgrave, Mr. Burdon, and the chancellor of the exchequer. It was then negatived, by the order of the day being carried without a division.

On the 25th of February Mr. Dundas presented to the House his state-

78] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

statement of the situation of affairs in the provinces of India. This statement, he said, was different in its object from any he had hitherto offered to the attention of the House. Those of former years, except in one instance, had been confined to the state of financial affairs of the company in India,

exhibiting the balance upon the comparison of the revenues and charges of the several settlements. In the present statement, he proposed to combine the affairs of the East India Company at home and abroad, and declare the general balance resulting from such a combination.

The first statement included the revenues and charges of the several settlements in India.

The Revenue of Bengal, on the average of three years

1787-8 to 1789-90, amounted to	-	-	£5,454,107
Of Madras	-	-	1,296,468
Of Bombay	-	-	147,155
			£6,897,730

C H A R G E S.

Of Bengal	-	-	-	£3,131,210
Of Madras	-	-	-	1,578,365
Of Bombay	-	-	-	524,142
				£5,233,717
Add expences of Bencoolen and Penang	-	-	-	50,000
				£5,283,717
The net revenue on the average is	-	-	-	1,614,013

In these years a considerable expence was incurred by preparations for war, and therefore the average cannot be considered as giving the result too favourable.

The countries ceded by Tippoo, at the termination of the war, are estimated to yield a revenue of about 400,000l.; no part of which could be included in the above average. But in order to bring this subject under one point of view, there was also laid before the House an estimate of the future revenues and expences of the several settlements in India, formed by a committee of the Court of Directors for the use of the proprietors of India stock. In every instance the revenues appear to be taken on a very low statement; and in like manner great caution has been used in stating the other articles, that there should not be any doubt of the result being better than the estimate.

In this estimate the commercial charges at the several settlements are stated as charges upon the revenues. In all former views of this subject, they have been considered as belonging to the trade, as that is the only purpose for which they are incurred.

By

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

[79

By the estimates the revenues are stated at	-	£6,963,625
And the charges, including commercial, at	-	5,342,575
Leaving net revenues	- - -	£1,621,050

In this view, the net revenue of India appears to be 1,621,050l. or, if the commercial charges, amounting to 104,450l. be excluded, the excess of revenue, above the civil and military establishments, is 1,725,500 l.

The next subject for consideration is the amount of debts in India, as the interest on them is the first object to which the net revenue is applicable. The total of their amount on the 31st of January 1792, is stated at 9,084,550 l. which includes every article of debt known at that period; and the bills not due or presented for acceptance are considered as part of the debts then owing, which was not the case in former statements of this nature.

The net surplus, after defraying the civil, military, and commercial charges and interest on the debt, amounts to 1,059,127 l. Besides this sum, there is estimated to be supplied from the sales of Europe, goods and certificates, 350,000 l. making a total of 1,409,127 l.

The amount of the goods from India sold in the last

three years has been, per annum	-	-	£2,394,751
Prime cost of ditto	-	-	£1,090,185
Customs	-	-	563,269
Freight and demurrage	-	-	245,782
Charges of merchandize, six per cent.	-	-	143,684
	Total		2,042,920

Being, on the average, an excess of the sale above the prime cost and charges

-	-	-	-	£351,831
---	---	---	---	----------

This cannot be considered as the actual profit on the trade from India, because, in a mercantile point of view, the interest of the money employed in that trade, and a sum for insurance, should be allowed; but this excess of the sale value above the prime cost and charges sufficiently proves that the remittance of the surplus revenue, through the medium of the trade, is a profitable mode, and that it may be realised at home with profit both to the public and the company.

On the average of the last three years, the prime cost of goods sold by the company was	-	-	£1,090,185
In the directors' report, the cost of the annual investment is estimated at	-	-	1,127,000

Which exceeds the average cost of the goods sold those three years by	-	-	-	£36,815
---	---	---	---	---------

And consequently the sale amount and profit on the whole should be stated at a larger sum. But, in order to keep so far below the probable actual

80] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

actual result as to meet unforeseen contingencies, the profits on the India trade are taken even below the sum already stated, as it certainly appears in the estimate of the prime cost and sale amount of goods from India in the report to the court of directors.

In this the sale amount of goods from India

is stated at	-	-	-	£2,314,900
Prime cost of the same	-	-	£1,126,300	
Customs	-	-	600,970	
Freight	-	-	209,270	
Charges of merchandises	-	-	138,894	
				2,075,434

Making an excess of the sale, over costs and charges 239,466

On the three years averages before stated, the amount was - - - - 351,831

The difference is - - - - £112,365

Having thus shewn what are the future surplus of India, on the lowest calculation, may be stated to amount to, and having proved that a sum equal to that amount may be remitted home through the medium of trade, with profit both to the company and the public; the next object is to bring forward the state of the trade in general.

Accordingly by the average of the three last years, the profit on the trade, or more correctly, the excess of the sale amount above the prime cost and charges, was 916,497 per annum.

Average of three years sale amounts, March 1790

to 1793 - - - - £5,103,094

Average of three years prime cost and charges,

March 1790, to 1793 - - - - 4,186,597

£916,497

In these statements, the prime cost of the goods only is taken, and the charges at home, the commercial charges in India being, according to the estimate paid out of the surplus revenues.

In the estimate of the cost, customs, freight, and charges in England, the prime cost, and several charges on the India and China goods, are estimated to amount to

- - - - £4,344,698

And the sale amount of the same, to - - - - 4,988,300

Being an excess of sale amount - - - - £743,602

which is less than the average of the last three years by 172,895 l. per annum, and affords another proof of the moderation of the estimates under consideration.

The next estimate states the annual receipts and payments of the company at home. This, after allowing for a dividend of 8 l. per cent. on

on the capital stock, makes the annual surplus at home, including the 1,059,027 l. derived from the revenues of India, amount to 1,207,114 l. which, together with the small sum estimated to be left in India, makes the total surplus 1,239,241 l.

The next article is the amount of goods and stores, to be exported to India and China; these, including St. Helena, amount to 1,017,000 l. the goods and stores exported in 1791, amounted to 974,959 l. and in the present season are estimated at 1,083,324 l. the amount in this estimate is, therefore, about a medium of these two. It is impossible, in stating this article, not to advert to the great increase which has been made in the export trade, during the last eight years, being, exclusive of bullion, from 400,000 l. a year to a million.

The article of bills of exchange, or bullion, is merely taken to make up the estimated prime cost of goods in China, that prime cost being provided for as follows :

By supplies from India	-	-	-	-	£250,000
Goods exported	-	-	-	-	600,000
Bills or bullion	-	-	-	-	644,580
Total prime cost					£1,494,580

The goods and stores to be exported to India are estimated at	-	-	-	-	400,000
In the Indian estimate, the amount to be received for the sale of imports is stated at	-	-	-	-	350,000

There is, therefore, an estimated loss on the goods and stores exported to India, of	-	-	-	-	50,000
--	---	---	---	---	--------

The exports to China of goods, stores, and bullion, are not supposed to yield any profit; so that, on the whole, the export trade is estimated to produce a loss of 50,000 l. per annum.

If it was material to enter into the investigation, I should assign reasons for doubting the propriety of stating any such loss on the export trade; but it is not necessary, for the present purpose, to take up the time of the committee with that discussion. I shall take the directors' estimate as they state it; and, upon the whole, from the several circumstances above stated, particularly from the low amount at which the surplus in India is taken, and from the low estimate of the sales and profit on the trade, there can be no doubt of this estimate being calculated in an unfavourable point of view, and that the surplus on the whole resulting from it, as stated below the amount annually to be expected.

Having thus established that a surplus to the amount of 1,239,241 l. at least, may be expected in future, it next remains to consider the most equitable mode of applying this surplus.

The first object is the liquidation of the debts. These in India, amount, as has been above already stated, to 9,084,550 l.; of which 6,933,943 l. bore interest in January, 1792: but which, from later ad-

82] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

vices, as stated in the directors' estimate at 6,669,082 l. There are two ways of liquidating this debt, either by paying it off in India, from the surplus there, or by remitting it to England, and discharging it by that surplus, realized through the medium of trade. The latter is undoubtedly by much the preferable mode; as in the other case, the investment could not be made adequate to the demand, without sending ballion to India. The British subjects, of whose fortunes a considerable part of these debts consist, if they were paid in India, must find some other mode of remittance to Europe; and thus would, as formerly was the case, supply foreign companies with the means of carrying on a trade to India, in competition with the company, on a capital furnished by their servants, to the injury of the navigation of Great Britain, and the diminution of the home revenues in duties and customs.

The debts of the company in Great Britain consist of the amount transferred from India, and unpaid on the first of March, 1793, which is stated at 1,354,050 l. and the other debts, at the same date, are calculated, exclusive of the capital stock, at 9,247,019 l. the total of both, 10,601,069 l. This includes the sum owing by the annuitants, which is included as a debt due to them on the other side of the account. This statement shews the value of assets at the same period, which, at home and afloat, (including the balance of quick stock in China) amounts to 13,437,460 l. The value of assets in India, consisting of cash in the treasuries, bills, goods, and stores, amounted, in January, 1792, to 4,098,405 l. exclusive of debts owing to the company in India, which are stated at 3,518,393 l. These, however, are not reckoned upon; but left as a sort of guarantee for the floating debt owing by the company in India, above the amount bearing interest.

The value of assets thus at home and in India, is	-	£17,113,854
And the amount of debts at home, including the transferred debt	-	10,601,069

If from each side of the account the 4,200,000 l. owing by government to the company be deducted, the remaining amount of assets is	-	12,913,854
---	---	------------

And of debts	-	6,401,069
--------------	---	-----------

The debts for bills on the court of directors, for customs, freight, demurrage, interest, and dividends unpaid, and various other articles in their commercial concerns, amount, as per No. 24, to	-	2,454,579
--	---	-----------

Which being deducted from the above amount, leaves a debt to be provided for of	-	3,946,440
---	---	-----------

If bonds be kept in the market to the amount of	-	1,500,000
---	---	-----------

The debt remaining to be paid off at home is	-	2,446,440
--	---	-----------

There

There are two ways of discharging it, either by increasing the capital one million, which there can be no doubt of rapidly doing, either by the present proprietors subscribing in proportion to the stock they respectively hold, or by admitting new subscribers to advance the amount.

The other method is by installments, to which, considering the smallness of the debt to be ultimately discharged, a very moderate sum only need be appropriated. But, in every point of view, the preference should be given to the first mode, both as tending to an immediate liquidation of the debt, and as it will enable the company, by an additional capital, to extend their export trade to the utmost the Indian or Chinese market will admit of.

If the proprietors shall adopt this idea, they will have a just claim to receive an additional dividend, amounting to ten per cent. on both the old and new capital; and after allowing for this, there would still remain a sufficient sum to admit the public to a participation of not less than 500,000 l.

The appropriation of the surplus would then stand thus :

Net estimated surplus	-	-	-	£1,239,241
To be applied towards the discharge of the debt transferred from India	-	-	500,000	
Increase of dividend two per cent	-		100,000	
New capital of one million at ten per cent.			100,000	
(Supposed to reduce the bond debts to 1,500,000 l.)				
The interest at present on bonds is			128,000	
1,500,000 l. at four per cent.	-	-	60,000	
Less interest on bonds	-	-	68,000	
Increase of payments by new stock	-	-	32,000	
To be paid to government	-	-	500,000	
				1,132,000
				Remains £107,241

From this statement, it appears, that, in the first year, a balance will remain unappropriated, and which, as the debt in India is paid off, will be annually increasing, Mr. Dundas concluded his long and laborious statement, by submitting to the committee the following resolutions, founded on the accounts referred to them :

“ That it appears, that on an average of three years, 1787 to 1789-90, inclusive, the revenues of the several presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, have amounted

to six millions, eight hundred and ninety seven thousand seven hundred and thirty pounds per annum ; and the charges incurred in the civil and military establishments, as far as can be ascertained, to five millions, two hundred and thirty three thousand, seven hundred and seventeen pounds per annum, valuing the current rupee at two shillings, the star pagoda at eight shillings, and the Bombay rupee, at two shillings and threepence.

“ That it appears, that allowing fifty thousand pounds per annum

for the expences of Bencoolen and Pinang, the net revenues of the British possessions in India, on the foregoing average, have amounted to one million six hundred and fourteen thousand and thirteen pounds per annum.

“ That it appears that the revenues arising from the countries ceded to the company by Tippoo Sultan, at the termination of the late war, stated in the treaty, at thirteen lacks, sixteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-five pagodas, and which countries are estimated by the court of directors, to produce three hundred and ninety thousand pounds per annum, are not included in the foregoing average amount of revenues.

“ That it appears, that the future revenues of the British possessions in India, are estimated, by the court of directors, to amount to six millions, nine hundred and sixty-three thousand, six hundred and twenty-five pounds per annum, and the civil and military charges (including one hundred and four thousand four hundred and fifty pounds for commercial charges) to five millions three hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and seventy-five pounds per annum.

“ That it appears, that the net revenues of the British provinces in India, after defraying the civil, military, and commercial charges, are estimated, by the court of directors, at one million six hundred and twenty-one thousand and fifty pounds.

“ That it appears, that the debts owing by the East India company at the several settlements in India amounted, on the 31st day of January, 1792, as near as can be ascertained, to the sum of nine crore,

eight lacks, forty-five thousand five hundred and eight current rupees.

“ That it appears, that the amount of the debt, bearing interest on the 31st day of January 1792, was six crore, ninety-three lacks, thirty-nine thousand four hundred and thirty-two current rupees, and that the amount of that interest was fifty-nine lacks, twenty-two thousand and ninety current rupees; but that, from later advices, the amount of debt bearing interest is stated by the court of directors at six millions six hundred and sixty-nine thousand and eighty-two pounds, and the amount of that interest at five hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds.

“ That it appears, that, after deducting the interest payable on the debts in India, from the excess of the revenues above the civil, military, and commercial charges, the net surplus is estimated at one million and fifty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds per annum.

“ That it appears, that, on the average of the three last years, from the first day of March 1790 to 1793, the prime cost of goods sold by the East-India company has amounted to two millions five hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight pounds per annum; that the customs payable on those goods has amounted to six hundred and twelve thousand two hundred and thirty-one pounds per annum; the charges of freight and demurrage to seven hundred and seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty-three pounds, and the charges of merchandize to three hundred, and six thousand one hundred and eighty-five pounds per annum, making

making the total of prime cost and charges four millions one hundred and eighty-six thousand five hundred and ninety-seven pounds per annum.

"That it appears that the goods sold by the company in the last three years, on an average, have amounted to five millions one hundred and three thousand and ninety-four pounds per annum, which exceeds the prime cost and charges by nine hundred and sixteen thousand four hundred and ninety-seven pounds.

"That it appears, that the prime cost, and several charges of customs, freight, and charges of merchandize, of the goods to be sold by the East India company, are estimated, by the court of directors, to amount to four millions two hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred and ninety-eight pounds per annum.

"That it appears, that the sales of goods by the East India company, are estimated, by the court of directors, to amount to four millions nine hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred pounds per annum, which exceeds the prime cost and charges by seven hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and two pounds.

"That it appears, that the charges and profit on private trade, on the average of the last three years, have amounted to eighty-three thousand three hundred and ninety-three pounds per annum, and are estimated, by the court of directors, to amount to seventy thousand pounds per annum in future.

"That it appears, that the net surplus on the whole of the revenues and trade of the East India company, after paying eight per

cent. dividend on the capital stock, of five millions, is estimated, by the court of directors, to amount to one million two hundred and thirty-nine thousand two hundred and forty-one pounds per annum."

Mr. Hussey said, the right hon. gentleman had triumphed on the consent which his plan had obtained in another place; but his triumph would have been somewhat diminished, if he had considered that such consent had been bought by the addition of two per cent. on the capital of the East India company, and an exclusive charter. Mr. Dundas replied, and the House adjourned.

The attention of the House of Commons was next called to renew its attention to the slave trade; a subject whose important discussion had, in some preceding sessions, employed the first talents and eloquence of the lower House of Parliament, and was still in a state of examination, by the deliberative wisdom of the House of Lords.

On Tuesday, the 26th of February, Mr. Wilberforce stated, that the motion which he proposed to make was, in his opinion, so much a motion of course, that he flattered himself, no serious opposition would be made to it, as it was no more than a preliminary to the renewal of the resolutions which were carried last year by a considerable majority. He then moved, "That this House will, on Thursday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the circumstances of the African slave trade.

Sir William Young said, that reflection, instead of making him desist from his opposition, had served

served only to confirm him in an opinion, that the great question of the slave-trade ought not to be agitated at present. Men's minds, both at home and in the West Indies, were, at this moment, too much heated for a sober and cool deliberation on such an important question; many exaggerated accounts had been given of the situation and treatment of the negroes, both before their departure from the coast of Africa, and after their arrival in the islands; by these accounts the passions of the House had been excited to decide against the dictates of judgment and sound policy. He was ready to admit, that in its principle it was not to be defended, and must necessarily be repugnant to the feelings of mankind; but such were the circumstances of our West-India colonies, that the continuance even of such a trade for some time longer was absolutely necessary to their existence, and its abolition would be their ruin. On this subject he said he could speak from his own knowledge, for during the last summer he visited most of the English islands in the West-Indies, and he could take upon him to say, that a great deal of what he had heard in that House in the course of the last session, respecting the treatment and condition of the negroes, appeared to him to be unfounded in fact. It had often been said that by the irregularity of number of males and females imported into the islands, and the excessive labour to which they were exposed, very few children were reared, and that this was the reason that it became necessary to import so many Africans every year. He declared, that

having viewed the negro villages on many estates, he had seen as many children in each, as could be found in any village of the same size in England. This would serve to shew that the necessity of importation might be gradually diminished; and the plantations be worked by creole negroes, instead of Africans. The condition of the slaves had of late been considerably mended; the act for regulating the middle passage had been productive of very happy consequences; and many regulations had been adopted in the colonial assemblies, tending greatly to better the condition of these poor people. He maintained that in whatever related to the slaves and slave trade, this country could not act with efficacy, without the concurrence of the legislature of the islands; these bodies were extremely well disposed to do every thing that could reasonably be required at their hands; and more it would not be prudent to ask.

He concluded by moving an amendment, viz. that the words "Thursday next," should be left out, and the words, "This day six months," inserted in their stead.

Mr. Buxton, after some general observations on the dangers which threatened our happy constitution, from a prevailing spirit of innovation, and the impolicy of listening to clamours without doors, seconded the motion for the amendment.

After several gentlemen had briefly objected to or supported the motion, Mr. Fox observed, that the question now was, whether the House would not proceed, and at once lay it down as a rule, that they would do nothing whatever upon the present subject in this session

session of parliament, although, after a long discussion, deliberate resolutions had been entered into, in the last, and they had come to a determination that the slave trade from Africa to our colonies and plantations should cease the 1st of January in the year 1796.

It was said that the abolition should be with the concurrence of the legislative body of our colonies, before it could be effectual. Upon what principle it was that we were to anticipate their refusing to concur with us, Mr. Fox said he could not devise, and that if they were determined to thwart our intentions, how far it might be deemed prudent for us, under such circumstances, to continue our connection with them, he would not now discuss; but of this he was sure, that the House had power over the trade of this country, and could say under what regulations it should be carried on, and when it should cease, and how long they would suffer by an acknowledged evil. He then observed, that if there were any objections to the late resolutions in any particular part, such objection would come regularly before the committee on Thursday, and should then be argued; for as to the danger of agitating it, he confessed, he differed entirely from those who expressed their apprehensions upon that subject; or if there was any danger in that respect, it must arise from its not being agitated while there was a difference of opinion; agitation was necessary to set that difference at rest. Indeed he once hoped that the House would not now have had to debate the question at all, for that it should by this time have passed into a law.

He should not now pretend to anticipate the discussion of the House of Lords; he hoped that their decision would be agreeable to the principles of justice and humanity; in the mean time the House of Commons should not slacken its efforts upon that subject. If the course of the discussion in the other House should lead to such length, or should take a turn that would render hopeless the thought of its coming to a conclusion this session, then he should advise the bringing forward of some other measure that might give efficacy to the resolutions, which had for their object the immediate regulations of the trade, independent of the total abolition in the year 1796.

To return to the point more immediately before the House, Mr. Fox said, he complained of an evil and, an abuse, which, he maintained, it was practicable to remove; and, as he had before hinted, if the proceedings of another place should be such as not to give satisfaction, that they would be removed, and that the first resolution for abolition in 1796, should pass this session, then that House should substitute such other remedies as might meet their ideas upon the regulation of the trade between this time, and the period of final abolition. Until these points should have been fairly canvassed by argument, he trusted that the House would not pursue a step so disreputable to its own honour and dignity, so dissatisfactory to the public in general, as to relinquish their former opinion, or, in other words, to tell the world at large, there was no sincerity in their declarations on a former day, and that they had completely given up even the gradual

gradual abolition of the slave trade, and that they never would resolve upon that measure at this or any other period.

Mr. Pitt expressed his hopes that there would be no difficulty in revoting the propositions voted last year, and that however gentlemen on either side of the question might have objected to these propositions, there would be no difference of opinion on them now. But by renewing the resolutions of last session, and sending them up to the Lords, no member of the House was restricted from proposing such other measures, as the delay in the other House might seem to demand.

The original motion was now put, and lost by a majority of 61, against 53; when, after some conversation among several of the members, Sir William Young's amendment to the original motion was proposed and carried.

Though it may be considered as deviating from due order in the succession of public measures, we shall follow up the first proposition made by Mr. Wilberforce relative to the slave trade, in the course of this year, with such as were afterwards made, though at distant intervals, on the same subject.

On Thursday the 21st of March, Mr. Whitbread, jun. rose to express his fears from what had already happened this year in the House of Commons, on the subject of the slave trade, and the late period which the other house had fixed for proceeding to the consideration of the subject, and the examination of witnesses respecting it, that nothing effectual would be done this session for abolishing it, and that the trade would con-

tinue at least for another year to disgrace this country. He requested the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) who had hitherto taken the lead in this important business, not to suffer his zeal to abate, but, on the contrary, to pursue, with double vigour, an object which, in all times to come, must secure to his name the gratitude and veneration of all true friends to humanity. He wished the honourable gentleman would be so good as to state to the House what were his intentions on the subject; and assured him, that if he was still determined to press for the abolition during the present session, he should be supported by him and his friends to the utmost of their power.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed his concern that Mr. Dundas, who had taken so large a share last year in the question of the slave trade, had not thought proper this year to pursue even his own plan; and he was equally concerned that the Lords had put off the consideration of it till after the Easter holidays. These two circumstances, he said, were certainly unfavourable to the idea of effecting the abolition this year; though he did not despair of seeing this important measure carried into effect during the present session. At the same time, in answer to a question put by Mr. Lambton, he acknowledged that he should be glad even to regulate the slave trade, if he could not abolish it.

Mr. Wilberforce, on Tuesday the 14th of May, renewed the subject, and after a short speech on the subject of the slave trade, as far as it regarded the supply of negroes to foreign powers by English ships; and

and also on the necessity of limiting the number of slaves to be imported to the British colonies, moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for abolishing the trade, carried on by English merchants, for supplying foreign territories with slaves."

Mr. Fox, after taking notice of what the House had done last year, and what the Lords were doing this year upon this subject, warned them not to trust too much to the good temper of the people, by playing and trifling with their requests, passing resolutions in one session in one year, by which the public were taught to expect that this infamous traffic should in time be abolished, and then to abandon the whole in another session by having recourse to the shift of saying, that the subject was before the other House; that it was a dangerous time to meddle with our commerce; or by any such quibbles. This trade was no more like a real, fair commerce, than it was like justice or humanity: commerce was disgraced by being compared to it. It was an odious, monstrous, inhuman traffic, and a foul stain upon the British character. Such the majority of the House thought it last year; such the mass of the people thought then; such they thought it now; and if they had not renewed their petitions to the House, it was because they had confidence in its justice, its humanity, its honour, and its regard for the consistency of its own proceedings; and gentlemen would do well, if they wished the public to have any esteem for that House, not to teach them that their confidence was misplaced, when they thought that House would perform its duty. Having

urged these, and other points, he trusted the House would agree to the motion; or that if they thought the House too thin to decide upon a point so important, they would adjourn the debate for a day or two, and go into a committee, and discuss the subject fairly, if any farther discussion was necessary.

Mr. Pitt went at length into the subject, and took notice of all the arguments urged against the motion, and maintained that the House ought, in justice to its own character, and in support of its own honour, to adopt the motion now before them.—The House divided, for the motion 41—against it 34.

Mr. Wilberforce then moved—"That leave be given to bring in a bill for limiting and regulating the importation of slaves to the British colonies in the West-Indies for a time to be limited." After some conversation, the House divided on the motion,

Ayes	-	-	25
Noes	-	-	35

Majority against the motion 10

On Wednesday, the 23d of May, Mr. Wilberforce moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider of a motion for preventing the supply of foreign powers with slaves; which being carried, a bill was ordered to be brought in for that purpose, which was negatived on the third reading, June 12, by a majority of 31 against 29.

On Wednesday, the 20th of March, the duke of Clarence presented two petitions from the West India planters, and the ship-owners of Liverpool, to the House of Lords, praying their lordships that they would

would not proceed further in the consideration of the slave trade till after the recess. Accordingly the order for proceeding in that business was enlarged from the succeeding day, to Thursday the 11th of April; when the earl of Abington rose to make a motion on the subject.

After some animated observations on the principles and character of the French nation, and a variety of arguments to support the opinion, that the idea of abolishing the slave trade is connected with the levelling system and the rights of man; his lordship asked who could controvert such a position? For in the very definition of the terms themselves, as descriptive of the thing, what does the abolition of the slave trade mean more or less in effect, than liberty and equality? What more or less than the rights of man? And what is liberty and equality, and what the rights of man, but the foolish fundamental principles of this new philosophy. If proofs are wanting, look at the colony of St. Domingo, and see what the rights of man have done there. There you will see rivers of commerce dried up, while fountains of human blood are made to issue in their stead.—Hear also what Robespierre has said upon this very occasion: “Perish the colonies, rather than that we should lose one of our principles. But let us remember that we have colonies of our own, and that by making the same experiment, we shall produce the same consequences.”

His lordship then proceeded to arraign the dissenters as the abettors of the proposed abolition of the slave trade, and after a very desul-

tory speech, [which embraced various political topics, he moved, “That the further consideration of the question for the abolition of the slave trade be postponed to that day five months.”

Earl Stanhope said, he never was more surprised at any circumstance than the present motion; it was unprecedented in practice—unvindicated by reason. What! stop a judicial inquiry, when only one side of the question had been heard, and refuse to receive the arguments that were to be opposed to the evidence? This would be the height of injustice. The abolition of the slave trade was a glorious, a most glorious work; it was the work of humanity, of freedom, and of justice! and as such it should, in every stage of its progress, have all the support he was able to give it. He saw not how the conduct of the French interfered in this business: our slave trade had nothing to do with the revolution in France, and therefore he should give the motion his most decided negative.

The duke of Clarence, after stating his reasons for deferring the farther consideration of the slave trade to this day, informed their lordships that he certainly meant to have made some motion on the subject similar to that which was offered by the noble earl; for he did truly conceive, from the most incontrovertible proofs in his own mind, that it would be impolitic, and greatly unjust, to destroy it in the manner proposed by the friends of its abolition. His highness then went pretty much at large into the merits of the trade, the immense capital that was employed, the stake that was held in that part of the world, and the consequences that
must

must ensue from putting a stop to that which ages had confirmed as highly beneficial to this country.

Lord Grenville, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl of Mansfield, and the bishop of St. David's, having spoken against the motion, the earl of Abingdon was induced to withdraw it.

On Wednesday the 17th of April, before evidence was examined at the bar of the House of Lords, on the subject of the slave trade, the bishop of St. David's rose, and made some remarks on the subject, which did not long occupy the attention of the House, as the consideration of it was soon obliged to give place to the order of the day; and was therefore adjourned to a future opportunity,

On Wednesday the 27th of February, the House of Commons, in a committee of supply, voted five millions and an half to his majesty upon exchequer bills; and the House being resumed, it was ordered that the report be received on the following day.

On Monday the 4th of March, Mr. Sheridan brought forward his promised motion, the object of which was to appoint a committee to enquire into the truth of the reports of sedition in this country. He should not, he said, attempt to prove that there never existed any sufficient reason for apprehending the danger of sedition, or that there had not been an act of insurrection in any part of the kingdom to warrant the propagation of such reports; but he contended that nothing whatever had happened to justify the alarm that had followed. When he should move for a committee to enquire into those things, he did not wish to say any thing

upon the effect of such inquiry at present; his object was to know in what situation this country really was, and also to know whether the language made use of by his majesty's ministers upon the subject of sedition, conspiracy, and treason, was not at least premature at the time it was uttered, and consequently that nothing had happened in this country that could justify government in the steps they had taken, and the proceedings they instituted; at present, however, he had the satisfaction, as he really believed the House had, of thinking that these reports were ill-founded: to remove all doubt, however, upon that subject, and to obtain complete information, were the objects of his motion.

With respect to the late supposed sedition in this kingdom, and of that supposed temper for insurrection, as well as the lurking treason of which we heard so much by hints and conjectures, there were three circumstances to be considered, and three points of view in which the subject might be placed. The first was that the danger in this country had been real; secondly, that the danger was not real, but that the whole was a false alarm, really entertained by government, the effect of a delusion successfully practised upon them; in which case the propagation, on their part, although unfortunate, was yet honest. The third was, that the whole was founded on a systematic plan, laid by government for deluding the sense, and finally subduing the spirit of the people. It was, in his opinion, the duty of parliament to regard the subject in either of these three points of view; but he could not perceive any other in which it could

could be properly regarded ; and he saw in all of them no way of proceeding with propriety but by instituting a committee of inquiry. Let us suppose, for instance, the whole evil was really felt as ministers had described at the beginning of the session. What then would follow ? Most certainly the adoption of a committee of inquiry, in order than a plan should be laid for our future safety. What was the next thing to be attended to, and the next view of the subject, supposing that ministers really apprehended danger, although in truth there had not existed any ? Most certainly that a committee should be appointed to inquire, and that they might make their report upon the situation of the country, announce it to be in a state of safety, and calm the apprehensions of the public. In the third point of view, that supposing the whole to be a mere device on the part of government, for the purpose of leading the people more easily in a war with France, by persuading them that there are at this moment many agents from France, who are doing every thing they can to disturb the peace and internal tranquillity of this country : again he must say, that a committee should be appointed to inquire, in order that the public should know the deception which had been practised on them, and that if the war had been so commenced, the people should be enabled to employ the means of declaring to the throne their sentiments upon that subject.

After having dismissed the two first parts of the subject, with his usual ability, he proceeded to examine the question, whether mini-

sters had spread those alarms for purposes which they did not avow. He should, with great reluctance, he said, put that construction upon their conduct ; but there had been such encouragement given to reports of a certain nature, that he hardly knew how to avoid saying, that these alarms were created for very dangerous purposes. Indeed, he could not refrain from observing that there appeared on the part of his majesty's ministers, first, a desire to inflame the minds of the people to prepare them to go to war with France ; and secondly, an inclination to divert the public mind from the question of parliamentary reform, for the purpose of concealing the apostacy of certain individuals, who do not chuse to be put to the test, and tried by the public upon the standard of their own professions. As to the first of these points, namely, that of inflaming the minds of the people of this country, in order to prepare them for a war with France, Mr. Sheridan said, he need only refer to the speech of the right honourable gentleman himself (Mr. Pitt), who had said, at an early stage of the discussion of that subject, that he believed the public rather reproached government for supineness, than blamed it for its promptitude in going to war. This was a mode of bespeaking the opinion of the public ; and he could not help saying it appeared to him, from that and other things, that attempts were made, and some of them he was sorry to say, successful ones, to inflame the public mind with regard to France. He was surprised to hear it said by one honourable gentleman in that House,

House, that the only consolation that could arise from the death or murder of the late unfortunate Louis was, that it would rouse the indignation and animosity of mankind against France. This was a consolation arising from inhumanity, that he did not envy; he knew there were those who did not mourn that unhappy event. There were those who did not interest themselves to avert that misfortune. But those who loved freedom, or cherished liberty, must ever deplore the transaction, because by one act they had armed despotism, and given a fatal blow to the general interests of mankind. Such was his opinion now, and such it always had been upon that subject.

With regard to the other motive of ministers, namely, that of diverting the attention of the public from the question of parliamentary reform, he believed in his conscience that there was a design of that nature entertained by ministers in this country, which had succeeded for a time; but all this was temporary, for the people were not to be deluded for ever. God forbid they should! God forbid that a brave nation should be blinded for a long time by a few individuals, and that a whole country should be false to itself, and destitute of honour, because an individual or two had betrayed their character, and because a few persons were interested in propagating false alarms.

Mr. Sheridan next adverted to the manner in which government had proceeded to create the alarm to which he had alluded, and mentioned a variety of reports, which he treated at once with disbelief

and ridicule. In all the accounts of pretended insurrections, he maintained that there was not the least proof of discontent in the public mind or disaffection to government; but that the whole arose from other causes. These things entitled him to say, that there was ground for enquiry into the subject; and that an enquiry ought to take place to set the public at rest upon such topics. He next took notice of the effect of the system of delusion in the metropolis, and the hardships under which many individuals laboured in consequence of that system. He then observed, on the expression of the attorney general, "that he had two hundred cases to bring forward for prosecution, a very few of which had been brought forward, and they chiefly consisted of the crime of selling Mr. Paine's works. Mr. Sheridan also reprobated the mode adopted by the treasury of employing their solicitors, to engage various attorneys as agents in the business of discovering persons who distribute seditious books.— This, he observed, was to the last degree dangerous, because it went to the effect of placing in a situation to be tempted, a set of men not highly distinguished for superior morality, and of making them derive emolument from the litigation, which themselves, and not their clients, were to create. The association of the Crown and Anchor Tavern formed by Mr. Reeves, the sermon preached by the bishop of St. David's, before the House of Lords, and the conduct of those noblemen and gentlemen who had withdrawn their names from the Whig Clubs, formed the remaining topics of Mr. Sheridan's severe animad-

animadversion; and he concluded by moving, that the House should, on the Monday following, resolve itself into a committee to consider of the seditious practices, &c. referred to in his majesty's speech.

This motion was seconded by Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Windham rose to oppose it. He said, that the honourable gentleman had talked of plots and insurrections; but the existence of plots and insurrections had never been the question. The question was the state of the country, which in his opinion, was such as would have led to plots and insurrections. It related to seditious practices hitherto unknown, calling loudly for an effectual remedy, and amply justifying every act that had been adopted for the prevention of their farther progress. The species of insurrection stated in the proclamation, purported to be exactly what it was: and when gentlemen called for proofs of acts of positive insurrection, they called for proofs of what had never been asserted. Of the facts which had been cited, proofs had not been given, because they were deemed unnecessary.—The whole country had teemed with seditious publications; and when the state of the country had been talked of as justifying alarm, was not that fact sufficient? Another fact, no less convincing to his mind, as the foundation of national fear, was the assiduity with which those seditious publications had been circulated. To ask for proofs of the existence of those facts were as absurd as to ask for proofs of the existence of general Dumourier: and the minds of men might be as much perplexed by questions from a subtile inquirer on the one subject

as on the other. Might not a man, from a combination of a variety of disconnected circumstances, receive a convincing impression of a general fact, and not yet be able to state any particular proofs of such fact? Would gentleman be convinced by nothing less than ocular or tangible evidence of every subject of inquiry? Such reasoners no statement would satisfy; and if he should say, that there was a discontented spirit at Norwich, they might ask what judgment he could thence form concerning other parts of the kingdom? But it happened, that his conviction arose not from knowledge of so partial a nature. He had seen symptoms of a discontented spirit, not at Norwich only, but at various other places, and when people of all descriptions, from all parts of the kingdom, seemed to concur in feeling the same species of alarm, however false particular rumours might be, such terror could not be totally unfounded: there could not exist so much smoke without fire! One of the charges, he observed, that had been brought forward against government on the present occasion was, that they had for a long time designed to carry on a war against France; and therefore had created the present alarm, but to that charge no other answer appeared necessary than a reference to dates. The alarm had existed in November last, and government did not take measures till December. That alarm had called forth the different loyal associations, which had been so much misrepresented; but which had merited the highest praise, and none more so than that of the Crown and Anchor; an association that had actually been the means

means of saving this country. It had been said, by the agents of Paine, that the principles which would produce a revolution in this country, were operating with the silence and rapidity of thought. This fact, he said, was some time since to be ascertained from the general opinions of the people, from the fears of those who dreaded the event, and from the sanguine expectations of those who wished it. It had been the ruin of the government of France, that they did not adopt and carry into practice timely measures of prevention, and should we not take warning from the lamentable example of that unhappy country? Its present governors were people raised from the lowest to the highest situations, and a change in the political system of this country would throw power into the hands of characters similar to those in France. The massacres of the 2d of September were said to have been produced by a mere handful of men. If that were true, if so small a number could accomplish so extensive a mischief in Paris, guarded by armed troops, could such a city as London escape the blow? Mr. Windham then stated a report which he had heard of clubs having been formed, to which those who were admitted received money for their attendance, and were told that their services would be wanted on some future occasion. Such a report might possibly be untrue, but he had certainly heard it, and he had heard it from people not connected with each other. When it was asserted that such clubs met only for the purpose of parliamentary reform, and conducted themselves in an orderly manner, he

thought that the grounds for alarm was greater; just as he should have more reason to fear an hostile army on being told that it was well disciplined. It was curious that gentlemen should require proofs of such a fact as that of the opinion entertained throughout the kingdom.

The fire, Mr. Windham said, was suppressed for a time but not extinguished. The measures of government had already produced good effects. They had checked the operations of those who wished to overturn the constitution; and they had stopped others from going over to the party. These men had now found it to be their advantage to pretend that no danger had happened, like housebreakers, who rested on their arms, and affected ignorance when in danger of detection from the family whom their efforts had awakened, but who resolved, as soon as suspicion should be laid asleep, to renew their atrocities. Mr. Windham mentioned the obstinate incredulity of those whose persisted to think that the alarm throughout the country was created by administration as a pretext for their subsequent conduct. He re-asserted that the evidence of public danger was to him indubitable; and as the majority of that House had sanctioned such an opinion, he should vote against the present motion.

The lord Mayor, (sir James Saunderson) rose to state some facts which came to his knowledge in his official capacity. He then gave an accurate history of several political associations in the city of London, and of his conduct concerning them. These societies, he said, adopted in the widest extreme the

the principles of Thomas Paine, and inculcated, under the pretext of a reform in parliament, those principles which tended to subvert our happy constitution. French opinions were recommended uniformly and artfully at all these various clubs, and disseminated, with the utmost industry, into all the corners of the kingdom, and under the French proceedings, assembling themselves under the style of citizen and equal—no king—no nobles—no clergy, were the subjects of their discussions, and the only remedy pointed out by the leaders, was the desperate extremity of creating a new organ, namely, a convention of Englishmen; it being roundly asserted, that parliament itself was too corrupt to admit of any other resource. The chief magistrate also mentioned another very numerous society, which had been expelled from the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill. He said, that on the evening preceding their expulsion, the chairman publicly declared, without any material opposition, that he held republican principles, and after stating to the company, details of riots, in various places, and particularly an attempt to plant the tree of liberty in Dundee, he added, "that he lamented that we were not so forward." His lordship concluded by submitting his conduct to the judgment of the House, and declaring that he should vote against the motion.

Mr. Fox, after treating certain reports, such as that of a conspiracy formed to seize the Tower of London, as he thought they deserved, declared, that neither he nor his friends were obstinate infidels, but that they only desired to

be convinced, and would readily alter their opinion, if they saw any reasonable evidence to induce them so to do. As to what had been said, that no pretext had been held forth by ministers to justify the proclamations for calling out the militia, and for the meeting of parliament, but that they had fairly and distinctly stated the fact; he must beg leave to observe that a true fact may frequently be used as a false pretext; and here, by the honourable gentleman's own account of the matter, the insurrections satisfied at most but the letter of the law; while a cause totally different and unconnected, either with these insurrections or with the purview of the act of parliament, was resorted to in order to satisfy the spirit of the act.

Mr. Fox now adverted to the proceedings of the Crown and Anchor association, and remarked with great severity on receiving and considering anonymous information. He then asked, if it could be considered as a justifiable expedient of administration, to tell the public that treasons and conspiracies existed, and neither to prosecute nor endeavour to discover the conspirators and traitors. He knew that it had been confidently asserted, among other things, that letters had been written by him and his friends to persons in France, of a dangerous tendency, and that it was owing entirely to the lenity of ministers, that they were not produced. If ministers were in possession of any such letters, he challenged them to the proof. But he should be told it was an awkward thing to produce letters opened at the Post Office. To that he should answer, the awkwardness was in opening them

them at the Post-Office. It did, however, so happen, that for, he believed, more than two years, he had not had occasion to write a single letter to France, except one to an English friend (Lord Lauderdale) when at Paris. Again he should be told, that he had seen Frenchmen in this country, and that he had seen the French minister. He had seen Frenchmen here, and had seen the French minister; but he had yet to learn, that it was any crime for him or any gentleman to see the minister sent to our court from any country. He knew of no law by which members of parliament, like senators of Venice, were prohibited from even conversing with the ministers of foreign states. Was it not a situation of the country horrible to relate, that men's correspondence and conversation were to be pried into with such inquisitorial jealousy, as to make it dangerous for them to commit their thoughts to paper, or to converse with a stranger, but in presence of a third person? Let the House do away all these suspicions and rumours by an honest inquiry, and restore the public to that freedom and confidence, both of writing and speech, which it was the pride of our constitution to bestow, and which became the frank and open character of a free people. Mr. Fox concluded with declaring, that he was still incredulous, and should vote for enquiry, which was never more necessary, than when the situation of the country was apprehended to be dangerous.

After a long speech of Mr. Burke, which displayed his usual ardour and eloquence, on various circumstances of the French revolution, and was productive of a very un-

VOL. XXXV.

pleasant altercation between him and Mr. Fox, the motion introduced by Mr. Sheridan was negatived without a division.

The period which is comprehended in this chapter, embraces several very important circumstances. Parliament, sensible of the unusual situation of the country, may be said neither to have slumbered nor slept; but to have persevered in an unremitting state of deliberative exertion. Several laws were framed for the protection of the kingdom against the designs of domestic as well as foreign enemies; and the whole power of the representative wisdom of Great Britain seems to have been employed in guarding against dangers, with which our constitution and liberties were menaced, by the tremendous power, the revolutionary spirit and destructive principles of the French convention.

By the alien bill, the public tranquillity received an additional security; as it subjected the resort and residence of foreigners to certain regulations, in order to obviate any dangers which might arise from the intrigues and machinations of Frenchmen admitted into this country. Other bills also received the assent of the legislature to prevent the circulation of assignats, bonds and promissory notes of the French government, and to prohibit the exportation of grain, under certain circumstances, as well as that of naval stores. These laws which were made to prohibit the importation of French emissaries, and the exportation of specie, grain and naval stores, for the service of France, may be considered as measures of the most urgent precaution, which existing circumstances

[H] perem-

peremptorily required, and subsequent events have completely justified.

The production of the correspondence between Lord Grenville and Mr. Chauvelin, the French minister at the court of London, is so connected with the affairs of France, that we shall refer our remarks upon it to that part of our work which is assigned to foreign transactions.

But the most important and interesting event which is presented to our consideration in the foregoing pages, is the declaration of war against Great Britain, by the Convention of France; and event engendered by that revolutionary spirit which menaced the constituted authorities of every neighbouring kingdom, and which it became the interest and the duty of every neighbouring kingdom to resist. This country, however, appears to have observed a very strict neutrality with respect to France; and if the French had confined themselves within the limits of their own government, no reason suggests itself to us, which can justify the opinion, that this scrupulous neutrality would not have been continued. But this line of conduct, Great Britain, though with great reluctance, was obliged to change, not only in its own defence, but for the maintenance of every existing system in Europe, in the balance of which she not only formed a principal part, but in the due preservation of which she has so material an interest.

That spirit of aggrandizement which France had openly professed, she had now begun to execute. Under the pretext of establishing universal liberty and fraternity, she

aimed at universal conquest. She had over-run the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, the province of Nice, the duchy of Savoy, and several states situated on the Rhine; while her victories were attended with consequences unknown to civilized nations. She, at length, threatened to fraternize, or, in other words, to subjugate Holland. In this state of things, is there a reflecting, unprejudiced man to be found, who will seriously deny the necessity which impelled this country to prepare itself for the probable contingencies of a period so big with menace and alarm?

The possibility of preventing war by the British government has, indeed, been boldly asserted, but never, at least, to our comprehension, satisfactorily proved. To treat with France at such a moment, appears to have been altogether impracticable, where the momentary and fickle will of an armed multitude had been substituted for order and for laws. The outcry of the leading persons in the French government, if, at this period, it can be called a government, was a general revolution, to be obtained in every kingdom in Europe, by exciting internal revolt, or menacing external attack. Could England, therefore, consistently with her honour or her interest, remain a tranquil spectator of the destructive march of such a people. Was she not compelled by both these influencing principles to draw her sword, and advance to protect her allies from the destroying power that threatened them. France knew the terms on which she might secure, as she had possessed, the neutrality of Great Britain. She had only to withdraw



HISTORY OF EUROPE. [99

withdraw her forces within her own territories, and to confine herself to the establishment of her own constitution. But peace was not her object : to use the expression of Brissot, when he was the predominant demagogue of the French nation, the four corners of Europe must be in flames before the power of France could be established : nay, it is a known, incontrovertible fact, that the French executive government had, with a characteristic perfidy, determined on a war with England, at the very moment when its agent in London was engaged in a correspondence with the British ministry, for the avowed purpose of preserving peace. It appears therefore, that there was no alternative. Great Britain had most scrupulously avoided committing the least act of provocation, while the French were equally anxious to discover or invent some pretext for aggression. The reasons which they assigned for declaring war are so frivolous, so ridiculous, and so ill-founded, as to render them objects of contempt as well as detestation, and evidently prove, that war was a constituent part of that policy, by which their tyranny was to be maintained ; that it was considered by them as the purveyor to provide for the blood-thirsty maw of a ferocious ambition.

Great eloquence was, indeed, employed by Mr. Fox, and other partisans of opposition, to prove, that war might have been avoided, if ministers had attended to the real honour and interests of their country ; and that France itself was anxious to maintain peace, when she was forced into hostilities by the aggressions of Great Britain. But, surely, it may be asked, with some

degree of confidence, if the French executive government, in the interval which elapsed between the 19th of November, and the final departure of M. Chauvelin from England, evinced a disposition to remove the well-founded alarms experienced by our court, by a repeal of the decree which gave rise to them? The French rulers did indeed deny that it would bear the interpretation which had been given to it by the British ministry, but their whole conduct at this time gave the lie to their assertions. It would be a matter of some difficulty to produce, from the annals of any country, a more gross contradiction between the professions and practice of a government, or a more perfidious violation of truth and good faith, than those by which the political proceedings of the French were distinguished. It is remarkable also, that, on the 15th of December, the very day when a decree passed the national assembly, whose articles contain a systematic plan for disorganising all civilised governments, and profess to consider as enemies any nation who should presume to reject their offer of liberty and equality or to enter into any treaty with a prince or privileged orders ;—on that very day, the provisional executive council wrote to their agent Chauvelin, instructing him to disavow all hostile intentions on the part of France, and to proclaim how much they detested the thought of entering into a war with England. In short, the hostile principles of the offensive decrees were almost immediately confirmed by the instructions of the provincial executive council, to the national commissioners in the Netherlands : nor is it the least ex-

traordinary circumstance of these extraordinary transactions, that these instructions were signed by the executive council, on the 8th of January, 1793; the very day when Mons. Le Brun, one of the members who subscribed them, addressed a paper to lord Grenville, in which he declared that the French knew how to respect other governments, and did not wish to impose laws on any.

Such were the circumstances which influenced, not only a very commanding majority of both houses of parliament, but, as it evidently appeared, of the nation at large, to consider the war with France not only as necessary for the maintenance of treaties and the support of our allies; but as essential to the preservation of our political existence as a free and happy people.

Nor did the incredulity of Mr. Sheridan, respecting the existence of domestic faction and seditious practices, meet with any support in parliament, but from the diminished phalanx of opposition. His accusation of ministers for creating

and fomenting a spirit of alarm throughout the country to answer their own political purposes, was very generally considered as a mere ebullition of party rancour, which had no foundation in truth or probability. Men politically ignorant, or politically prejudiced, might deny the existence of seditious practices; but can better evidence be required to that point, than the declaration of those very persons who were obviously planning, in concert with France, the subversion of our constitution: who, in the most public and daring manner, avowed, that numerous societies were forming themselves upon the same principle in every part of England; and who declared, with an exulting expectation, the speedy approach of that time, when the French should send addresses to the national convention of England. After such a testimony, will any serious, unprejudiced, reflecting man, accuse ministers of raising frivolous alarms, and fomenting public apprehensions, in order to promote their own views of power and ambition.

C H A P. III.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons respecting the Hanoverian Troops. Similar Message to the House of Lords. Committee of Supply. Ways and Means. Army Extraordinaries. Surplus of the Consolidated Fund. Resolutions for continuing Taxes. Resolutions for issuing Exchequer Bills. Terms of the Loan. Million and an Half Bill. The Traitorous Correspondence Bill. The Petition of the East-India Company respecting the Renewal of their Charter. Resolutions brought forward by Mr. Dundas on Indian Affairs. Curious Proposal for an Amicable Negotiation with France, by Mons. Le Brun. Commercial Credit Bill. Lord Auckland's Memorial brought forward in both Houses of Parliament. Scotch Peers Election. Mr. Hastings's Petition, &c. to the House of Lords. Lord Rawdon's Bill for amending the Laws respecting Debtor and Creditor. The Scotch Catholic Bill.

ON Wednesday, the 6th of March, Mr. Secretary Dundas presented to the House of Commons a message from his majesty, informing them that he had judged it expedient to employ, in the

the service of Great Britain, a body of his electoral troops, for the purpose of assisting his allies the States General of the United Provinces, and of prosecuting, in the most effectual manner, the just and necessary war in which his majesty is engaged, and that his majesty had directed an estimate to be laid before the House of Commons of the charge attending the employment of the said troops; and his majesty relied on the zeal of his faithful Commons, that they would be ready to make the necessary provision for maintaining the same.

It was then ordered that his majesty's most gracious message be referred to the consideration of the committee of the whole House, to whom it is referred, to consider further of the supply granted to his majesty.

On the same day a similar message was delivered to the House of Peers by lord Grenville, for which an address of thanks was voted in the usual forms.

On the 11th of March, the House of Commons, having resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Pitt said, before I proceed to enumerate the expences of the present year, and the means and aids by which they are to be supplied, I must first mention the leading object which has governed my mind upon this occasion, namely, the recollection of the unanimous opinion, with respect to the present struggle, which the House have carried to the throne, and published to the world; that they regarded it as a struggle for whatever was most dear and sacred, for the security of the throne and the pre-

servation of the constitution; and that they were prepared to prosecute it with the greatest exertion, and a zeal proportioned to the importance of the objects for which we contended. The first object to be regarded is, the vigorous and effectual prosecution of this war, in which we have every thing at stake; and it is by such a prosecution of the war, that we shall best consult true prudence and rational œconomy. I do not wish to conceal from the House and from the public, that large preparations must be made, and considerable expences incurred. Œconomy, in our present situation, must not appear in limiting the extent of these expences, but in controuling their application. There is another point also, which it is my wish to inculcate; that whatever degree of exertion we may regard as necessary, or may be disposed to make, the public ought not, in any respect, to be deluded and flattered.—They ought to be made sensible of the full extent to which they may be liable to be called upon to defray the expences of the war. But though in calculating the expences of a war much may be done by estimate, a great deal must still depend on contingency. Unforeseen occurrences will continually arise, which will render additional expences necessary. Taking then these occurrences into view, it is proper to allow considerable latitude for the expences that may be incurred. It is part of my plan to allow a considerable sum for these extraordinary emergencies, so as to make a full provision for every part of the expence. But there is another object to be attended to: whatever degree

degree of exertion may be made in the present contest, which involves the dearest and most sacred objects, still we must not allow ourselves to neglect what likewise involves in it the permanent interests of ourselves and our posterity. I not only mean still to employ the annual million for the reduction of the national debt, but likewise the sum of 200,000*l.* which was last year understood to be set apart for that purpose, so as to provide, even during the continuance of the war, for the lessening of the debt by compound interest. I likewise mean to avoid another evil which

has taken place in all former wars—the accumulation of an unfunded debt. I therefore intend to bring the unfunded debt every year to a distinct account. In conformity with this principle, I shall propose the payment of the navy debt, in order to reduce it to the establishment mentioned by the committee in their report last year. I shall now proceed in the usual way to state, first, the total amount of the supply, and the total amount of the ways and means, distinguishing the excesses of the services, and of the resources.

SUPPLY.

NAVY.

25,000 seamen, including marines	-	-	£ 1,300,000	0	0	
20,000 ditto	-	-	1,040,000	0	0	
Ordinary	-	-	£ 669,205	5	10	
Extraordinary	-	-	387,710	0	0	
				1,056,915	5	10
Excess of navy debt beyond the estimate of the committee	-	-	-	575,000	0	0
			Total	£ 3,971,915	5	10

ARMY.

Army	-	-	-	-	2,573,187	18	0
Hanoverians	-	-	-	-	455,851	14	8
Militia	-	-	-	-	939,519	15	7
					£3,968,559	8	3

ORDNANCE.

Ordinary extraordinaries	-	-	-	502,686	13	5
Additional estimates	-	-	-	290,382	2	8
				793,568	16	1
			Total	£ 8,734,043	10	2

Miscellaneous services	-	-	-	£ 175,844	11	2½
------------------------	---	---	---	-----------	----	----

DEFICIENCY

DEFICIENCY OF GRANTS.

Arising from interest on exchequer bills, lottery,			
deficiency of ways and means	-	-	£222,325 2 4
Deficiency of land and malt	-	-	350,000 0 0
To be made annually to the sinking fund	-	-	200,000 0 0

With regard to the expence of the navy, for which 45,000 seamen had been already voted, Mr. Pitt said, that he would by no means have it understood that these are the whole number which may be necessary to be employed—these sums, however, constitute the whole of the supply in the ordinary mode of the estimate; to which is to be added such a sum, as the committee may think proper to allow for the latitude of unforeseen, and unavoidable expences. If the situation of this country should lead us to take an efficient part along with our numerous allies, in carrying on offensive operations against the enemy, he observed, that a considerable increase of expence in our military establishment will be necessary. Hitherto we had hired none but the Hanoverian troops; but, in this case, we may have occasion to employ a considerable body of other foreign troops in order to press, on all sides, the common enemy. Some additional expence will be incurred by domestic encampments. An increase will also accrue in the sum allowed to the loyalists, some of whom have been sent to Canada. A loss may perhaps accrue in the lottery, on account of certain regulations which it has been found necessary to make. It is, therefore, my opinion, that a considerable sum should be set apart to enable his majesty to provide for the unexpected occurrences of a war, and defray its exigencies as they arise. So many are the contingencies of a war, that, whatever sum may be voted for this purpose, I will not pledge myself for its sufficiency. In other wars, let it be recollected, that, after the sums allotted for them had been expended, very considerable debts were brought forward to be defrayed at a future period. After endeavouring to take every thing into the account, and to calculate as exactly as I can, I will not pretend to state the precise sum; but I would not propose less than a million and an half should be given to his Majesty with a view to contingencies. The mode of giving it, I would suggest to be by exchequer bills upon a vote of credit; but as I do not wish the number of exchequer bills in circulation to be increased, I would likewise propose to pay off a million and a half of those which are now in circulation. The total of these sums amount to 11,182,213l. 3s. 8½d. To defray these expences, Mr. Pitt proposed the following

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land-tax	-	-	-	-	£ 2000,000
Malt	-	-	-	-	750,000
Surplus of consolidated fund on the 5th Jan. 1793	-	-	-	-	435,696
Surplus of consolidated fund on April 5, 1794, viz. expected surplus on 5th April, 1793	-	-	-	-	274,000
Expected surplus of the four quarters 5th April, 1794, esti-	-	-	-	-	
					Carried over £ 3,459,696

	Brought over	3,459,696
mated on the four years average as below, after deducting		
220,000 <i>l.</i> for duties to be appropriated to pay the interest		
of money to be borrowed	- - -	£ 2,185,000
Interest money to be repaid	- - -	350,000
Money to be paid by the East-India Company	- - -	500,000
Money for the commissioners for the national debt, including the annual contribution of 200,000 <i>l.</i>	- - -	1,650,000
Continuation of temporary taxes	- - -	255,000
Total of ways and means	- - -	£ 8,299,696

That part of the statement which relates to the surplus of the consolidated fund, on the 5th of January last, Mr. Pitt thought must afford much satisfaction. It would be recollected that the expences of 1792 were to be defrayed by the amount of the revenue to the 5th of April, 1793; but it happens that the expences were not only defrayed on the 5th of January 1793, but a surplus actually remained; consequently the produce of the quarter ending on the 5th of April, is applicable to the exigencies of the present year; of the produce of this quarter 435,000*l.* have been already voted. Supposing it to be as favourable as it has been in former years, 274,000*l.* will remain in this quarter, in addition to the 435,000*l.* of which the nation will have to avail itself. Still, however, he proposed to carry on the year from the 5th of April, 1793, to the 5th of April, 1794. However sanguine in his own expectations of the flourishing state of the revenue, he always wished, he said, to be moderate in his calculations; and therefore had, upon former occasions, as at present, taken it upon the average of the four last years. It was his intention to continue those temporary taxes which were imposed upon occasion of the Spanish armament, and which expire at different periods. They had been found to be attended with no particular inconvenience to the country, and would consequently be submitted to with less reluctance than any fresh imposts. These amount to 255,000*l.* which sum he should henceforth propose to consider as part of the supply. The aid which he had now to suggest was, what often has been treated at best as precarious and uncertain, namely, the assistance which the finances of this country would derive from India. This assistance had been pledged to him; and he was happy to say would soon be fulfilled; as in 1794, a sum of not less than 500,000*l.* from the finances of India, would be applicable to the expences of this country. He acknowledged, however, that, after every other resource, he must depend upon a loan of 2,900,000*l.* concerning which he had not made any proposals, because he considered it to be a previous duty to submit this statement to the public, in order to avoid any thing that might have the appearance of deception. The sum of 240,000*l.* which would be necessary to pay the interest of the loan, he proposed to supply from the taxes imposed on occasion of the Spanish armament. These taxes were of two kinds, some of them temporary, and others perpetual. On these the additional tax on bills and the game duty amounted to 85,000*l.* The

HISTORY OF EUROPE. [105

The tax of one penny per gallon on all British spirits, produced a sum of 112,000*l*. Another of these was the addition of 10 per cent. upon all assessed taxes, which amounted to about 90,000*l*. making upon the whole a sum of 287,000*l*. Mr. Pitt then offered to the attention of the committee a general statement of the whole subject in one connected point of view.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

Amount of supply	-	£ 11,182,213	
Ditto of ways and means	-	8,299,696	
			2,882,517
Add, money from commissioners			1,650,000
			£ 4,532,517 say 4,500,000
4,500,000 <i>l</i> . at 75 per cent. is equal to	-		£ 6,000,000
6,000,000 <i>l</i> . at 3 per cent. is equal to	-		£ 180,000
To which add an additional 1 per cent.	-		60,000
			£ 240,000
10 per cent. on assessed taxes	-	£ 90,000	} Temporary taxes to be continued.
British spirits	-	112,000	
Bills and receipts	-	68,000	
Game duty	-	17,000	
		£ 287,000	

Such, continued the chancellor of the exchequer, is the statement which I submit to the committee. It is apparent that I have stated an ample provision, in point of expence, with a view to an extended scale of operations, as well as for the unforeseen and extraordinary occurrences which may arise during the war, while, at the same time, I have attended to the object of keeping down the unfunded debt, and applying the annual surplus to the extinction of the funded debt. The excess of the permanent revenue, if kept up, is no less than 900,000*l*. above the peace establishment, which even, if exhausted by war, will leave the

country in possession of all its ordinary revenue. I have, however, taken care not to found any calculation upon it, because I was desirous to leave it as a security against those contingencies to which war is liable. The committee will perceive, from the statements I have submitted to them, that even, if the struggle, in which we are engaged, should last beyond the present year, we shall be able to carry it on during the next without any additional burthen. Mr. Pitt said, he had been careful not to state these encouragements to war in any of the previous discussions, and that if we considered war as necessary, we were bound to meet it, even

even to its utmost extent. After a very splendid and powerful argument in support of that necessity, he concluded by bringing forward several resolutions, in which he claimed, as he expected to obtain, the support of the House.

Mr. Sheridan said, that as the country was now engaged in war, it would be inconsistent with good sense and sound policy not to give an unanimous assent to the propositions which had just been offered to the House. Yet, at the same time, the eloquent appeal to the passions with which the minister concluded his speech, disposed him to suspect that there was some weakness to cover, or some error to disguise in the subject before them. He was the more led into the apprehension by some very alarming hints the right honourable gentleman had dropped respecting new connections still to be formed. It seemed the expensive corps of 12,000 Hanoverians were not the only foreign troops we were to pay: new subsidies and foreign mercenaries were announced, and in a manner that seemed to avow that government was adopting the general principles and views of the Austrian and Prussian confederacy, which he had hitherto flattered himself had not been the case, whatever had been the wishes and arguments of some individuals in that House.

Mr. Sheridan agreed that Mr. Pitt had not overloaded our average income; but he gave the most decided contradiction to his statement, that if peace had continued, or whenever peace was restored, there would be a balance, after paying the peace establishment and the surplus million, of nearly nine

hundred thousand pounds; this, Mr. Sheridan said, was proved by facts and figures to be a most gross fallacy, and nothing was so dangerous as buoying up people's hopes, and making them careless of the consequences of war by such delusions. He took the produce of last year up to the 5th of January, as stated by the chancellor of the exchequer, and the papers on the table: including the land and malt tax, the total income of this year would be something short of 17,000,000*l*. This, said the right honourable gentleman, is 900,000*l*. more than necessary for a peace establishment, and therefore we might reckon on 900,000*l*. whenever peace should arrive. Ten years had passed since the American war, and never had this year of peace establishment arrived! Not one single year in which our expenditure had been less than seventeen millions. Were we ever likely to see it less? Were rigorous reduction in all our military services likely to be the characteristic of a future peace? and when that peace was obtained, was another ten years interval to take place before the establishments were to be affected by it? To hold out such hopes for trifling with the country, and not following the open dealing which the minister called for and recommended. The improbability of our revenue continuing at its present standard was also a matter of serious consideration. The more general the war, the more would all foreign merchants be disturbed, and commercial capitals be withheld from their objects; and there was no town in Europe where this would not interfere with the trade and manufactures, and
consequence

consequently the public revenues of Great Britain. Among the ways and means, he objected to nothing but the sum supposed to be forthcoming from the East-India company. This he dwelt on at some length, in declaring, that it ought not even to have been mentioned, but as it depended solely on the renewal of the charter. That important question ought to have been permitted to come hereafter, as it must come to the consideration of Parliament, without any previous opinion having been in a bye manner obtained upon it, much less without government and that House seeming to have already accepted the premium which was to be the price of the charter.

Mr. Fox approved of the declaration of the minister, that he proposed to go on a large scale, in providing for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which this country is engaged, and he commended the reduction of the unfunded debt, but it appeared to him very singular, that while the chancellor of the exchequer was proposing to pay off 1,500,000*l.* of exchequer bills, he was, at the same time, to issue exchequer bills to that amount on a vote of credit.—He sincerely wished that the minister, instead of speculating as he had done, had deigned to follow the advice which he had given in the last session, as to paying off the 4 per cents. Had he done so, and paid off the 4 per cents when at 95, a permanent resource of no less than 240,000*l.* would have been gained to the public. Mr. Fox expressed in strong terms his surprise and alarm at that part of the right honourable gentleman's speech,

where he spoke of our entering into numerous alliances with foreign powers, besides those in which we were now engaged. He anxiously wished to be informed what alliances were meant, as he dreaded much our being led into dangerous and improper engagements, for the prosecution of the most unjustifiable purposes. It must surely appear rather singular to bring forward, as a new and unforeseen resource, that which might arise from a continuation of the temporary taxes imposed for defraying the expences of the Spanish armament; this must have occurred to every body; and the continuing these taxes after the period of their expiration, was in fact the same thing as imposing new taxes, though he did not mean to say that it was not better to continue taxes already existing, than to lay on the people any burden which they had not hitherto borne.

Mr. Fox said, that he had not yet given much attention to the papers laid before the House relative to the affairs of India: but he was averse to taking at present the 500,000*l.* stated as a resource arising to this country from the revenues of our East India possessions. The renewal of the charter of the East India company was a commercial question of such magnitude, that the discussion of it should not be cramped or fettered. It was true, as the right honourable gentleman had said, that, by taking this 500,000*l.* at present into calculation, the House would by no means be pledged to a renewal of the East India company's charter: but he had also said, that the House would not adopt any regulations with respect to India, from which the public

public would not derive at least an equal profit. If the House was to proceed on this ground, there could be no fair discussion; for whatever advantages, either immediate or eventual, and of how great importance soever, might appear likely to arise from opening the commerce with India, if a revenue of 500,000*l.* should not be immediately derived to the public, they would be stopped by the *postulatum* which had been now laid down: for his part he could never think it right or prudent to go into the consideration of a commercial question of such immense magnitude, cramped in the outset by a *sine qua non* of this sort. To him the whole business bore much the appearance of ministers having taken upon them to pledge that House and the public to a renewal of the company's charter, in a manner disgraceful to the country; and since the publication of the speech of another right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas), the opinion universally entertained was, that a renewal of the company's charter was a measure already determined upon by government.

Mr. Pitt denied that ministers had pledged either that House or the country to a renewal of the East India company's charter; but he did not hesitate to say, that when all the circumstances were fully before the House, he was confident that a renewal of the company's charter upon the terms which they had agreed to accept it, would be very advantageous to this country. He had been accused, he said, of acting in an unfair manner, by bringing forward this 500,000*l.* at present; but he must have either withheld this 500,000*l.* from the

public, or have delayed the budget till the final discussion of the East India business. He had never intended to say, that the 500,000*l.* was to counterbalance all objections that might arise to a renewal of the charter; unless by any other proposed regulations, an equal sum was immediately to be derived to the public; but it would certainly be a circumstance in the scale, and he begged leave to say, that in whatever way the trade in India was to be regulated, the public must unquestionably have a right to a participation in the surplus which had been acquired by the blood and treasure of this country, in conjunction with the company. But even on the supposition, though improbable in the highest degree, that this sum should not be derived to the public, in whatever way the trade to India may be eventually regulated, it would only be necessary that it should then be withdrawn, and the amount provided for in some other way.

Mr. Drake and sir Henry Houghton spoke briefly in favour of the war and the ministers; when the several resolutions were put and agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

On Friday the 15th March, in a committee of supply, the secretary of war rose to move the several estimates. On the first resolution being proposed, which stated the expences of the Hanoverian troops, subsidised for the assistance of Holland, lord Fielding and major Maitland charged ministers with the most criminal negligence, in delaying to give any assistance to the Dutch, and in very strong terms expressed their opinion; that if timely aid had been afforded them, the

the previous successes of the French in Holland might have been prevented. Ministers, major Maitland particularly observed, had explicitly acknowledged, that, on the 17th December, they considered the French as in a state of hostile preparation. They knew also the defenceless state of the Dutch, as well as the danger that threatened them; and yet they did not enter into any negotiation for subsidising the Hanoverian troops till the 22d February; and that the guards did not sail till the 23d of that month.

Mr. Pitt said, that steps had been taken long before the 22d of Feb. for the purpose of arranging matters so as to bring the Hanoverian troops into the service of this country, though their pay is stated only from that time. With respect to the troops from England, he observed, that, considering the season, and the small army establishment always kept in Great Britain, no delay could be justly attributed to government, when a body of near 2,000 troops had been got together, on the first account of an attack on Holland, and had sailed in a few days. In fact, the States General themselves were of opinion, that they had received from this country a vigorous, speedy, and timely supply, which had rendered them very essential service.

Mr. Fox accused ministers of the most disgraceful remissness and inactivity. He blamed them for delaying to send troops to Holland, till it was actually attacked, an event which they must have foreseen, and Breda and Gertrudenberg would then have been preserved to the Dutch.

Mr. Pitt replied, that ministers could not with safety send any

part of our small army establishment out of the country, without a careful review of the general distribution of the land forces for internal defence; and it was not possible that such an examination of the general and local force could be made in a shorter time than had been employed in it.

After some further debate, in which the negligence of ministers was urged by Mr. Sheridan, and their conduct defended by Mr. Dundas, the resolutions were severally passed.

In a committee of ways and means on the same day, resolutions were also passed for issuing four millions of exchequer bills.

On Wednesday, the 27th of March, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt rose to communicate the terms on which he had negotiated the loan, that was to form a part of the ways and means for the present year. The sum he had to borrow was 4,500,000*l.* It was originally his wish to have procured it by the sale of annuities in the 4 or 5 per cent stocks; but finding it inexpedient to pursue such an object, he had at last determined to raise it by creating new annuities in the three per cents. The terms on which the lenders had agreed to advance their money, and which he had thought proper to accept, were, that for every 72*l.* advanced to the public, the lender should be entitled to 100*l.* stock, bearing an interest of three per cent. This would make a capital in the 3 per cent fund of 6,210,000*l.* the interest of which to be paid by the public would amount to 186,300*l.* a year. But this was not the whole charge

charge attending the loan; for, by the act for appropriating the million surplus, it was provided that, whenever a new loan should be made, a fund equal to one per cent. on the whole of it must be provided, and applied to the liquidation of it; this would require an annual charge of 62,100*l.* making in the whole, and including the interest 248,400*l.* per annum. He had done every thing, he said, in his power to excite a competition among the monied men, but without effect; for it had so happened, that he had not received two offers on the occasion. Circumstances by no means connected with the political situation of the country, which in a general view might be considered as bearing a prosperous and promising aspect, had produced embarrassments in some commercial houses, which, calling for an immediate supply from those who were connected with them, had actually occasioned a scarcity of cash: so that those, who otherwise might have been disposed to advance money to the public, either had it not at command, or were obliged to employ it in another channel. The advantages to the subscribers, with whom he had been obliged to close, were very considerable and obvious. The difference between the actual price of the 3 per cents, and that at which they were to receive stock in that fund, was between 4 and 5 per cent. To this must be added the circumstance that the loan would bear interest from the 5th of January last: this would make the *bonus* to the subscribers full 6 per cent; but it did not stop there, for it was usual to allow a discount of 2 per cent for prompt

payment; so that the premium would amount at least to eight per cent. on the whole loan. This he allowed was a very high premium, but he had omitted nothing on his part that might have enabled him to make a better bargain for the public.

He had fixed in his own mind a certain price for the new three per cents, for less than which he had resolved not to sell them. He then informed the committee, that he should move for the continuance of the temporary taxes, which having been imposed for defraying the expences of the Spanish armament. Their annual produce was 287,000*l.*; so that, after providing for the interest and other expences of the loan, there would be a surplus of more than 370,000*l.* a year. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded by moving the following resolution:

“ That the sum of 4,500,000*l.* be raised by annuities, and that, for every 72*l.* contributed and paid, the lender should be entitled to 100*l.* three per cent stock, bearing interest from the 5th of January last, &c.”

Mr. Fox said, it was rather singular that, because one set of gentlemen refused to advance money except on terms highly disadvantageous to the public, those terms must be necessarily accepted. A premium of 8 per cent. he thought sufficient to have drawn money from various quarters. What the minister had said to colour the terms to which he had acceded, would, in his opinion, not be found to apply; and he did not hesitate to state it as his belief, that the scarcity arose from the political state of the country; so that if
the

the war continued, the consequences would be very fatal to the national prosperity. He condemned the ministerial plan for giving the whole loan to the present subscribers, to the exclusion of the commissioners of the sinking fund. Had the latter been allowed to subscribe, the public would have saved 7 per cent on 1,650,000*l.* and also 1 per cent on the remaining 2,850,000*l.* He thought the reasons for excluding the commissioners were not well founded, as the stocks would find their own level when left to themselves. He contended that an able financier, acting for the public, ought not to speculate upon the probable rise or fall of the funds, but ought to avail himself of any present advantage, without waiting for a possibly greater one at a future day. Had the right honourable gentleman pursued this mode when the three per cents were at 97, he might have paid off the four per cents, and gained an annuity of 300,000*l.* for the public; by waiting till the threes should be at par, he had lost that great and certain advantage.

Mr. S. Thornton did the chancellor of the exchequer the justice to declare, that, to his knowledge, he had laboured, though in vain, to produce a competition among the monied men. Perhaps one cause of his failure might have arisen from that act of parliament, whether a wise or unwise one it was not for him to say, by which members of parliament were prevented from becoming contractors with government. This act was of course a bar to any offer from the very wealthy merchants and bankers, who had seats in that House; and consequently it so far

operated against a competition. He was decidedly of opinion, that the chancellor of the exchequer had procured the very best terms in his power; and that if the committee should refuse to ratify the agreement, he would not be able to make another on terms so advantageous. After some opposition from Mr. Drake and Mr. Sheridan, and a short explanation on the part of Mr. Pitt, the House divided on the motion—Ayes 74—Noes 21. Various other resolutions for continuing the different taxes were moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, and agreed to.

On Thursday, the 11th of April, in consequence of the report of the committee of supply, relative to one million and an half to be granted to his majesty, to defray the extraordinary expences of the present year, a bill was ordered to be brought in, which, in due time, passed into a law.

On the 17th of May, a resolution, proposed by Mr. Pitt, for raising 675,000*l.* by way of lottery, was opposed by Mr. M. A. Taylor, on the mischievous tendency of that mode of raising money. To obviate his objections, Mr. Pitt stated several regulations, by which he proposed to lessen the evils which were said to have arisen from lotteries. He said, his principal object was to prevent a most mischievous species of insurance, that of insuring from day to day.

To remedy this, he proposed to give a power to the commissioners to vary the number of tickets to be drawn on each day, at their discretion: but, as this might not prevent gambling speculations on the drawing of the first 2000 tickets, for instance, or of the first 1500 tickets,

tickets, he would next propose, that the numbers drawn should only be taken down, and printed under the authority of the commissioners, and that they should be published in a numerical arrangement, so as to render it impossible to ascertain the order in which they were drawn. Another regulation he meant to propose, was, to prevent insurances at licensed offices, unless where the tickets insured were actually produced, and more effectually to suppress all unlicensed offices. These reasons did not induce either Mr. Sheridan or Mr. Taylor to alter their unfavourable opinion of the measure. The resolution however was carried, and a bill on the principle of it was, on the 24th of May, brought into parliament and passed.

Mr. Pitt moved also, that there be issued to his majesty, for the service of the year 1793, the sum of 255,000*l.* out of the surplus arising from the consolidated fund, from the 5th of January 1793, to the 5th of January 1794. This motion was agreed to.

The next subject of parliamentary discussion, and in every stage of its progress it was ably and amply examined, was a bill for the more effectually preventing, during the war, all traitorous correspondence with the king's enemies. On Friday, the 15th of March, the attorney-general preceded his motion for such a bill, by explaining the nature and object of it. The law of treason, he said, was founded upon a statute of the 25th of Edward III. which had been the subject of legislative exposition in different acts passed since that period. He should mention what were the acts made treasonable in that sta-

tute. These were—1st, compassing or imagining the death of the king; a phrase which, as undoubtedly it was of great latitude, the judges had always been of opinion, that in order to constitute this degree of treason, it was necessary that there should be some overt act. 2d, It was declared treasonable, if a man should levy war against the king; or adhere to his majesty's enemies, and aid, comfort, or abet them. The third act declared treasonable was counterfeiting the king's money. The authors of this statute had undoubtedly deemed it necessary to reduce the law of treason, as far as laid in their power, to a degree of certainty; but had left it expressed in these general terms, as they could not foresee the circumstances which might arise in after times, to which the description of treason might apply. Accordingly the legislature had found it requisite, at different periods, to declare what particular circumstances constituted overt acts of treason. From the time that this statute passed, down to the reign of Queen Mary, different explanatory acts had from time to time been made. During her reign, all these acts were repealed, and the law restored to the original footing upon which it stood by the statute of King Edward. In this detail, he had only followed the account given by my lord Hale, whom he had taken for his guide upon this occasion, and if he did not read this account in his own words, which were much better than any expressions that he could use, it was only that he might not occupy too much of the time of the House. An act had passed in the reign of Queen Anne, to prevent all traitorous

the correspondence, which prohibited any persons from supplying enemies with arms, naval or military stores, or from going out of the kingdom to the enemy's army without licence. A similar act, which had passed in the reign of William and Mary, carried the regulation farther: it not only prohibited all supplies of arms, &c. of goods and merchandize of every sort. The bill which he now proposed, was founded upon the principles of these

It was his intention to prohibit any person from selling or dealing, or causing to be delivered, the use of persons who come from the French government, or French armies, any of the articles specified, such as arms, military stores, provisions, bullion, or even cloths, under penalty of treason. But in order to moderate the rigour of this penalty, he added that it should be understood as in the case of persons forfeiting the king's money, not convey any attainder in the law, or debar the next heirs from inheritance.

It was his intention, in the next clause, to prevent any persons from acting for the purchase of land in France, or from purchasing military funds, or advancing money for the purchase of lands. For

As the French proposed to carry on a war against this country by the sale of lands, it appears that, by allowing British subjects to purchase lands, they would not only lose interest in the property they had acquired, but furnish the enemy with the means of carrying on a war against ourselves. His object was, that no persons should be allowed to go from this

.. xxxv.

country into France, without a licence, under his majesty's great seal, and that their neglect in obtaining that licence should be deemed a misdemeanour. But he considered it to be a measure of very great importance, that no persons, though subjects of this country, coming from France, should be allowed to enter this kingdom, without a passport or licence, or submitting to such regulations as are stated in the bill. The last clause was intended to prevent the insurance of vessels, either coming from France, or going to it. He concluded with moving, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing, during the war, all traitorous correspondence with the king's enemies, &c.

Mr. Fox, after some previous observations on the law of treason, expressed his astonishment at the provisions contained in this bill. Mr. Erskine also opposed it with his usual energy; but as the debates were of considerable length, in every stage of this bill, we shall confine ourselves to that which took place on the third reading of it.

On the 21st of March, the second reading of the bill was carried without a division; and on the 26th, when it was taken into further consideration, the solicitor general said, he should have several amendments to propose to the various clauses of it. The first of them was to confine the operation of the bill to persons residing in Great Britain. He then explained the nature of these proposed amendments; and, after undergoing various alterations in its tenor, but not in its spirit, on the ninth of April, the attorney general moved

[1]

for

for its third reading ; when Mr. Fox rose to give his last opposition to the bill.

He declared it to be a bill the most unjust in its principle, inadequate in its provision, and tyrannical in its effect, that ever passed through the House of Commons ; for which there was nothing like a precedent, either in policy, justice, or humanity. Its principle, it was said, was to prevent aid and comfort being given to his majesty's enemies. But it had no such principle ; it had that, indeed, for its pretext, but there was a material difference between principle and pretext. Here Mr. Fox took notice of the nature of the bill as originally brought in by the attorney general, and the almost total difference between that and the one now about to pass that House ; the one now in question, however, was, after all, in the point of policy alone, such as this country would gain less, and our enemies lose less, than if no such measure had been adopted. But it was not upon policy only that this bill ought to be considered ; great as that consideration ought to be, there were other considerations that were still of a higher nature—he meant justice and humanity—these were of more importance, because they regarded the character of the country in its most valuable sense. The very question put by his honourable friend respecting the cloth, he said, proved that this measure could not be reduced to the standard of reason, or of justice ; for, as the bill now stood, part of it was said to be declaratory, and part enacting. These two points, he had, on several occasions, called on the friends of the bill to explain ; but as that

was not done, it would be impossible for any man to know, by the perusal of the bill, what was declaratory, and what was enacting ; and as by part of this bill cloth was not prohibited now, although it was so when the bill came in, what would be the result of this ? Why, that as nothing was said of cloth in it, and as the declaratory was not distinguished from the enacting part, no man could know whether, in sending cloth, he would or would not be liable to the penalties of the 25th of Edward III. In what a situation were the people of this country to be in, to have a law of treason without having a possibility of knowing the operation. If the bill did not operate to prohibit the sale of cloth by the subjects of this country, and some should fear it did, they suffered great hardship. If, on the other hand, some persons thought, that as the bill specified certain articles, the sale of which it prohibited, they might safely sell those that were not specified at all, and afterwards it should turn out that this bill did not repeal the 25th of Edward III. here then they would be ensnared by this bill into the penalties of treason. With respect to the clauses of the bill, there were many of them to which no man, who had the least feeling for his fellow creatures, could agree ; one, in particular, which turned upon the meaning of the word agree, or rather the construction put upon it. This was against all the analogies of the law of England, and unjust in its principle. Here Mr. Fox took notice of several acts of parliament, as they tended to illustrate his argument upon the injustice of the clause to which he alluded ; one, in particular

cular, for the prevention of frauds upon verbal agreements, provided that no man should be bound by any evidence given of his having entered into a verbal agreement, if the sum amounted to more than 10*l*. and the principle of that bill was, that, upon all conversation and verbal communication, there was a facility for the commission of perjury. Any person might swear he heard two persons agree to any thing, and it might be difficult, perhaps impossible, to refute that testimony, although false; therefore, on former occasions, the wisdom of the legislature had said, that no man should be bound by such evidence, beyond the sum of 10*l*. but by this bill, all ideas of justice and humanity were abandoned; and evidence, which, in a civil case, would not affect a man's purse to the amount of 10*l*. was here to take away his life! This would put any man in the power of malice, and lead to perjury, subornation of perjury, and all the most infamous practices. With respect to the clause which prohibits the purchasing of lands in France, Mr. Fox assigned several reasons for thinking it against justice and humanity, and an insult on the dignity of parliament. Of all the acts of cruelty, tyranny, and absurdity, that ever disgraced an act of parliament in England, this he thought the worst. And here he could not help taking notice of the severity of the bill, in submitting all persons to be tried without the assistance of a gentleman, learned in the laws, to address the jury for them. It had, indeed, been said, that this bill was founded upon the general principle of the laws of treason, on the 25th of Edward III. but the

fact was not so. Was it of no advantage to a person, thus accused, to have a list of his jury before his trial? Was it of no advantage to a person so accused, to have a copy of his indictment several days previous to his appearance on his trial? Was it not an advantage to have a list of the witnesses to be examined against him? Most unquestionably it was. All these were given by the former law of treason, and by this bill they were all denied. As to the statute of Edward III. respecting the evidence to be given against the accused, two points arose from this consideration: first, the jury must be satisfied upon the evidence of two witnesses, of an overt act being committed by the prisoner; secondly, they must be satisfied, that such overt act was done with a treasonable intention. In this case, the evidence might be given of the act; but the jury were not called upon by their oath to find the prisoner guilty, merely upon that evidence; they were not necessarily bound to infer the treasonable intention. But, by the evidence of this bill, one witness was sufficient to convict, and the jury were not called upon by their oaths to infer any intention, so that a man might be convicted on proof of the fact merely. This was a desperate inlet to perjury and malice.

Mr. Fox said, that those who could conceive such clauses as were introduced into that bill, must either be in their hearts hostile to, or have heads ignorant of, the constitution of this country; nor was their practice, on the whole proceeding to be accounted for. The shifts to which the authors of the bill were driven, in commitments, and recommitments, all indicated a

consciousness of the impropriety of the measure altogether, and the whole was become a mass, that would injure the character of the country, and particularly of that House. It would be a bad compliment to the age in which we lived. He concluded with giving the motion his decided negative.

Mr. Burke, in reply, said, there were but two points on which the bill could be considered; one, whether it was conformable to law; the other, whether it was consistent with policy; and, in considering the matter, the House must throughout take along with them, as the grounds of their reasoning, and the very foundation of the bill, that we were at war with France, upon its present bottom and system, as it related to the other powers of Europe.

Our constitution was a provident system, formed of several bodies, for securing the rights, the liberties, the persons, and the properties of the people. The constitution was composed of the king, lords, and commons; and in the judicial power, the king was represented by the judges, the lords by the writ of error, and the commons of England by the juries. "Now, let us," said he, "get out of the torrent of declamation, and see what part of this constitution is touched or affected by the present bill. Is the king's prerogative touched? Are the lords touched by it in their legislative or judicial capacity? Are the commons touched by it? Are the judges or juries touched by it? No; none of these: the constitution remains sacred and inviolate. The question, then, was, did the bill touch those things for the protection of which the constitution existed? Was it asked,

whether it infringed on liberty? He would say, Yes, it did. It was a law; and laws always infringed in some respect on natural liberty, as commanding something to be avoided. Every law that was made took away something from the portion of liberty. It was then to be considered, whether the present measure was such as took away more than was necessary of that liberty? If so, he thought it ought not to pass: and next, whether it took away such a liberty as, if it remained, could do no mischief?

In a constitutional view, all acts done by that House were to be considered as either peace or war acts. There must be a peace police, and a war police; the latter of which was to secure the blessings enjoyed in the former, and each different from the other, the necessities of war calling for an increase of the prerogative of the crown, in progressive proportion to the difficulties that occurred in it; and this made a part of the body of the common law. If this, then, was the case, the first thing to be considered was, whether the general matter of the bill harmonized with the general principles of the constitution, and were justified by the example of our ancestors? Convenience, he said, was the ground of all law; and hence the present bill was consistent with the general principles of jurisprudence. The judicial power of punishing as traitors those who aided and comforted the king's enemies, could be traced to Edward III. and, if necessary, even farther. Aiding, in strict legal sense of the word, was assisting and comforting; was making stronger; and the present act went exactly to that object, following the principle of the law of

of 25 Edward III. and only drew out into a detail of specific acts the generality of that statute. And though the provision of that law went, in general terms, to make aiding and comforting the king's enemies treason, yet it directed the king, by the advice of his judges, to specify those particular things, which were to be considered as overt acts. The legislators, who made the act of Edward III. he said, gave that direction, as they did not wish to leave to the subtlety of the judge, or the simplicity of juries, such a material point. In the present case, the bill followed the spirit, but not the letter of that of Edward III. as well as those of Charles II. King William and Queen Anne; all of whom did the same thing that is done in this: so that the House might consider themselves as not acting worse than their ancestors.

Here Mr. Burke read an act of Queen Anne, containing provisions similar to those before the House. This, he said, he had read for the purpose of shewing, that our ancestors had entered into an enumeration of the specific things, that constituted the offences, not as overt acts, but as acts treasonable in themselves, following exactly that of king William, all of which went on the principle, that it was not safe for the subject to have the construction of overt acts left to the caprice of judges: and the last statute (namely that of queen Anne) was not only prospective but retrospective; as it declared those who had been abroad before it, and returned without licence, traitors; and those who transported, or went on board a ship with intent to transport, themselves to

France, guilty of treason. So that this was not the first attempt to make an intent high treason. That statute had an energy and an harshness in it, far greater than the present, although it was made in the very session that the queen received an account of the victory of Blenheim, although the houses of parliament were full of whigs, and though there was not a single division in the Commons on it, from the 12th of January to the 8th of March, the time it was going through the House.

Here Mr. Burke quoted a sentence from the *Lex Julia Majestatis*, in order to shew that all nations agreed in the principle, that he who aided the enemy was guilty of high treason. That a bare intent to commit a crime was punishable, the law itself had determined. Not, indeed, the intent which lay concealed in the bosom, but that which was conceived with a resolution to execute it; not the cogitation, but the determination; and for this he quoted the authority of serjeant Hawkins. As to the argument drawn from the statute of frauds and perjuries, that a sum above ten pounds cannot be recovered under a verbal agreement; it was well known that the criminal law punished an offence on a sum far below that on which a civil action could be maintained: for instance, if a man put a two-penny stamp upon paper, it was felony. In short, the smallest pecuniary frauds were held by the law highly criminal—and for this plaid reason, that if, in criminal cases, a loose was given in small matters, it would be impossible to know where the mischief would end: so that from criminal and civil

civil war it was impossible to argue *a minore ad majorem*, or *vice versa*. When gentlemen objected to the provisions of the bill on the score of possible perjury, they should reflect, that it is the condition of human law and human nature to be ruled by the oaths of men in trials for their life and property, there being no other means to be resorted to. That objection, therefore, was at an end: so that the bill introduced no new matter, no anomaly whatsoever; and if it differed from the statute of Anne in any thing, it was in being infinitely more lenient. The next matter for the consideration of the House was, whether there were any new occasions that demanded this measure? And if there were, whether they came within the meaning of the words aiding and comforting? What was the particular occasion that governed the present case? France had endeavoured, under the specious pretext of an enlarged benevolence, to sow the seeds of enmity among the nations, and destroy all local attachments; calling them narrow and illiberal—thereby to dis sever the people from their governors—"Let any one," said he, "read the proceedings of that mother of mischief, the revolution society, and be convinced!" In consequence of this, he said, the House was called upon to give every fair advantage and every parental advice to the country, and preserve that moral relation, the destruction of which was the great aim of its enemies. As to the injury commerce might be supposed to receive, he would say a few words. England was a commercial nation—so was every other, as far as it could. But if, by com-

mercial nation, it was implied that commerce was her ultimate, her only end, he would deny it: her commerce was a subservient instrument to her greater interests, her security, her honour, and her religion. If the commercial spirit tended to break those, he insisted that it ought to be lowered: but he would answer for the liberal and patriotic spirit of the British merchants, that they would willingly dispense with the profits of their trade, for the benefit of their country. As to the insuring of our enemy's ships, he objected to it chiefly on account of the moral effect it must have on the minds of the people. In a state of warfare, it must be the wish of every good mind to disarm the enemy rather by despoiling than killing them, as well from motives of humanity as personal interest. When, therefore a prize was taken, and an English insurer was to pay the loss, exclusive of the increased litigation, it either gave the captor the pain to deplore the loss of a fellow-subject, or rendered him callous to the consideration and feelings he should have on such an account, and inspired an habitual delight in the plunder of his fellow-citizens, and an indifference to the welfare of his country, perhaps worse. The clause for preventing British subjects purchasing in the funds of France, he observed, and with infinite regret observed, was left out—But as it had been abandoned, he would make no further remarks on it.

On the whole, conceiving as he did, that it was the duty of the House to concentrate and fortify the country—conceiving that it was their duty to keep their subjects at home,

home, and prevent an adulterous communication with the French—and conceiving that a man was as likely to be a better husband for having two wives, as a better subject for having two countries, he would give the bill his most hearty concurrence. And when the House considered that France could only be enabled to carry on war out of resources drawn from the bowels of Great-Britain, it could not but approve of a measure which only went to prevent Englishmen from fighting against their own country, and making contracts to its ruin. “Let us not,” said he, “turn our every thing, the love of our country, our honour, our virtue, our religion, and our security, to traffic, and estimate them by the scale of pecuniary or commercial reckoning. The nation that goes to that calculation destroys itself.”

Mr. Burke concluded by declaring, that all he desired was, that England would be true to herself, and not carry on an adulterous intercourse with the prostitute outcasts of mankind. The House divided,

For passing the bill 154
Against it - - - 53

Majority - - - 101

This bill was also very ably discussed, as it was strongly opposed, in its passage through the House of Lords, where several alterations were made in it; which were, on the first of May, considered and agreed to, with some amendments, in the House of Commons.

The business which next occupied, as it so particularly demanded the attention of, parliament, was the petition of the East-India Company respecting the renewal of their

charter; and on the 23d of April, it was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Dundas introduced his observations upon the important national subject of the British government and trade in the East-Indies, by stating, that the difficulties, which he had experienced, had arisen, not only from the importance and magnitude of the subject, but from the system which he was to propose being in opposition to established theories in government and commerce. These theories, he admitted, were just and applicable to other cases, and yet he found it dangerous to listen to them, when he was devising a plan of government and a system of trade for British India. No writer upon political economy had as yet supposed that an extensive empire can be administered by a commercial association; and no writer on commercial economy has thought that trade ought to be shackled by an exclusive privilege. In deviating from these principles, which have been admitted and admired, popular prejudices must be encountered; but when the peculiarities of the subject are considered, the unwillingness manifested to recede from established practice will find an ample justification. I wish, said Mr. Dundas, in the outset, to fix the attention of the House on the advantages which Great-Britain actually possesses, and then to ask whether it would be wise or politic to forego them in search of greater advantages which may exist only in imagination? “It would be idle, it would, perhaps, be a proof of ignorance, to maintain that all the advantages which Great-Britain possesses from its
con-

connection with India, arise out of the present exclusive privilege of the company; but it would be rash, and, perhaps, impossible to say, what might be the political or commercial effects of a variation from the present system. In an age of enterprise and improvement, men are unwilling to hear of restraints; but the wisdom of the British parliament will not rashly relinquish a positive good in possession, for a probable one in anticipation." Mr. Dundas then stated, that the shipping employed by the East-India Company amounted to 81,000 tons; that the seamen navigating those ships were about 7000 men, who had constant employment: that the raw materials imported from India, for the use of the home manufactures, amounted annually to about 700,000*l.*; that the various articles of British produce and manufacture, annually exported to India and China, in the company's ships, amounted to upwards of a million and a half sterling, including the exports in private trade allowed to individuals; that the fortunes of individuals acquired in India, and re-mitted home through the medium of private trade, by bills on the court of directors, or by other means, formed an addition to the capital of the nation, the amount of which could not be accurately ascertained, but might be stated, at least at a million per annum.—“The industry of Britain (he observed) is thus, on the one hand, increased, by the export of produce and manufactures, and the consumption of these manufactures enlarged by the number of persons returning with fortunes from India, or who are supported by the trade

and revenues of India; and on the other, it is fostered and encouraged by the import of the raw materials from India, upon which many of our most valuable manufactures depend." In short, the receipts and payments of the East-India Company amount annually to more than six millions sterling. Having made these observations, Mr. Dundas brought forward the general question.—Upon what principles ought the state to govern its India possessions? And under what regulations ought the trade to the East-Indies to be conducted? He wished, if it were possible, to state separately his observations upon the two great points comprehended in this question; but he found it to be impracticable to explain his ideas of the government, without frequently referring to the connection established between it and the trade. Mr. Dundas then stated the nature of the present government of India; that it was vested in a corporation under the controul of the executive power, and the superintending authority of parliament; and that the experience of nine years had justified this system, and induced him to propose the continuance of it. India, or the country in Hindostan governed by Britain, is in a state of prosperity which it never knew under the most wise and politic of its ancient sovereigns. The British possessions, compared with those of the neighbouring states in the peninsula, are like a cultivated garden, compared with the field of the sluggard. The revenues of India have been increased, and the trade connected with them is in a state of progressive improvement. A necessary war has been conducted

ed with vigour, and brought to an honourable and advantageous conclusion. He readily admitted, that the company would be an improper instrument for the direction of an empire, if they were not under the controul of the executive power, and the superintendence of parliament. But they were now an organ both of government and trade, and capable of answering all the political and commercial purposes for which they can be employed. Mr. Dundas then took a view of the hypothesis, that the system of governing India should be altered, and enumerated the difficulties which must be overcome before the separation of the government from the trade could be effected. Recurring to the actual state of the revenue and the trade; and to the advantages which the public were deriving, and were about to receive from the company, he asked, if the system of separation would not create an interruption in the discharge, or liquidation of the company's debts? Would it not derange the regular progress of their increasing commerce; and would there not be a serious danger, that while these innovations were proceeding, rival European powers might seize the occasion, renew their commercial efforts, and divert into a new channel those streams of commerce which rendered London the emporium of the Eastern trade?

He asked, in fine, considering the distance of the two parts of our empire from each other, whether an injudicious procrastination might not shake that confidence, which so remote a dependency at present had in the sovereignty of Britain? And whether this

danger was to be incurred, merely because it was true in theory, and popular in opinion, that a mercantile body was unequal to the government of distant provinces.

Mr. Dundas stated as a third difficulty in receding from the present system of government in India, the effect which the innovation might have on the minds of the natives, who had been long habituated to look up to, and to rest upon the protection of the company. We have now, said he, after many a struggle in the field, and after the many experiments which necessarily preceded the establishment of a regulated commerce, the prospect of consolidating our power and increasing our revenue. Would it be wise to recede from the treaties by which we acquired our territories? Or would the deviation from them accommodate itself to the feelings of the natives? It would be vain to suppose that their minds, or their habits of thinking, could be easily familiarized to the change; no foresight could even conjecture the consequences. The natives of India look back to the ancient sovereignty of the Moguls, and their confidence in the company has its source in the country governments, exercising power as a branch of that subordination to which their forefathers were subjected. Would the attempt to unhinge their opinions be liberal, or would it be just? Lord Clive, to whom we owe our empire in India, with a discernment and a wisdom equal to his valour, laid the foundations for consolidating the British power in Asia by entwining his laurels round the opinions and prejudices of the subjugated natives. To this political

tical foresight, his country is as much indebted to him, as for his victory at Plassey. This great warrior and statesman thought that it would be wise to hold our territories by grants from the Mogul. He saw that all the native princes and states, which had sprung up out of the ruins of that empire, were sheltering themselves under the forms of the fallen government: he knew that the power of granting or refusing privileges no longer remained with the emperors of Delhi; but he appealed to the rights of these sovereigns, and engrafted on them the British power in Asia. In proof of the inexpediency of deviating from experience, Mr. Dundas mentioned, that soon after the acquisition of the territorial revenues, government, desirous of forming plans for the future administration of Indian affairs, stated to Mr. Hastings, Mr. Barwell, sir John Clavering, Mr. Francis, colonel Monson, sir William Chambers, and sir Elijah Impey, who held distinguished situations at that time in India, several questions, on the political government, the executive power, the subordinate legislation, the territorial revenues, the collection of duties, and the judicial power of the British East Indian possessions.

If I had found (said Mr. Dundas) that so many able men had agreed in opinion in the answers which they transmitted home upon all or upon any of these subjects, it would have been an inducement to build a system upon them: but from their differences of opinion, I can only draw this conclusion, that it is safer to rest on the present system, which experience has rendered practicable, than to entrust

myself to theories, about which ingenious and informed men have not agreed.

Having thus shewn the expediency of continuing the foreign government, as at present administered, Mr. Dundas proceeded to consider the propriety of continuing the domestic plan of administration. He was aware it might be asserted, that though the patronage was directly in the company, it was indirectly in the crown. With respect to this subject, he wished only to fix the attention of the committee on the fact, that the civil and military servants were appointed by the directors. He by no means meant to be understood as asserting, that the recommendation of a person by the executive power, would not meet with attention; on the contrary, he was free to confess, that it had often done so, and that the directors had been disposed to listen to such recommendations. At the same time he stated his full conviction, after mature consideration, that if the Indian patronage should be vested and concentrated immediately in the crown, the weight of it would be too great in the balance of our government, and might prove dangerous to the spirit of the constitution.

Had even the government of India remained as much unrestrained by the executive power and by parliament, as before the establishment of the present system, by the act of 1784, still, with all its imperfections on its head, and with all the faults which marked it, he would have preferred a lesser to the greater evil, of placing the administration of the government and revenues in the hands of the state.

The

The case, however, was otherwise; the company could no longer oppress the natives, by an unjustifiable augmentation of revenue, because the affairs of India were under the immediate controul of the executive power. The company could no longer augment their investments by despoiling the natives of the fruits of their industry, because the tenures on which the lands were held were rendered permanent, and the taxes on the produce of arts and manufactures were known and fixed. The company could no longer make war, to gratify the avarice and ambition of their servants, because their servants were now made responsible to their superiors, and these to the decisions of a British parliament. The present system of governing India both abroad and at home, has been found adequate to the objects both of war and of peace. In so far as that system shall appear to be experimentally erroneous, it can be varied and improved by regulations, calculated to remedy those errors; but it would be unjustifiable rashness totally to overturn it.

Mr. Dundas then proposed, that the board of commissioners should continue in its present constitution; but with one change, viz. that his majesty should have the power of promoting, to a seat at the board, men, who were not of his privy council. It was in the remembrance of many of the members of the House, and it was known to them all, that at the period when the board of controul was instituted, the object was, that the members composing it should be selected from those high departments of the state, where, as of-

ficers of the crown, they enjoyed emoluments which would compensate for the discharge of this new trust. It had been found, however, from experience, (whether this was to be referred to the other important charges committed to the members of the board, or whether to the aspiring at the great offices of state) that the changes at the board had been too frequent, to enable those who had the immediate responsibility, to derive the aid they might otherwise expect from their counsels and support. Though no member who had held a seat at the board had left it, without having done himself honour by his labour and attention, yet he could not help wishing for the aid of some members to this board, whose situations might be considered as more permanent.

Having thus given his opinion of the foreign and domestic government required for Indian affairs, he could not but offer a public apology for differing in opinion, on the subject of the appointment to the governments and supreme councils in India, from Lord Cornwallis, who recommended, that this power should be vested in the crown, two reasons had induced him to prefer the continuance of the present system. One was, that the crown had the power of recalling these officers, if their administration appeared to be directed by any but public measures. Another was, that a minister might be prevailed upon from private motives, or by solicitations from those whom it might be difficult to resist; to appoint persons whom he might not altogether approve. This case however was widely different, while

while a minister could only recommend a character to the judgment of twenty-four persons. This was a proper check on the executive power, and obviously tended to make the directors careful in choosing a man whom they could acknowledge in the face of the nation. Here Mr. Dundas took an interesting retrospect of the history of the East India trade. The staples of Asia, he said, viz. spices and aromatics, precious stones, and wrought silks and cottons, had been in estimation among all the polished nations of every age. When Europe was relieved from the darkness of the middle ages, a similar taste for the productions of the East was created by the commercial efforts of the Italian republics. By means of caravans, and the navigation of rivers, the produce of India was brought to the shores of the Mediterranean, and carried from the ports of this sea by the traders of Venice and Genoa to the different countries in the north of Europe. The riches acquired by these republicans, in consequence of the exclusive privileges which they possessed in the countries through which the Eastern commodities had to pass before they reached the Mediterranean, at the same time tended to rouse the spirit of enterprise and discovery among the other European nations. In consequence of this prevailing spirit the Portuguese, under Vasco de Gama, discovered the passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, which gave to that people an exclusive possession of all the wealth which the East could then send to Europe. About the latter end of the 16th century, the Dutch became independent of the crown of Spain, and in a few years were the

rivals and supplanters of the Portuguese trade in the East Indies. The spirit of commercial enterprise also induced France to engage in the Asiatic trade, and to establish an East India company in imitation of their neighbours the Dutch, though not with their success.

During these important commercial transactions, England also became a competitor in the trade and navigation to the Eastern world. After the example of the other European nations, Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to the London company in 1600. At first, one or more of the adventurers were entitled to carry on the trade upon their own shares, but in a short time it was found necessary to rest the whole of the concern upon a joint stock. In the succeeding reigns, the crown frequently granted licences to individuals, and the London company had to struggle, not only against the foreign companies of Europe, but against the English interlopers. At last a new association was formed, under the name of the English East India company; the charter of the London association still remaining. It was soon, however, found, that two companies belonging to the same nation, neither could carry on the trade with profit to themselves, or for the interest of their country. The London company had, besides, purchased the greatest part of the shares of the English company, and the ruin of both was prevented by the award of lord Godolphin, which occasioned the establishment of the present united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies. From this period to the middle of the present century,
our

our trade to the East Indies had nothing to distinguish it from that of the other countries of Europe. Towards the middle of the present century, however, France formed the bold design of acquiring territorial possessions in India, and the struggle between the French and the English companies terminated in our acquiring a revenue of many millions sterling, and comprehending about twenty millions of inhabitants. This triumph of England was ratified by the memorable peace of 1763. Mr. Dundas then gave the following statement of our Asiatic commerce at that juncture.

From 1731 to 1741, on an average of ten years, there was paid for bullion exported, 464,574l.; for goods and stores exported, 152,609l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 167,410l.; and the amount of the sales in Europe was 1,700,675l.

From 1741 to 1747, on the average of six years, there was paid, for bullion exported, 567,238l.; for goods and stores exported 189,411l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 230,914l.; and the sales of goods amounted to 1,907,105l.

From 1747 to 1757, on an average of ten years, there was paid, for bullion exported, 767,067l.; for goods and stores exported, 267,730l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 164,482l.; and the sales of goods amounted to 2,143,459l.

From 1757 to 1767, on an average of ten years, there was paid, for bullion exported, 121,287l.; for goods and stores exported 428,707l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 432,891l.; and

the sales of goods amounted to 2,315,573l.

Mr. Dundas, having thus given a view of the company's affairs, when their situation was merely commercial, or changing to the novel character of delegated sovereigns drawing revenues from rich provinces, to be renlised in Britain through the medium of trade, (after again adverting to the magnitude of our possessions, and to the acquisition of the Duannee) observed, that the company was the instrument of government, remitting a revenue which was to furnish a capital for trade, exclusively of the exports upon which they had formerly depended. Adverting again to the laudable interferences of parliament to obtain, upon evidence, a knowledge of the actual value of the British possessions in India, and to the successive regulations in different acts, down to the period when the present system of controul was established, in 1784; he concluded "That the company had now become the organ by which the Indian Empire of Britain ought to be administered."

Upon this system, Mr. Dundas remarked, there were a variety of opinions: by one set of men it was maintained, that it was a political absurdity to entrust to a commercial association the government of an empire, since the very nature of this power rendered it impracticable for the company's servants, either to conduct commerce upon proper principles, or to govern our subjects in India wisely or well. But is it not true, said he, that the revenues of India must pass to Britain, through the medium of trade? Is it not true, that the manufacturers of Britain, whether we view them

them as exporting produce wrought up from the materials of our own country, or as drawing their gains from produce that depends on raw materials imported from the East, have become rich? Is it not true, that the tribute from India cannot be realised in Britain with safety to the state, through any other medium but that of a neglected trade? Is it not true, that from the acquisition of the Duannee to the present time; particularly since the controul of the executive power has been successfully employed to prevent abuses in the administration of the government and revenues of India, that the trade has been rapidly improving and increasing; and that parliament has annually had the evidence of this fact before it. The inference is obvious, that in trade, as well as in government, we must prefer experience to speculation.

Here Mr. Dundas laid before the House the following interesting statement; by which, he observed, the increase of the trade, since the acquisition of the Duannee, would be fully illustrated.

From 1767 to 1777, on an average of ten years, there was paid, for bullion exported, 110,042l.; for goods and stores exported 489,081l.; the amount of the bills drawn on the court of directors, was 458,768l.; and of the sales in Europe 3,329,136l.

From 1777 to 1784, on an average of seven years, there was paid for bullion 5,653l.; for goods and stores exported 500,089l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 761,425l.; and the sales of goods to 3,185,556l.

From 1784 to 1790, on an average of five years, there was paid,

for bullion exported, 617,930l.; for goods and stores exported 635,145l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 1,551,985l.; and the sales of goods amounted to 4,572,466l.

From 1790 to 1793, on an average of three years, there was paid, for bullion exported, 466,893l.; for goods and stores exported 935,776l.; the bills drawn on the court of directors amounted to 668,366l.; and the sales of goods amounted to 5,103,094l.

Having thus explained, upon evidence, what the existing interests of Britain are in India, Mr. Dundas proceeded to examine the arguments which had been laid before him upon the subject of the open trade.

In the first place he had been told, that the revenue might pass through the medium of the company, though their exclusive privileges were to cease and determine: and if this were not admitted, that the revenue might be distributed among the private merchants, and, through them, be realised in Britain, as safely, as through the company. Before he could assent to either of these opinions, it became necessary for him to advert to the consequences of admitting them. "I am of opinion," said he, "after viewing the magnitude of the revenue and of the surplus, after discovering the degree in which the public is to participate of it, that the company is the most safe vehicle, through which the remittances of this surplus can be made either to itself, or to the public. But allowing that the open trade might become a means of realizing the revenue in Britain, there were very fatal consequences, both to Britain and

and to India, which might result from the experiment. If the inhabitants of Britain were to be permitted freely to emigrate to India, colonization would necessarily follow; which would very soon annihilate the respect paid to the British character, and ruin our Indian Empire. Besides, in acquiring settlements, the Europeans must drive the natives from the spots which have been so long enjoyed by them and their forefathers; and in pursuing occupations, the new comers would enhance the price of labour to a degree which would greatly lessen the profits of Indian imports. It is also to be considered, that disappointed adventurers would seek and find employment in the armies of the Mahrattahs and Tippoo Saib, and furnish our rivals in India with European recruits. Nor can it be supposed that the open trader would conscientiously hesitate to supply the native powers with military stores, which might enable them to set us at defiance. That the exports of British produce would encrease if the India trade were laid open, is a very specious opinion; but when the nature of our manufactures are examined and applied to the wants, character, habits, and prejudices of the native Indians, it will immediately appear, that no advantage could, in this particular, be derived from it.

Mr. Dundas observed, on the subject of monopolies, that a distinction ought to be made between the narrow aspect of a general monopoly, and an exclusive privilege given, by the legislature, to a company, subject to regulation and public controul. This being admitted, the legislature will not

surely change a current, which is turning the greatest wheel of British commerce, and which is about to become, independent of its duties and customs, one of the resources of the nation.

In estimating the merits of the East-India company, he said, it ought to be remembered that the capital of East-India stock is now five millions, and the whole dividend in compensation for it, and for all the risks and dangers which have repeatedly attended the trade, is no more than 400,000*l.* out of a sum of no less than 3,750,000*l.* which is portioned out among various other interests. Of this sum the merchants and ship-owners annually receive about 350,000*l.* the charges on merchandizes amount to 350,000*l.* the goods exported, including private trade, do not amount to less than 1,550,000*l.* and the customs and duties paid to the public are more than a million annually. Such being the distribution of the returns on the India trade, it would be absurd to impute to the East India company any charge of receiving exorbitant gains at the expence of the public, or of individuals of any description. Mr. Dundas proceeded to observe that many persons who entertain a sanguine hope of great emoluments arising out of an open trade to India, do not advert to the state of the East-India company independently of its exclusive rights. If the exclusive charter should expire in 1794, still the company would be a body corporate in perpetuity, and entitled to trade upon its joint stock. To whom, in this case, would the most important seats of trade in India belong? To the company undoubtedly. Under their
original

original and perpetual charters they have legally purchased or acquired Fort St. George, St. Helena, Bombay, and Calcutta, and long before they were possessed of territories, or of the Duannee. These possessions are their patrimonial property, and cannot be taken from them. Fort St. George was made a settlement by the old company in 1620, St. Helena in 1651, Bombay in 1668, Calcutta and Fort William in 1689. Upon the whole, exclusive of the Duannee, they have an unalienable right to valuable landed possessions, amounting at least to 250,000*l.* per ann. In addition to these, the whole factories and commercial establishments both in India and the eastern seas, undoubtedly belong to them. Agreeably to the principles he had already detailed, Mr. Dundas observed, that he must take for granted that the government and territorial revenues are to remain with the East-India company, and, of course, that they must be considered as possessed of all the capital, and of the consequent advantages likely to arise from being the remitters of the public revenue, and these were equal in amount to the whole tribute which India can afford to pay to this country. Under these circumstances he might surely ask whether any individual would hazard his trade in an hostile competition with the East-India company? and whether it would not be rash to disturb the established system of commerce, when there were such forcible reasons for continuing it.

Having thus considered the British India trade as an exclusive privilege, Mr. Dundas took an historical retrospect of what it had

been when this privilege had received an interruption. During great part of the protectorate, private traders were authorised by a commission to engage in it. The most distinguished writers in England, on trade, had prejudiced Oliver Cromwell against monopolies in general, and particularly that of the East-India company. The disputes also between the Dutch and East-India companies, from 1620, to the treaty which Oliver dictated in 1654, seemed to have irritated him against companies of every kind. But though he opened the trade for four years, the experiment soon convinced him that the measure was rash and disadvantageous. In three years he discovered that the company's trade, for they maintained a competition with the private adventurers, was almost ruined, while the Dutch had taken the opportunity of seizing Calicut, Columbo in the island of Ceylon, with Mamarr and Jemepatnam. Cromwell, therefore, restored the charter in 1657. Nor is it unworthy of notice, that the private traders were the first to petition the protector to restore it. Mr. Dundas mentioned various other circumstances to prove the danger and risque of an open East-India trade.

Having thus examined what the trade is with an exclusive privilege, and what it was when this privilege was interrupted, Mr. Dundas entered into an examination of the complaints which had been brought against the East-India company. It had been said that the company, having a capital provided for them in India, are less anxious than they ought to be in enlarging their export trade,
and

and that thus they did not sufficiently encourage the industry of the manufacturers. It had been said, that they were not sufficiently attentive in bringing home the proper quantity of the raw materials required by our manufacturers. It had been said, that they have not provided for the remittance of the fortunes of individuals from India by means of trade, and that the effect of the inattention of the company, in these respects, had been to create a clandestine trade injurious to the commerce, the revenues, and the navigation of Great Britain.

On the first of these subjects, Mr. Dundas observed, that since the acquisition of the territorial revenues, and particularly since the last peace, the exports from Britain had been greatly increased, and by the measures which he was to propose for the consideration of the House, he did not doubt but that the export trade would be carried on as far as the demands in India would bear.

On the second of these objections he stated, that the imports of raw materials to Britain amounted to 700,000*l.* annually; and though this might not be the quantity required, it must be allowed that the company had made meritorious efforts. Means, however, would be proposed for enabling the manufacturer to supply himself with raw materials through the company's ships as well as at their sales.

On the third of these objections he observed, that the difficulty of sending home private fortunes would be admitted; but that the error was in the legislature, not, in the company. By an act of parliament the company were limited

VOL. XXXV.

in their acceptance of bills to 300,000*l.* in any one year; but this error would be done away by the plan of remitting the debts of the company from India, and making them payable in Britain.

Mr. Dundas then proposed thirty-three resolutions for the future government of our East-Indian possessions, replete with knowledge and experience of that intricate and important subject.

Mr. Francis cautioned the House not to confound two objects utterly distinct, and in their nature incompatible; the renewal of the company's charter for an exclusive trade, and the continuance of territorial acquisitions and revenues in the possession of the East-India company. The right hon. gentleman asks, why should we change, when all is well? He exclaims, beware of innovations—beware of mixing theories with practice. Speculations are uncertain: experiments may be dangerous. You are in possession of a tried form of government, of which you know the effects, which in fact has answered all the purposes of a good one. The country flourishes, the commerce prospers, the India company are rich, and the people happy. Why should you risk the consequence of attempting to change or invade an order of things so fortunately established and so successfully conducted? But is it an airy speculation, said Mr. Francis, to affirm that a trading company is unqualified for sovereignty, or that the subjects of the sovereign will certainly be sacrificed to the profits of the merchant? These propositions have been affirmed by the best political writers. Would it, in

[K]

in fact, be an innovation to reinstate the East-India company in their commercial character, and confine them to the pursuits that belong to it. They prospered while they were merchants, and they have never prospered in any other character; nor have they profited by their sovereignty. Mr. Francis now proceeded to contest the position, that the natives of India would prefer the government of the company to that of his majesty, to whom he thought it ought to be transferred. He contended that all the difficulties which had been stated as opposing themselves to the arrangement of a new system might be easily removed; and stated that the opinions of those gentlemen who had been consulted about the affairs of India, were not so various as had been represented. He had no objection to the renewal of the company's exclusive charter, if it could be executed, which he much doubted. At the same time he treated, in a vein of ridicule, the supposition that the patronage of the company is unequivocally subject to the unbiassed nomination of the board of directors; and that government does not assume the disposal of its great and lucrative offices. He did not apprehend the least inconvenience from a spirit of colonization, as the climate of India is of itself a sufficient security against emigration from England. Except persons in office, no man goes to India but to gather taxes, to trade, or to plunder. The labours of the field and the cultivation of the soil, will never be performed by British hands. It must be acknowledged, that the surplus of the revenue can no way be remitted home but by

the medium of trade; and if it be asked, how is government to get their 500,000*l.* a-year, or the proprietors their increased dividend, if the trade be not continued in its present form? The answer is, that the amount of it might be paid into the company's commercial treasuries in India for bills on the company in England; and that this might be done, and every purpose of the remittance answered just as well as at present, if the commerce were separated from the government. Mr. Francis supported his opinion by various other arguments; and concluded his speech by reproaching the resolutions, moved by Mr. Dundas, in very severe terms:—he represented them as not fit to be proposed to the legislature of a great kingdom, for the better government of another.

General Smith, on the contrary, declared his opinion against an open trade; and observed that, so far from the company's affairs having been better before they had territorial possessions, they owed their salvation to the successes of lord Clive in 1757.

Mr. Dundas then moved the first resolution, which was carried; and on the 2d of May moved the others, which, with some additional ones, were all agreed to.

On the 8th of May the whole of the resolutions were read, and a bill ordered to be brought in for regulating the government and trade of India.

On the 24th, Mr. Dundas brought up several clauses, which were agreed to, and ordered to be added as so many riders to the bill, which was now read for the third time; but on the question that the bill do pass, Mr. Fox entered into discus-

discussion of the comparative merits of this bill, and that which he had submitted to the House in 1783. His object, he said, had been to take the power from the directors, where it was improperly placed, and to rest it in commissioners, who were to be subject to the controul of parliament. That bill, he contended, had a clear and precise meaning, while that at present under consideration had no defined object, but has a concealed meaning, and grasps at the whole

Indian patronage without any responsibility.—Mr. Pitt drew very different conclusions from a similar comparative view of these different measures, and the bill passed.

About this time a very curious and unexpected proposal, for an amicable negotiation with France, was made by the French minister Le Brun, if the letters delivered to lord Grenville may deserve that appellation. But as they have been mentioned by other writers, they cannot be omitted by us*.

The

* The following letters were delivered to lord Grenville (No. 1 and No. 2) on Friday the 26th of April, 1793, by Mr. John Salter, of Poplar, at his lordship's office, Whitehall.

NUMBER I.

" MY LORD,

" The French Republic being desirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war, which by the means it is likely to rage, cannot fail to bring miseries, dreadful to humanity, on both nations: I have the honour to demand of your lordship, as minister of his Britannic majesty, a passport and safe-conduct for a person possessed with full power to repair to London for that purpose.

" Mr. John Salter, notary public in London, will deliver this to your lordship, and on the condition of its being requisite, another letter, containing the name of the person who will have the confidence of his nation.

" I have the honour to be, my lord,

" Your lordship's obedient humble servant,

" The minister for foreign affairs,

" LE BRUN."

" Paris, April 2, 1793.

" Second year of the French Republic.

" To his excellency lord Grenville."

NUMBER II.

" MY LORD,

" Agreeable to the intimation given in my first letter, and which has for its object the restoration of peace, I have the honour to inform your lordship that Mr. Marat will be deputed to give to our nation that desirable event.

" I need not remind your lordship that it will be necessary to attach to him three persons, as his secretary, valet de chambre, and a courier: and I claim of your lordship the necessary protection for them.

" I have the honour to be, my lord,

" Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

" The minister for foreign affairs,

" LE BRUN."

" Paris, April 2, 1793.

" To his excellency lord Grenville."

The proposal to commence a negotiation of so much importance by the intervention of a notary public is as ridiculous as it was unusual. At the same time, it would have been highly improper for the British government to engage in treaties with every faction in France whose successful crimes had given it a transient ascendancy; nor would such a pliant, accommodating policy, have gained any thing but disgrace and misfortune. Besides, Le Brun was known to be equally rash and faithless, and to have been among the foremost of those who wished to involve France in a war with this country; a circumstance which formed one of the criminal charges that conducted him to the guillotine. Nor can we omit the observation, that almost immediately after this strange, irregular proposal was made, the party who pretended to make it were no more.

A spirit of commercial speculation and enterprize had been for some time encreasing in every part

of the kingdom, and had now got to such an height, as to threaten public credit with very serious danger. The circulating specie being by no means sufficient to answer the very encreased demands of trade, the quantity of paper currency brought into circulation, as a supplying medium, was so great and disproportionate, that a scarcity of specie was produced which threatened a general stagnation in the commercial world. But as these embarrassments arose from the precipitation, and not the inability, of British merchants, there wanted nothing but such activity and understanding as seems to have been employed in providing a remedy. In consequence of this alarming state of public credit, on Thursday, the 25th of April, Mr. Pitt moved that a select committee of fifteen be appointed to take into consideration the present state of commercial credit, and to report their opinion and observations upon it. On the 29th, the report of the select committee was brought up

Copy of the Minister's letter to Mr. Salter.

" SIR,

" You will deliver to his excellency lord Grenville, minister and secretary of state to his Britannic majesty for foreign affairs, the inclosed letter No. I. and if his lordship demands it, also the inclosed letter, No. II. on behalf of the French Republic.

" I am, with consideration, Sir,

" Your very humble and obedient servant,

" The minister for foreign affairs,

" LE BRUN."

" Paris, April 2, 1793.

" Second year of the French Republic.

" To Mr. Salter, Poplar, London."

" And I do attest the truth of the before-mentioned copies of letters No. I. and No. II. as also the letter to Mr. Salter, to have been signed by Mr. Le Brun, minister for foreign affairs in France, in my presence; to have received the letters so delivered to lord Grenville (as also copies of the same) from the said minister, and to have delivered the same into the hands of Mr. Salter; and I do hereby authorise and desire the publication thereof.

" Biggin-House, Surrey, May 21, 1793."

" JAMES MATTHEWS."

up by Mr. Pitt; it detailed the information given by different gentlemen who attended the committee for that purpose, all agreeing that some speedy means should be devised to support the general commercial credit of the country, by public aid. It stated, that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to issue exchequer bills for five millions, at twopence halfpenny per cent per day, &c.

On the following day, in a committee of the whole House upon the report, Mr. Pitt said, that he should not enter into any argument at present, but referring to the report on the table, moved, that his majesty should be enabled to direct that exchequer bills, to the amount of five millions, be issued to commissioners, to be by them laid out under certain regulations and restrictions, for the assistance and accommodation of such persons as may apply for it, and who shall give to such commissioners proper security for the sums that may be advanced, for a time to be limited.

The following is an extract from the report:

“The chancellor of the exchequer laid before the committee a paper which had been delivered to him on the 23d instant, by the lord mayor and Mr. Bosanquet; which is inserted in the appendix to this report. He also stated to the committee, the circumstances which had led to this paper being drawn up: that he had received representations from many different quarters, which induced him to believe, that the failures which had taken place had begun by a run on those houses who had issued circulating paper, without being possessed of sufficient capital; but that the consequences had

soon extended themselves so far as to effect many houses of great solidity, and possessed of funds ultimately much more than sufficient to answer all demands upon them; but which had not the means of converting those funds into money, or negotiable securities, in time to meet the pressure of the moment: that the sudden discredit of a considerable quantity of paper, which had been issued by different banks, in itself produced a deficiency of the circulating medium, which in the ordinary course of things could not be immediately replaced; and that this deficiency occasioned material inconvenience in mercantile transactions: that in addition to this immediate effect, these circumstances also were represented to have induced bankers and others to keep in their hands a greater quantity of money than they thought necessary in the usual train of business, and that large sums were thus kept out of circulation, and great difficulty arose in procuring the usual advances on bills of exchange, particularly those of a long date: that many persons were said to be possessed of large stocks of goods, which they could not at present dispose of, and on the credit of which they could not raise money: that this occasioned an interruption of the usual orders to manufacturers, which circumstance, together with the interruption of the means by which they were enabled to make their weekly payments, tended to prevent the employment of a number of persons engaged in different manufactures: that these evils were represented as likely rapidly to increase to a very serious extent, if some extraordinary means were not adopted to restore credit
and

The proposal to commence a negotiation of so much importance by the intervention of a notary public is as ridiculous as it was unusual. At the same time, it would have been highly improper for the British government to engage in treaties with every faction in France whose successful crimes had given it a transient ascendancy; nor would such a pliant, accommodating policy, have gained any thing but disgrace and misfortune. Besides, Le Brun was known to be equally rash and faithless, and to have been among the foremost of those who wished to involve France in a war with this country; a circumstance which formed one of the criminal charges that conducted him to the guillotine. Nor can we omit the observation, that almost immediately after this strange, irregular proposal was made, the party who pretended to make it were no more.

A spirit of commercial speculation and enterprize had been for some time encreasing in every part

of the kingdom, and had now got to such an height, as to threaten public credit with very serious danger. The circulating specie being by no means sufficient to answer the very encreased demands of trade, the quantity of paper currency brought into circulation, as a supplying medium, was so great and disproportionate, that a scarcity of specie was produced which threatened a general stagnation in the commercial world. But as these embarrassments arose from the precipitation, and not the inability, of British merchants, there wanted nothing but such activity and understanding as seems to have been employed in providing a remedy. In consequence of this alarming state of public credit, on Thursday, the 25th of April, Mr. Pitt moved that a select committee of fifteen be appointed to take into consideration the present state of commercial credit, and to report their opinion and observations upon it. On the 29th, the report of the select committee was brought up

Copy of the Minister's letter to Mr. Salter.

" SIR,

" You will deliver to his excellency lord Grenville, minister and secretary of state to his Britannic majesty for foreign affairs, the inclosed letter No. I. and if his lordship demands it, also the inclosed letter, No. II. on behalf of the French Republic.

" I am, with consideration, Sir,

" Your very humble and obedient servant,

" The minister for foreign affairs,

" LE BRUN."

" Paris, April 2, 1793.

" Second year of the French Republic.

" To Mr. Salter, Poplar, London."

" And I do attest the truth of the before-mentioned copies of letters No. I. and No. II. as also the letter to Mr. Salter, to have been signed by Mr. Le Brun, minister for foreign affairs in France, in my presence; to have received the letters so delivered to lord Grenville (as also copies of the same) from the said minister, and to have delivered the same into the hands of Mr. Salter; and I do hereby authorise and desire the publication thereof.

" Biggin-House, Surrey, May 21, 1793."

" JAMES MATTHEWS."

up by Mr. Pitt; it detailed the information given by different gentlemen who attended the committee for that purpose, all agreeing that some speedy means should be devised to support the general commercial credit of the country, by public aid. It stated, that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to issue exchequer bills for five millions, at twopence halfpenny per cent per day, &c.

On the following day, in a committee of the whole House upon the report, Mr. Pitt said, that he should not enter into any argument at present, but referring to the report on the table, moved, that his majesty should be enabled to direct that exchequer bills, to the amount of five millions, be issued to commissioners, to be by them laid out under certain regulations and restrictions, for the assistance and accommodation of such persons as may apply for it, and who shall give to such commissioners proper security for the sums that may be advanced, for a time to be limited.

The following is an extract from the report:

“The chancellor of the exchequer laid before the committee a paper which had been delivered to him on the 23d instant, by the lord mayor and Mr. Bosanquet; which is inserted in the appendix to this report. He also stated to the committee, the circumstances which had led to this paper being drawn up: that he had received representations from many different quarters, which induced him to believe, that the failures which had taken place had begun by a run on those houses who had issued circulating paper, without being possessed of sufficient capital; but that the consequences had

soon extended themselves so far as to effect many houses of great solidity, and possessed of funds ultimately much more than sufficient to answer all demands upon them; but which had not the means of converting those funds into money, or negotiable securities, in time to meet the pressure of the moment: that the sudden discredit of a considerable quantity of paper, which had been issued by different banks, in itself produced a deficiency of the circulating medium, which in the ordinary course of things could not be immediately replaced; and that this deficiency occasioned material inconvenience in mercantile transactions: that in addition to this immediate effect, these circumstances also were represented to have induced bankers and others to keep in their hands a greater quantity of money than they thought necessary in the usual train of business, and that large sums were thus kept out of circulation, and great difficulty arose in procuring the usual advances on bills of exchange, particularly those of a long date: that many persons were said to be possessed of large stocks of goods, which they could not at present dispose of, and on the credit of which they could not raise money: that this occasioned an interruption of the usual orders to manufacturers, which circumstance, together with the interruption of the means by which they were enabled to make their weekly payments, tended to prevent the employment of a number of persons engaged in different manufactures: that these evils were represented as likely rapidly to increase to a very serious extent, if some extraordinary means were not adopted to restore credit

and

and circulation: that in consequence of these representations, he had desired a meeting of different gentlemen, in order to obtain the best information in his power, respecting the extent of the evil, and the possibility and propriety of any measure to remedy it: that after much discussion, all the gentlemen present seemed to agree in a very strong opinion of the extent of the evil, though many objections at first occurred to any plan for remedying it: that in the result, it was agreed to desire the gentlemen, whose names were mentioned in the paper now delivered, to meet the next day at the Mansion House, to consider more particularly the proposal for the issue of exchequer bills to a certain amount, to be advanced under proper regulations, for the accommodation of such persons as might apply for the same, and likewise the objections to which such a proposal might be liable; and that the paper which he had laid before the committee, contained the opinion of the second meeting."

"The chancellor of the exchequer also gave an account to the committee of an application that had come within his knowledge, for the accommodation and support of an House connected with a very important manufacturing district. That the sum wanted for the support and accommodation of this House was comparatively small, and the security proposed, as he had understood from very good authority, was admitted to be unquestionable; but that the application had hitherto been ineffectual."

"The lord mayor informed your committee, that, in conformity to the statement mentioned by the

chancellor of the exchequer, eleven gentlemen met at the Mansion House on the 23d, selected principally from that part of the preceding meeting, who had expressed the greatest difficulties in finding out a remedy; and, after a long discussion upon the subject, they unanimously were of opinion, that the interposition of parliament was necessary; and that an issue of exchequer bills, under certain regulations and stipulations, was the best practicable remedy.

"The committee also received information from Mr. Thornton, Mr. Alderman Anderson, and Mr. Chiswell, members of this committee, with respect to instances which had fallen under their personal observation, to the following effect:

"Mr. Thornton represented, that he was at this time acquainted with the situation of five or six mercantile houses, who were in the possession of large quantities of goods, the produce of which would give them effectual relief; but that owing to the stagnation of trade, and the impossibility of converting these goods into money, the houses in question were under very great apprehension of being shortly obliged to stop payment.

"He informed the committee, that he was lately appointed a trustee for liquidating the concerns of a house in London, with extensive connections in the country, that had been obliged to suspend its payments. That after the intervention of about three weeks, it had been enabled to pay its acceptances, and within twelve months would discharge all its debts; and that the partners had a reasonable expectation of retaining a surplus of 100,000*l*. And if they had had the opportunity

opportunity of raising only a moderate sum of money on the securities which they held, the calamity that befel them and their connections might have been averted.

"Mr. Alderman Anderson informed your committee, that it had fallen under his own personal knowledge, that seven mercantile houses, of known and undoubted property, and with a large quantity of goods on hand, now not saleable, are brought to very great distress from the scarcity of money, and will not be able to make good their payments, if not assisted; which would prove of very serious consequence to many other merchants and manufacturers, to whom they stand indebted.

"Mr. Chiswell stated, that the present mercantile distress arose from an alarming stagnation of credit, which, on his knowledge, had reduced eight houses of known and large property to stop their payments. That he also knew others of the same description, who have had temporary assistance from him and others, but which will be ineffectual, if they are not farther relieved in a short time. He also stated, that various applications had been made to him from different houses of undoubted and very considerable capitals, which, in ordinary times, or even in times of pressure, he would have assisted; and that he is now only withheld by the uncertainty to what extent the mischief may increase from the present unexampled general alarm and want of credit. He also farther stated, that if those houses were not assisted, the consequence would be, the immediate failure of many others of good credit and fortune dependant on them.

"The committee understanding that Mr. Gilbert Innes, a director of the royal bank of Scotland, was at present in London, desired his attendance, and received information from him to the following effect.

"That as a director of the royal bank of Scotland, he has had many occasions to judge of the present state of commercial credit in Scotland.

"That the country is in very great distress, and the two chartered banks will not be able much longer, with prudence to themselves, to furnish the accommodation and support necessary to different mercantile and manufacturing houses, nor to the country banks; and if something is not immediately done by government, a very general failure may be expected; and that many houses with undoubted effects, and who would ultimately pay all demands against them, will be involved, unless they can obtain a temporary relief.

"There have been several failures, and a very considerable one lately, which is connected with manufacturers, who may ultimately be involved, and where seven or eight hundred persons are now employed.

"The effect of these failures, in his opinion, must occasion many manufacturers to be thrown out of employment, and he has heard that some were already dismissed; and such is the pressure of the times, that the distress, if not ruin, of several principal manufacturing houses, may ensue. Many manufacturers would have been dismissed, but for the liberal support their employers have received from the royal bank; but that assistance

ance cannot with prudence be continued without extraordinary aid.

"This prospect of distress to the manufacturers, in his opinion, arises, not so much from a failure of the usual markets for the goods, as from the difficulty in discounting in London and in Scotland the long dated bills received for those goods.

"Great quantities of manufactured goods belonging to manufacturers in Scotland are now in London, for which, when sold, bills are granted for a small part at three months, and the remainder from six to fourteen months, the greatest part of which goods have been formerly sold for long-dated bills, but are not so now from the difficulty of obtaining discounts; and he has heard manufacturers say, they were willing to sell their goods with a considerable loss to obtain relief, by sales, for ready money.

"Manufacturers frequently borrow money for the purposes of their trade, on personal bonds; but great part of that money has been called for at Whitsunday next (15th May) and from the state of credit in Scotland, he has reason to think the manufacturers will not be able to answer these demands, by borrowing on the former securities.

"The manufacturers keep as little stock in their warehouses as they can, and as fashion varies, he should think the mercantile interest would be more benefited by depositing the raw materials on pledge, than the manufacturer, who however might indirectly be benefited by the advance.

"He certainly thinks, that paper issued on government security, and advanced upon the deposit of goods,

or other unquestionable private security, would, when properly understood, be a material relief in the present distress of Scotland; and he has no doubt but several persons might be found to concur in giving a joint security for the support of co-partnerships, with perfect safety to the public.

"He believes the quantity of paper circulated by the country banks has of late been considerably diminished, and their discounts on bills of exchange greatly so, since these troubles began. With regard to the royal bank, the circulation is nearly the same, and the assistance given to the country greatly superior to what it has afforded at any former period.

"In addition to these statements, your committee, when they were on the point of concluding their report, had the opportunity of receiving farther information from Mr. Macdowall, a member of this House, who stated, that he is representative in parliament, for the city of Glasgow, from whence he had this morning returned, and that he had there found all the commercial houses and manufacturers in the greatest distress, from the late stagnation of commercial credit, and total want of private confidence.

"The present distress does not appear to him to arise from a want of property or funds, but from the stop which has been lately put to discounting bills at any of the Glasgow, Paisley, or Greenock banks; who have not for some time past discounted to any extent, from their notes being poured in upon them for gold, and from the alarm which the present situation of credit in London has occasioned.

"The

"The manufacturers have plenty of goods on hand in London and in Glasgow, which they cannot sell but at so reduced a price, as renders it perfectly absurd for them to think of disposing of their goods, in order to obtain immediate relief. The manufacturers, and those who have cotton mills, have begun to discharge the workmen employed by them during the last fortnight; and by a letter received from the lord Provost of Glasgow, by him this morning, he learns that the manufacturers have discharged a very great number of workmen. There are employed in Glasgow, Paisley, and their dependencies, in different parts of Scotland, about 160,000 men, women, and children. Any relief to be administered, must be given immediately to render it effectual."

On Friday the 3d of May, Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill to direct the issue of exchequer bills for five millions, to aid the commercial credit of this country. Much discussion accordingly took place on the various provisions of the bill, after which the committee passed through the whole of it. The commissioners, under whose direction the whole plan was ordered to be carried on, were Lord Sheffield, Sir Grey Cooper, bart. Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Chiswell, Sir John Sinclair, bart. Mr. Alderman Anderson, Mr. R. Smith, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. T. Boddington, Mr. Manning, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Baring, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Forster, Mr. Darrel, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. G. Innes, Mr. Harman, and Mr. Brogden.

The places where the goods were

to be deposited, as a security under this bill, for the aid to be given, were London, Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Leith.

On the sixth of May the bill passed the Commons; and on the eighth it passed the House of Lords without a division, and received the royal assent by commission.

Mr. Sheridan having, on the 18th of April, moved for a copy of the memorial, dated the 5th of April, and presented to the states-general by the British and Imperial ministers, he rose on Thursday, the 25th instant, to make a motion on the subject.

After some general observations on the war, he came to the immediate object of his attention, lord Auckland, his majesty's minister at the Hague; when he declared his disapprobation of every memorial to which that noble lord had subscribed his name, from the first disturbances in France, to that on which his intended motion would be founded. With regard to the particular paper of the 5th of April, he objected to it not only on account of its indecency, but also, as it disclosed new principles for carrying on the war. It stated, "that some of the detestable regicides (meaning those men who were concerned in the death of the king of France) were now in such a situation, that they may be subjected to the sword of the law." The war was declared on the 21st of January, and there the matter rested till the 5th of April, when, by the treachery of Dumourier, the commissioners sent by the convention to the army commanded by him, had been taken into custody. It was then only necessary to say, that these regicides should

should be subjected to the sword of the law, which was, in other words, that they should be put to death. The noble lord proceeded to state, in his memorial, that the divine vengeance seemed not to have been tardy. Upon this, Mr. Sheridan said, he had only to ob-

serve, that we were engaged in a war, which, for our safety, we had pursued to the accomplishment of its avowed object; and with respect to the divine vengeance, from motives of respect, decorum, and piety, we ought to be silent*.

Were

* Memorial presented on the 5th of this month by the British and Imperial ministers to the States-general.

Hauts et Puissans Seigneurs,

Il est connu que, vers la fin du mois de Septembre de l'année dernier S. M. Britannique, & V. H. P. ont donné de concert l'assurance solennelle, que dans le cas, ou le danger imminent qui menaçoit dès-lors les jours de L. M. Très-Chrétiennes et de leur famille se réalisât, S. Majesté, & L. H. P. ne manqueroient pas de prendre les mesures les plus efficaces, pour empêcher que les personnes qui se seroient rendues coupables d'une crime aussi atroce, ne trouvassent aucun asyle dans leurs états respectifs. Cet événement, qu'on pressentoit avec horreur, a eu lieu; & la vengeance Divine paroît ne s'être pas long-tems fait attendre. Quelques-uns de ces détestables régicides sont déjà dans le cas de pouvoir être soumis au glaive de la loi. Les autres sont encore au milieu du peuple, qu'ils ont plongé dans un abîme de maux, & auquel le famine, l'anarchie & la guerre civile préparent de nouvelles calamités. Enfin, tout ce que nous voyons arriver, concourt à nous faire regarder comme prochaine la fin de ces malheureux, dont la démence & les atrocités ont pénétré d'épouvante & d'indignation tous ceux qui tiennent aux principes de religion, de morale & d'humanité.

En conséquence, les Soussignés soumettent au jugement éclairé & à la sagesse de Vos Hautes-Puissances, si elles ne trouvoient pas convenable d'employer tous les moyens qui sont en leur pouvoir, pour défendre l'entrée de leurs États en Europe, ou de leurs Colonies, à tous ceux des membres de la soi-disante convention nationale, ou du prétendu Conseil Exécutif, qui ont pris part, directement ou indirectement, au dit crime, & s'ils étoient découverts & arrêtés, de les faire livrer entre les mains de la justice pour servir de leçon & d'exemple au genre humain.

*Fait à la Haye, ce
5 Avril, 1793.*

(Signé)

AUCKLAND,

LOUIS C. DE STAHEMBERG.

TRANSLATION.

High and Mighty Lords,

It is known, that, towards the end of the month of September, last year, his Britannic majesty and your high mightinesses gave, in concert, a solemn assurance, that, in case the imminent danger which then threatened the lives of their most Christian majesties, and their family, should be realised, his majesty and your high mightinesses would not fail to take the most efficacious measures to prevent the persons who might render themselves guilty of so atrocious a crime from finding any asylum in their respective dominions. This event, which was foreseen with horror, has taken place, and the divine vengeance seems not to have been tardy. *Some of these detestable regicides are already in such a situation that they may be subjected to the sword of the law.* The rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy,

Were we, he asked, at war with the French nation at this moment? If the principle on which we proceeded to the war was followed, he would say, that we were not at war with the French nation. The object we professed to have in view was accomplished, and we should negotiate with those who had the direction of the public force. But if we countenanced the memorial of lord Auckland, we should say, that the whole national convention, all the members of the districts, in short, about eight or nine millions of people, must be put to death, before we can negotiate for peace.

Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to examine the late partition of Poland, nor did he omit to deal out his invectives against the empress of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Germany, for their conduct in it: nor did he think that any robbery had been committed by the most desperate of the French, or that any of their acts had exceeded in infamy the injustice and tyranny of those sovereigns. After observing on the situation and disposition of the French nation, and supporting his opinion, that their opinions could not be extirpated by

the sword, he returned to the memorial of lord Auckland, and recommended the most solemn disavowal of the views and dispositions it appeared to announce. He then represented, that the state of the country was such as to trade, revenues, and general resources, that it became the most urgent duty of the minister to avail himself of every fortunate occurrence, to extricate Great Britain from the alarming evils of war. He concluded his speech with moving,

“ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express to his majesty the displeasure of this House at a certain memorial dated the 5th of April, 1793, presented to the states-general of the United Provinces, signed by the right honourable lord Auckland, his majesty's minister at the Hague; the said memorial containing a declaration of the following tenor— ‘ Some of these detestable regicides (meaning by this expression, the commissioners of the national convention of France, delivered to Prince Coburgh by General Dumourier) are now in such a situation, that they can be subjected to the sword of the law; the rest are

anarchy, and civil war, are preparing new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen, induces us to consider as at hand the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity.

The undersigned, therefore, submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of your high mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the self-titled national convention, or of the pretended executive council, who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the sad crime; and if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind.

*Done at the Hague, this
5th of April, 1793.*

(Signed)

AUCKLAND,
LOUIS C. DE STAHEMBERG.
still

still in the midst of a people, whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war are about to prepare new calamities. In short every thing that we see happen induces us to consider as not far distant the end of those wretches, whose madness and atrocity have filled with horror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity, &c.

“To acquaint his majesty with the sense of this House, that the said minister, in making this declaration, has departed from the principles upon which this House was induced to concur in the measures necessary for the support of the war, in which the British nation is at present unfortunately engaged, and has announced an intention, on his part, inconsistent with the repeated assurances given by his majesty, that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of France: and for which declaration this House cannot easily be brought to believe that the said minister derived any authority from his majesty's instructions.

“Humbly to beseech his majesty, that so much of the said memorial, as contains the declaration above recited, may be publicly disavowed by his majesty, as containing matter inconsistent with the wisdom and humanity which at all times have distinguished the British nation, and derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, by avowing an intention to interfere in the internal affairs of France, which his majesty has, in so many declarations, disclaimed; and mingling purposes of vengeance with those objects of defence and secu-

rity to ourselves and our allies, which his majesty's ministers have so often declared to be the sole object of the present war.

“To represent to his majesty, that this House has already expressed its sense of the acts spoken of in the above declaration; but that as neither this, nor any other foreign state can possess any cognizance or jurisdiction respecting them, the only tendency of menaces against their perpetrators is, to compel this country either unjustifiably to carry on war for the subversion of the present government of France, or disgracefully to seek peace by an ignominious negotiation with the very government whom we have thus insulted and stigmatised in our public acts.

“That these threats must tend to give to the hostilities with which Europe is now afflicted a peculiar barbarism and ferocity, by provoking and reviving a system of retaliation and bloodshed, which experience of its destructive tendency, honour, humanity, and religion, have combined to banish from the practice of civilised war.

“And finally, to represent to his majesty how deeply the reputation of his majesty's counsels is interested in disclaiming these unjustifiable, and, we trust, unauthorised denunciations of vengeance, so destructive of all respect for the consistency, and of all confidence in the sincerity in the public acts of his ministers, and so manifestly tending at once to render the principle of the war unjust, the conduct of hostilities barbarous, and the attainment of honourable peace hopeless.”

Mr. Pitt expressed his astonishment, that the motion of the honourable

able gentleman for a removal, and afterwards for an impeachment against lord Auckland, was only an invective against the empress of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the emperor; and that when he came to speak, very shortly, on the real question, he should make a direct attack on his majesty and the government of this country, on that House, on parliament, and on the sentiments of the nation at large. The hon. gentleman objected to the memorial delivered by lord Auckland to the States-General, because, he said, it amounted to a departure from the principles on which the war in which we were engaged was commenced; and the honourable member contended, from the words of the memorial, that this must either be a war of extermination, or that we must submit to a dishonourable peace. Now, neither the one nor the other of these imputations arose out of the words of the memorial: nor was there a word in it that conveyed a wish, that the war should be carried on till all those who had any concern in that horrible act, the execution of the French king, should be brought to punishment. That there should be made an example, if possible, of those who were guilty of that horrid act, he believed to be the sincere wish of all good men. But we did not engage in the war with that object, because it was not politic to enter into war for vengeance, on account of crimes which were not committed in this country. But although this was not the professed object of the war, we were not to abate in our vigilance for the safety of mankind: and as this was one of the most horrid crimes, it ought to be made a singular example of

vindictive justice; so that even distant ages might feel, when they reflected on this horrid act. That House had agreed to afford no assistance, no protection to those who should be guilty of it; and this was done before we were at war with France, and even before it was known that we should be at war with that nation; and if it happened, that we were at war with France for other causes, was it less proper to express that just indignation, which might have been done in time of peace, against a transaction which had excited the detestation and abhorrence of all Europe? It was said, that we could not treat with those whom we had branded with opprobrious epithets. If that was matter of charge against lord Auckland, it was also a charge against that House. Would any man say, that the act of delivering up to justice any of the French regicides carried a stronger reproach than the language contained in every message from the crown, and in every address which had taken place on this subject. Mr. Pitt said, he could not possibly comprehend how it could be supposed, that the memorial went to the extermination of eight or nine millions of men, when there was not one word said on the subject. As to the meaning of the papers on which the hon. gentleman proposed to support a criminal accusation against lord Auckland, he could not discover any thing in it which could justify such an intention. It was observed, in the memorial, that some of those who were concerned in the death of the king, were now in a situation, in which they might be brought under the sword of the law, and then the honourable gentleman's

fleman's inuendo was, that the five commissioners who were sent to Maestricht were designated; tho' it did not appear, that they then were, or were likely to be in the custody of the Dutch. The natural sense of the memorial was, that lord Auckland thought that some of those persons, who were guilty of the murder of the late king, might soon be in a situation, if a counter-revolution (which, from the conduct and promises of Dumourier, was then expected) had been established, and tribunals of justice erected, to be brought before such tribunals. Besides, it must be in every one's recollection, that there was a time, when an English ambassador applied to the States-General, and applied with effect, to deliver up certain regicides. To this country they were brought; in this country they were tried, and in this country they were executed. They would be guilty therefore of duplicity, if they were to accuse lord Auckland, who had only acted on their own principles, which had been previously declared; and when they were stated, not a word was uttered against them. After a warm panegyric on the character and services of the noble lord, Mr. Pitt urged the necessity of carrying on the war with that vigour and effect which might lead to an honourable and permanent peace.

Mr. Fox, in a very energetic speech, supported the arguments of Mr. Sheridan, when the House divided on the motion.

Ayes 36.—Noes 211.

On Monday, the 17th of June, earl Stanhope brought forward a motion on the same subject in the House of Lords. He denominated the memorial a most ferocious and

unwarrantable paper; and he should have introduced it to the House at an earlier period; but understanding that the noble ambassador was to take his seat as a peer before the end of the sessions, he had waited for his presence. He said, they were called upon by every sentiment worthy of enlightened men, of politicians and christians, to express the abhorrence of a paper, so abominable in its purpose. The cruelties of Herod, of Nero, and Caligula, had for ages been the subject of abhorrence; but they had none of them left, on record, a proclamation so blood-thirsty as this. He did not accuse lord Auckland of a production so infamous; but his paper was of the same cast; it was disgraceful to the country; it was a piece of studied ribaldry, and industrious impertinence, and it was as nonsensical in design, as it was injurious in its style; for the noble lord ought to have known that nothing was so easy as to make use of invective; that there was no argument in abuse; and that a man ought not to make use of hard words when he cannot make use of hard blows. The term "Malheureux" "Wretches," applied to men who were so formidable as to put the world in arms, might be natural enough in the mouths of the poissardes of Paris, or of the fishwomen of Billingsgate, but was infinitely too gross for the mouth or the pen of a representative of his Britannic majesty. His lordship continued a most violent speech against ministers, in which he involved every subject and people connected with the war; and concluded with moving, that the House having taken into its most serious consideration a memorial

rial presented by his excellency lord Auckland, and the count de Stahremberg, to their high mightinesses the States-General, at the Hague, the 5th of April last, are of opinion, that the meaning and intention of the said declaration was to induce the States-General to bring the French prisoners, then in their hands, to trial, in order to put them to death.

Lord Grenville, after a very argumentative speech, in exculpation of the memorial, moved the following amendment to lord Stahope's motion: "that all the words, after the words, 'presented on the 5th of April, be left out:' and that there should be introduced in their stead, "that the memorial delivered by lord Auckland is conformable to the sentiments of his majesty, and those carried to the throne by both Houses of Parliament; and that it was consonant to those sentiments of justice and policy, which it became the honour and dignity of the nation to express." This amendment produced a debate, in which the duke of Clarence, the Lord Chancellor, and several other peers, took a part; and in the course of it, lord Auckland rose to justify his memorial and himself. After what had passed, he said, he should not have occasion to intrude a long speech on their lordships patience. Though he did not deny that he was ready to defend the memorial line by line; and should have done it, as due to the dignity of the house as well as himself, if his arguments had not been superseded by those of the secretary of state. He thought it necessary, however, to say a few words on the substance and style of the memorial, which consisted of three distinct clauses. His lordship

read and adverted to them separately, and when he came to speak of the style, he said, it naturally became applicable to the substance, and was the sort of style in which he had ever spoken of those detestable regicides, for so he should continue to call them. He stated the horror with which the murder of the most christian king had filled the mind of every humane and thinking person, and asked what names, or what epithet was too severe to apply to those wretches, who had shewn themselves capable of such an atrocious crime? He should, therefore, persist in holding the language which he had ever done respecting such wretches as Brissot, Danton; and above all, that monster of iniquity the duke of Orleans. In the motion made by the noble earl, reference was had only to one solitary passage of the memorial, and a meaning given to it, that could not by any forced construction be made to apply. The noble earl should have looked to the prayer of the memorial; for what was the prayer of it, but to submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of their high mightinesses to employ all the means in their power to prevent the detestable regicides from entering the dominions of the united states of Holland, and what other means could be resorted to for effecting this purpose, than by telling them, that if they came there, they should be seized and delivered up to justice? This was the whole object of the memorial; it was not meant that they should be put to death on the spot, but that they should be reserved in custody till such time as the course of justice should be restored, and then put upon their trials in courts competent

competent to that purpose. His lordship asked, whether every man would not agree that murder was a crime that merited punishment? and whether it was not proper that murderers should be delivered to justice.

Lord Grenville's motion for approving the conduct of lord Auckland was finally carried without a division.

Other interesting objects, but of a more domestic character, shared also the attention of parliament.

On Thursday, the 21st February, the House of Lords having resolved itself into a committee of privileges on the Scotch peers' elections, several regulations were suggested, in order to expedite a decision on this important subject. Several questions were propounded to the judges, who were ordered to attend on Monday next to deliver their opinions: and on that day, in a committee of privileges, the House adopted the opinion delivered by the judges, that the certificates of the qualification of certain lords were good, notwithstanding their bearing date two days prior to the day on which their lordships qualified, by taking the necessary oaths.

Rejected the vote of lord Belhaven as bad.

Found the vote of lord Napier good.

Rejected the vote of lord Newark as bad.

Found the subscription of lord Kinnauld, written by inadvertence "Kinnoul," a good subscription, and sustained his vote.

On the 27th of February, the House of Lords having proceeded to the trial of Mr. Hastings, he ad-

dressed the court on the extended progress of his trial, on the various circumstances of disadvantage he suffered from its frequent delays, and entreated their lordships, that the present session might not be permitted to close, till his final sentence was pronounced by them. On the 18th of April, lord Walsingham presented a petition from Mr. Hastings to the Lords, to the same effect; and, at the close of his defence, on the 28th of May, Mr. Hastings re-stated his hardships and his hopes. But this extraordinary trial was not brought to a conclusion during the present sessions.

Lord Rawdon, who had, at different times, endeavoured to effect certain amendments in the laws relating to imprisonment for debt, and to reform the abuses connected with them, renewed his benevolent endeavours during the present session of parliament; and on the 5th of March presented a bill, for that purpose, to the House of Lords. On the second reading of it, he stated his views and designs at large on a subject so interesting to thousands of unhappy and oppressed people. The bill, he said, was grounded on the great principles of justice and humanity. It made no outrageous innovation on the established laws of the land. It respected established customs, and did not infringe them, but for the attaining the sacred ends of justice. He could with firmness assert, that while the bill, by its operation, relieved the indigent and unfortunate, it guarded with vigilant anxiety, the rights of the creditor, and was intent upon rendering justice to those to whom justice

justice was due. It was a shield of protection to the wretched, and a rod of chastisement to the fraudulent. The very principle of the law of imprisonment he deemed a principle of rigour and absurdity.—Rigorous, because it exacted from the dungeons of distress, and the cells of inactivity, to which it doomed the victims of its operation, a something from those very persons, which, when free and undisturbed, and in the exercise of all their faculties, they could not perform; and who were rendered incapable of performing it from the very obstacles thrown in their way by those who exacted that performance. It was absurd, because it was ineffectual to its avowed purpose; for it was calculated to defeat, not to attain its object. If the debtor is guilty of a fraud, punish him as a fraudulent agent; if not guilty of a fraud, do not punish insolvency as a crime, which should rather be commiserated as a misfortune. To punish insolvency as criminal, and to doom fraud to the same punishment as mere insolvency, is to confound all moral distinctions. From the present system also, the creditor was frequently induced to pursue a plan of rigour, in order to procure, from the feelings of humanity and the effusions of friendship, what he could neither obtain from the stern dictates of justice, nor the peremptory mandates of law. If the insolvency, and even the honesty of the debtor were acknowledged, yet his friends were looked to as a source of payment; and, to quote the words of a late respectable judge (earl Mansfield) “The feelings of the friend were often tortured to administer to the resent-

VOL. XXXV.

ment or interest of the creditor.” His lordship then went into an examination of the law as it now exists between debtor and creditor. In the first stage of the business, the fundamental principle of justice was violated; and the very means which the social institution had adopted to carry that principle into effect were abandoned. What was the great object of the institution of government, but to prevent individuals from being even the judges, far more the avengers of their own wrongs? Yet, by the existing laws of the land, the creditor was enabled to deprive the debtor of his liberty, upon a simple swearing to the debt. He well knew, that in some cases this *ex parte* evidence was not a sufficient ground of imprisonment; for, by the practice of the court of common pleas, the counter affidavit of the debtor was sufficient to enlarge him without bail. It was not so, however, in the court of king’s bench. Whence this difference in the practice of the two courts? The measures of justice should, like justice itself, be unvarying and immutable; nor could he see any reason why a prisoner, by a process from the one court, should be compelled to give bail, while, when arrested by a process from another, he should be enlarged without giving it. The process, either in one case or the other, did an act of injustice either to the debtor or the creditor. By the law, as it now stood, a debtor, when arrested, was frequently dragged to gaol for want of sufficient bail, because the bail exacted was always double the debt sworn to. Here was a farther impediment to a debtor’s procuring bail,

[L]

bail. He had then no option but to expose himself to the mortification of a refusal, or to lie in gaol, or to pay the debt, which he felt to be unjust. The latter measure, however hard, the debtor frequently adopted, rather than expose his feelings to mortification, or his person to imprisonment. The society of the Thatched House Tavern, for the relief of insolvent debtors, his lordship considered as an institution which did honour both to the age, and to the members who composed it. Their reports were founded on strict inquiries, and on the most authentic documents. They had acted upon the grand combined principles of justice and benevolence; and what was the result of their inquiries? Why, that the far greater part of persons arrested in this country during the course of the year, were arrested for debts under twenty pounds; and that of two thousand now languishing in prison, in the different gaols in the country, thirteen hundred had wives, and four thousand children; being helpless and unprotected; exposed to calamity, which neither their guilt had incurred, nor could their feebleness avert. One hundred and fifty of them, upon an average, were every year doomed to linger in the dungeons of confinement, not because they had not paid their creditors the debts which were due to them, and for which they had been originally arrested, but because they had not money sufficient to pay the fees of office, which were necessary for their enlargement. These men were, for the most part, either tradesmen, artificers, or seamen; men engaged in the humble and laborious, but honest and useful cal-

lings of life; who fought the battles of their country in time of war, and who administered to its comforts in peace. The persons confined, of this description, had only, it is true, between two and three pounds to pay; but that sum, though inconsiderable in their lordships' opinion, was still great to those, who neither had the sum itself, nor the means of obtaining it.

His lordship then proceeded to explain the different clauses of the bill.—They were to prevent all arrests for less than twenty pounds, which was merely a clause of the old law, as it subsisted before the reign of George the First; to remedy abuses to which lock-up houses were subject; to prevent excessive bail from being required; and to enact that the prisoner should not be hurried to jail, as he now may be, in a state of sickness and insanity; and to publish in the Gazette, every month, the names of persons convicted of fraudulent transactions. His lordship having concluded his exposition of the principles contained in each clause of the bill, begged the House to recollect that he had not attempted to influence their passions, but to convince their reason. He had not produced to their view any of those pathetic instances of distress that were to be found in the report of the committee of the House of Commons of last year. He had discussed the subject calmly and temperately, convinced that calm and temperate inquiry were alone necessary to produce in the minds of every one of their lordships a full conviction of the propriety of adopting the measure he had the honour to propose.

This bill was seriously discussed
at

at several successive periods ; but was opposed by the law lords, as striking at the whole system of the law of England. Lord Rawdon continued most zealously to defend it, even after its great objects were rendered impracticable by the many alterations it had undergone. His lordship lamented that, from the present practice with respect to actions, execution, and imprisonment for debt, such bills as he had proposed, must ever meet with determined opposition from professional men, who were so interested in the advantages of the present system of law proceedings, as to render success very doubtful in any measure similar to that which he had proposed. On the 31st of May, after a short debate, this bill was finally lost.

On Monday the 22d of April, the lord advocate of Scotland stated, that his majesty's catholic subjects in Scotland are at present incapacitated by law either from holding or transmitting landed property, and are liable to other very severe restrictions, which could not now be justified by any necessity or expediency, and therefore moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to relieve persons professing the Roman Catholic religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by acts of parliament in Scotland, and particularly by an act of the 8th of king William ;" and on the following day the lord advocate proceeded to observe, that the Roman Catholics of Scotland laboured under many hardships and disabilities on account of their adherence to their religion. By one law an oath, called a *formula*, or solemn declaration, was imposed upon them,

which they could not take without renouncing the religion which they professed ; and if they refused to take it, their nearest protestant relation might deprive them of their estates. His lordship stated, that it was repugnant to justice and humanity, that a subject should be deprived of his estate for no other reason than that he professed the religion most agreeable to his judgment and his conscience, or that he should be placed in the wretched situation of holding his estates at the mercy of any protestant relation, who might be profligate enough to strip him of it, by enforcing this penal law. The liberality which had induced the House last year, and, on a former occasion, to grant relief to the Roman Catholics of England, would, he was persuaded, induce them to extend relief also to the Roman Catholics of Scotland, whose loyalty and conduct gave them an equal claim to the indulgence of the legislature. He admitted that the particular law to which he referred was too odious to be often carried into execution ; but if it was not fit that it should be executed at all, it ought not to be suffered to remain, merely as a temptation to the profligate to strip honest and meritorious people of their property. He said he was extremely sorry to inform the committee, that there was at this moment a suit actually depending in the courts of law in Scotland, founded on this particular statute. A Roman Catholic gentleman, as respectable and amiable in character as any man in this or any other kingdom, was possessed of an estate of 1000 l. a year, which had been in his family for at least a

century and a half; this gentleman, loved and respected by all who knew him, was now on the point of being stripped of his property by a relation, who could have no other shadow of claim to it than that which he might derive from this penal law, which he was endeavouring rigidly to enforce. In the courts as much delay as possible was thrown in his way; but it was to be feared that he must succeed at last, and reduce to beggary a gentleman in every respect a most meritorious subject. If it was too late to save him from such a misfortune, the legislature, he trusted, would interpose, and take care that he should be the last victim to a cruel law, and that it should never operate in future to the destruction of any other person; for surely it was no longer to be

endured that a man should be placed in the horrid situation of either renouncing the religion of his heart, or by adhering to it conscientiously, forfeit all his worldly substance. His lordship concluded by moving, "That the chairman should be directed to move the House for leave to bring in a bill requiring an oath of abjuration and declaration from his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

Colonel Macleod having declared his ready concurrence in the measure proposed, the question was unanimously carried; and the bill having passed through all its stages without opposition, it received, in due course, the confirming sanctions of the other branches of the legislature.

CHAP. IV.

Petitions delivered to the House of Commons respecting a Reform in Parliament. Petition of the Association, called the Friends of the People. Mr. Grey's Motion thereon. Petitions of the Cities of London and Westminster relative to the Tax upon Coals. The North of Scotland relieved from the Duty upon Coals carried coastwise. The Board of Agriculture established. Farnham Hop Bill. Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland. Several Acts passed therein. Prosecutions for Sedition in Scotland. An Association established there under the Title of the British Convention. Sir C. Bunbury moves Resolutions respecting Convicts for Transportation. Mr. Wharton's motion on the Executive Power. Lord Rodney's Pension continued to his Family. Monuments voted to Lords Rodney and Heathfield. Petitions of the Royal Burghs. Mr. Sheridan's Motion thereon. Compensation granted to Mr. Mudge. Report concerning Salaries and Fees of Office. Scotch Militia. Motion of Mr. Fox for procuring Peace. Speech from the Throne. Observations.

THE attention of the House of Commons was now called to the important subject of parliamentary reform, which, at different times, and from various distinguished persons, had been proposed, but without success, to the considera-

tion of parliament.

On Thursday the 2d of May, Mr. Duncombe presented a petition on behalf of the inhabitants of Sheffield, signed by eight thousand persons, praying for a reform in parliament. Mr. Duncombe stated, that

that although he presented this petition, he did not approve of the manner in which it had been worded; for though he was friendly to a temperate reform, he would not go the length which seemed to be the object of this petition; a representation from population alone. We had too much reason, he said, to dissent from such a plan, from the confusion, and anarchy of France. On his moving that the petition be brought up, Mr. Ryder opposed it, on the ground that it was worded in a manner disrespectful to the House. After some debate the House divided, for receiving the petition 29, against it 108.

On the same day Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from the inhabitants of Birmingham, signed by 2720 persons, praying for a parliamentary reform. On a division, it was received by a majority of 102 votes against 24.

A similar petition was presented by Mr. Lambton for the city of Durham and its neighbourhood, which was also received.

On the 6th of May, lord George Henry Cavendish presented a petition from certain inhabitants of the town and vicinity of Derby, praying for a reform of the representation of the people in parliament, which was brought up, and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Browne presented a petition to the same effect from a number of the inhabitants of the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire.

Mr. Wharton presented a petition of the same nature from certain inhabitants in or near the parish of Aldgate, in the city of London.

Mr. Hobart stated, that he held in his hand a petition signed by upwards of 3700 inhabitants of

parishes in the vicinity of the city of Norwich; but he doubted whether it would be received, as the names were subscribed to a printed copy of the petition, in breach of the orders of the House.

After some conversation respecting the propriety of receiving this petition in its present state, it was proposed by Mr. Sheridan, that (in order to prevent the important business to be brought on by Mr. Grey from being delayed) the motion for bringing up the petition should be withdrawn, which was accordingly done.

A petition from certain inhabitants of the town of Warwick, and its neighbourhood, was presented by Mr. William Smith; one from about 1000 inhabitants of Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, by Mr. Erskine; one from a number of inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Dundee, by Mr. Sheridan; one from a number of inhabitants of the town of Paisley, by Mr. Whitbread; one from certain inhabitants of the burgh of Montrose, by Mr. Curwen; one from certain inhabitants of the town of Kilmarnock, another from certain inhabitants of the burgh of Kilmarnock, and another from certain inhabitants of Newmills, in the parish of Loudoun and shire of Ayr, by Mr. Wharton; one from certain inhabitants of the county of Perth, by Mr. Lambton; one from a great number of inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh, of the whole length of the floor of the House, and praying for a thorough reform in the representation, by Colonel Macleod; one from certain inhabitants of the town of Dumbarton, by Mr. Whitbread; one from certain inhabitants of the burgh

burgh of Irvine ; another from certain inhabitants of the town of Strathaven ; another from certain inhabitants of the burgh of the county of Roxburgh ; another from certain inhabitants of the burgh of Linlithgow, and another from certain inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Anstruther, by Colonel Macleod ; and one from a number of inhabitants of the town of Nottingham, and neighbourhood thereof, by Mr. Grey.

Mr. Grey then presented a petition, purporting to be the petition of certain persons whose names were thereunto subscribed, which was brought up, and read by the clerk. The petition was of such length, that the reading of it employed nearly half an hour. It stated, with great propriety and distinctness, the defects which at present exist in the representation of the people in parliament. It took notice of the division of the representation, or the proportions in which the different countries contribute to the total number of the representatives ; shewing, under that head, the absurd disproportion which takes place in a variety of instances ; in-somuch that the county of Cornwall alone sends more members to parliament than the counties of York, Rutland, and Middlesex, put together, &c. It proceeded to take notice of the distribution of the elective franchise, or the proportional number by which the different representatives are elected ; stating, under that head, that a majority of the whole House of Commons is elected by less than 15,000 persons ; or, in other words, by the two-hundredth part of the people to be represented, supposing that they consist only of three millions of

adults, &c. It went on to take notice of the right of voting, or the various restrictions and limitations under which the privilege of a vote for the choice of a representative is bestowed ; stating the great evils and inequalities that prevail in that respect. It afterwards took notice of the qualifications to be possessed by candidates and those elected ; and then considered the evils arising from the length of the duration of parliaments. It went on then to detail the mode in which elections are conducted and decided ; and, under that head, shewing the evils arising from the length of time to which polls are protracted, from the influence of corporations, by the powers entrusted to returning officers, and from the appeal to the House of Commons under the operations of the acts 10th, 11th, 25th, and 28th of Geo. III. as far as the same relate to expence and delay. The petition proceeded to take notice of the mischief resulting from the defects and abuses which it had previously pointed out, particularly by the system of private patronage and the influence possessed by peers and wealthy commoners in the nomination of what are called the representatives of the people ; shewing, under this head, that, by the patronage and influence of seventy-one peers and ninety-one commoners, the return of no fewer than three hundred and six members of that House was procured, which considerably exceeded a majority of the House. The petition dwelt at considerable length, upon all the points already mentioned, and detailed a variety of other abuses, all which the petitioners offered to substantiate, by proof ; and it concluded by stating the

the great necessity there was for the application of an immediate remedy, and the high importance of such a measure; and prayed the House to take the matter into their serious consideration, and to apply such remedy and redress to the evils complained of as should appear proper*.

After the petition had been read, Mr. Burke expressed his wish to know from whence the petition came which had just been read, as the place of residence of the petitioners was not mentioned.

The names of the petitioners were then read by the clerk; after which,

Mr. Grey rose, and said, it was certainly not uncommon that petitions should be presented to that House from persons not describing their place of abode, or assuming any other description than that of the persons whose names were subscribed to the petition: if, however, it would afford any satisfaction to the right honourable gentleman, he had no objection whatever to state, that all the subscribers reside either in London, or near it, and that the petition had been drawn up and signed there.

He was aware, he said, of the difficulties he had to encounter, in bringing forward this business; he was aware how ungracious it would be for that house, to shew that they are not the real representatives of the people; he was aware, that the question had been formerly agitated, on different occasions, by great and able characters, who have deserted the cause, from despair of success; but he was nevertheless determined to make another effort in the service of the British constitution. Many had been,

he lamented, the unsuccessful attempts to bring about a reform. At different times, the great question of reform has been brought forward; but a proper time has never yet been found for it. In 1733, a motion was made in that House, by Mr. Bromley, for a repeal of the septennial act, and that motion was seconded in a very able speech by sir William Wyndham. At that time the proposition was met, and successfully resisted, upon the pretence of danger arising from Papists and Jacobites plotting against the state and the constitution. In 1745, another attempt was made, and that was the only occasion on which the pretence of danger was not made use of, although the country was then in a state of war and disturbance; but the success of the attempt was just the same as of the former one. Again, he said, the business came to be agitated in the year 1753; then also the motion was rejected. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt had himself brought forward the subject three different times, in 1782, in 1783, and, lastly, in 1785, when he was minister. The same objection, with respect to the time, was then made, and combated by the right honourable gentleman, strongly and powerfully in argument, but without effect.

The business of reform appeared to have slept from 1785 to 1790, when it was again brought forward by Mr. Flood. At that time, the internal convulsion in France had been just begun, and it was then asked, whether we should think of repairing our house in the hurricane season. He expected also to be

* This petition is given at length in our Appendix.

be told, that the danger is now greater than ever this country experienced : if, however, there ever was any danger to this country from the propagation of French principles, or from the encrease of French dominion, the danger is completely at an end ; as it is impossible that any set of men, who had not actually lost their senses, should ever propose the French revolution as a model for imitation. For all the evils that did or might at any time threaten our country, there was no remedy so certain or so powerful, as a pure and uncorrupted House of Commons, emanating fairly and freely from the people. Had a reform in the representation of the people taken place at the conclusion of the peace in 1763, this country would, in all likelihood, have escaped the American war. If it had taken place last year, it would probably have saved us from our present distresses. At present it is said, that principles have been supported by arguments equally dangerous to the constitution and to order : but how can these be so well met, as by amending the errors of the constitution. However unwilling he was to rest this case on the foundation of authority, he thought it right, at a time when all those who proposed any change in the present state of things were charged with bad views, to declare that it had been supported by Mr. Locke, by Mr. Justice Blackstone, by the late sir George Saville, by the earl of Chatham, and by the present master of the rolls, the present lord chief baron, and the present lord chief justice of the king's bench. It had been supported by the right honourable gentlemen (Mr. Pitt) himself ; and by the duke

of Richmond, and by an authority still greater than these, viz. by a speech of his majesty from the throne. On looking into the journals of the 24th of May 1784, he found a motion made, that the king's speech should be read, wherein his majesty says, that he would be always desirous to concur with his parliament in supporting and maintaining, in their just balance, the rights of every branch of the legislature. If he did not think it requisite to follow the petition in the detail of facts, it was from no other cause than that they are there so fully stated, and can be distinctly proved. What could be more palpably absurd, in point of inequality, for instance, than that the county of Cornwall should send to parliament almost as many members as the whole of Scotland ? and that representatives should be sent from places where hardly a house remains ?

When he spoke of this country, he said, that he did not speak of it as a system which had been established at any other time. No—it had arisen out of various contingencies, and at different periods ; and its goodness and excellence originated from the very cause, on account of which some persons have pretended to deny that we have any constitution at all. But if there was one principle more strongly inculcated than another, at the time of the revolution, it was this, that the election of the House of Commons should be free. One of the resolutions carried at this important æra was, that king James had violated the freedom of election, whence it would follow that the crown ought not in a degree to interfere in the election of those who were to represent the people ; but that

that the latter should be left to send to parliament the persons who were the objects of their free choice. Another principle asserted at the revolution was, that a man ought not to be governed by laws, in the framing of which he had not a voice, either in person or by his representative; and that he ought not to be made to pay any tax to which he should not have consented in the same way. Now, he asked, was it possible more completely to trample upon these two principles, than to make the House of Commons consist of persons not chosen by the people? At the revolution, also, the necessity of short parliaments was asserted; and every departure from these principles is, in some shape, a departure from the spirit and practice of the constitution; yet when they are compared with the present state of the representation, how does the matter stand? Are the elections free? or are parliaments free? With respect to shortening the duration of parliament, it did not appear to him that it would be advantageous, without a total alteration of the present system. But if it be said, that we are now in possession of that constitution derived from our ancestors and settled at the revolution, he would ask whether there have been no alteration since the revolution? Has not the patronage of peers increased? Is not the patronage of India now vested in the crown? Are all these innovations to be made, in order to encrease the influence of the executive power, and is nothing to be done in favour of the popular part of the constitution?

Mr. Grey now proceeded to consider with much severity the abuse of burgage tenures, and the split-

ting of messuages and hereditaments for election purposes, in direct contradiction to a statute of king William, for preventing such practices. He then reprobated the influence of peers in the elections of members of parliament, and drew from thence some additional reasons for enforcing the object of his motion. There were other arguments for reform, he said, which he had only to state to produce conviction; the county of Rutland sent as many members to parliament as the freeholders of Yorkshire; and Cornwall as many as Rutland, Yorkshire, and Middlesex put together; and as many within one as the whole kingdom of Scotland. These were facts within the knowledge of the House, and surely afforded sufficient ground for a parliamentary reform. Here were other grounds arising from bribery, corruption, and expence at elections, which were known to every member who had served on election committees, though they were not known to the house as a body. Sometimes, indeed, reports from committees stated acts of bribery and corruption, as in the cases of Cricklade and Shoreham, and Stockbridge, whose case was still depending. The most certain and effectual remedy, in those cases, was to establish a more popular election, which was the most likely method to secure the purity of election, and the independence of members of that House.

Mr. Grey concluded with a motion, that the petition should be referred to a committee; which was seconded by Mr. Erskine.

The hon. R. B. Jenkinson began with observing, that among various other objections to the motion, he should particularly select one of them,

them, which was the time in which it was introduced, when our constitution had been threatened from within, and when war had been declared against it from without. Nor is this all—the persons associated to petition for a reform in parliament, after twelve months consideration, and, as it appears, repeated meetings, do not produce any specific plan whatever. It is therefore reasonable to infer, that they had not been able to ascertain the evil, much less to produce a remedy. After some previous observations, he described the House of Commons as a legislative body, representing all descriptions of men in this country. He then proceeded to consider how it ought to be composed to answer its object—and what is the way of so composing it. He first contended, that as the landed interest was in fact the stamina of the country, it ought to have the greatest preponderance in the popular part of our constitution. The next place was, in his opinion to be occupied by the commercial and manufacturing interest; but beside these, persons in the navy, the army, and the profession of the law, must be considered as necessary to the composition of an House of Commons. He reasoned at large upon the necessity of such a variety characterising parliamentary representation, and then defended with great acuteness the present state of it as adapted to that purpose. He came at length to the important question—has the House of Commons, constituted as it is, answered the end for which it was designed? The House of Commons, as the democratic part of the constitution, as the virtual representatives of the

people, ought to a degree to be affected by public opinions in their operations; it must however never be forgotten, that the first quality of the House of Commons is that of a deliberative assembly. If public opinion is necessarily to affect their decisions on every occasion, it will cease to be that deliberative assembly, and the members of it would have nothing to do but to go to their constituents, and desire to be directed by them in the votes they are to give on every important subject. The petition on the table, and the hon. gentleman who had made the motion, have asserted, that the national debt which this country labours under, has originated from the corruption of that House. A more extraordinary assertion never has been made. The national debt has arisen from the wars in which this country has been involved: and did gentlemen mean to assert, that those wars were not agreeable to the public opinion? Consider the history of the wars since the House of Hanover has been on the throne. The Spanish war; was that unpopular? It was entered upon on the express requisition of the people, and contrary to the known opinion of the government. The war of 1756; was that unpopular? Never was any country engaged, he believed he might say, in a more popular war. The American war? was that unpopular? He had heard it asserted by an honourable gentleman opposite to him, that that was the war of the people. Until within a year and a half of its conclusion, nothing could be more marked than the approbation which the public gave of that measure. It grew unpopular towards

wards the end, as under similar circumstances, every war will grow unpopular, because it was unsuccessful; and what was the consequence of this war becoming unpopular? That the minister, who had the complete confidence of a parliament chosen in the year 1780, was forced by that parliament to quit his situation in less than 18 months afterwards, in consequence of the ill success of the war! Take, he said, the administration of his right honourable friend. Would any body say, that that administration, which had the confidence of the House of Commons, had not likewise the confidence of the public? He would admit that was no proof alone of the administration's being good; but that was not the question. The point for decision was, whether public opinion had its due weight in the deliberation of parliament? But it was said, that there were some measures of the present administration approved of by that House, which were not approved by the public. It might be so; for if that House had not the power of differing from the public; nay, if it did not sometimes differ from them, it would cease to be a deliberative assembly. But the Russian war had been stated and insisted on. He would therefore, suppose, for argument's sake, that minister's were wrong in arming for the avowed purpose of obtaining Otchakoff, and were wrong, having so armed, in disarming without obtaining it.—What does that prove with respect to the decisions of that House? Nothing, unless it could be shewn that the supposed defects in our constitution were the cause of those decisions. If it could be shewn, for

instance, that the members for the close boroughs had in fact occasioned those decisions, contrary to the opinions of the landed and commercial interests in that House, the objection, as far as respects that particular case, may avail. But the reverse was the fact. A much greater number of members for counties and populous places voted with administration than voted against them; and as many members for close boroughs, in proportion, voted in the minority as in the majority of that House. The objection then proved nothing. Form a House of Commons as you please, assemble the people in Salisbury plain; you cannot prevent their having improper attachments and improper aversions. You cannot prevent their placing too much confidence in one minister, because they approve of him, and too little in another, because they disapprove of him. The defect is not in the representation; it is in human nature, and our eyes had better be turned to an improvement of that. He then said, that though public opinion should never fail to possess a certain weight in the constitution, he trembled at the idea of a democratic preponderance. It was certainly the principle of the British constitution, that monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, should serve as a controul on each other; but it was likewise a principle that they should and must sometimes co-operate. That there were theoretic defects in the composition of the House of Commons could not be denied; but it was incumbent on those who proposed a reform, to prove, if they could, that those defects affected the practice of the constitution.

Mr.

Mr. Powys quoted from Mr. Condorcet certain sentiments concerning the foundation of the society of the friends of the people, which that writer had considered as about to produce the same symptoms in England as had preceded the convocation of the States General in France. Mr. Powys considered the House of Commons as possessing judgment to deliberate, and power to execute. He refused therefore, to listen to those measures which were then proposed to parliament, which he considered as tending to infringe on both.

Mr. Windham, in a speech abounding with logical argument, observed, that much had been said of the theory of the constitution—the expression imported much: it was something that might easily be mistaken; it was an Etrurian vase, which, if some were to think made for the purpose of containing oil, and others for the purpose of holding water, both might be led into a ludicrous mistake. Besides, this idea of restoring the constitution to its ancient theory, opened a door for the wildest schemes of the wildest reformers. The petitioners had demanded that the House should represent the whole nation. If it were to represent the whole nation, where was the necessity of king and lords? and this these petitioners knew, for they were excellent engineers. They knew that there was a gentle ascent terminated by a rock, on which was placed a fortification. They would not attack the heights of monarchy first, with all its thunder of privileges: they would make their advances regularly, and take ground on the side of representation; when they had made good their station

there, they knew that success must attend their endeavours. Few grievances had been complained of by Mr. Grey, and those few operated against him. In the case of 1784, he differed in opinion with him. It had been a complaint against all former parliaments, that they had been too much addicted to the minister of the day. As soon, however, as they went against him, they were thrown to the people, and devoured by them with all the savage ferocity of hounds. At the present period, the effect of legitimate assemblies, emanating from the people, had been seen in France. The present national convention, though the legitimate representatives of the people, were overawed by two other bodies of men.

With respect to a perfect coincidence in opinion with the people, he contended that all good proceeded on a difference in opinion with the people, and that nothing could be so calamitous to the House as to become the agents of the people. The grievances ought first to be felt before a remedy ought to be applied; for should the people think such a reform as the present ineffectual, they would not stop. To give them any thing short of the entire completion of their wishes would be like throwing crumbs to hungry men, who have stomachs for greater things. Mr. Grey, therefore, might open the door, but would he be able to shut it? No. But even were he, for his own part, to be sure that the people would stop at a particular spot, still he would not agree to it. If there were even no mischievous consequences couched in the measure, he would object to it, as
producing

producing no good. Besides, he denied the extent of the grievance complained of

"All's not offence that indiscretion finds,
"Or rashness deems so."

But those offences were, he said, so mixed and interwoven with perfections, that the one could not be removed without destroying the other. The House could not pretend to correct blemishes in the constitution. It was like the style of ancient authors, of which the critics said, *Qui corrigit delet tam vitia virtutibus mixta*. What some people called its faults could not be corrected without destroying all its valuable parts.

Mr. Erskine, after a considerable length of preliminary observation, proceeded to consider the petition, which had been presented to the House. It asserted, he said, that the Commons of Great Britain were elected by a number of persons, which was even smaller than that of the subscribers to some of the petitions for a parliamentary reform. It stated also, that this inequality was rendered more unequal, by the disproportion of the bodies who elected : it asserted that elections were procured by notorious corruption ; that peers of parliament, moved to the other House from their influence in this, sent by their mandates others to represent them ; and that small as the numbers were, compared with the whole people who elected the majority of the House of Commons, they themselves were but nominal electors ; the majority of those who sat there being elected by the patronage of the crown and a few great men of the realm, by means of which the

people had lost all share in our balanced constitution. Those were the facts they stated, and the simple question was, whether the House was prepared to say, in the face of the public, and to the people they represented, What of all this ? Be it so ; let these things continue : for that would be their language if they negatived the motion. To that it had been answered, that those theoretical defects, which the language of discontent had worked up into a libel upon the present government, belonged to its original constitution ; that under it the country had improved from age to age, and arrived at its present prosperity and glory. He denied it. He said that there was not in practice, which both sides had agreed to resort to, the smallest analogy between the ancient and modern House of Commons. He said, that before the revolution, when the executive power of the country was in all its ancient vigour, ruling by terror and the instruments of authority, and whilst by the free spirit of the English people the Commons were only growing up in strength, and, by advancing upon the other branches of the government, were gradually bringing the constitution to what it now was, the defective representation of the people was a mere defect in theory, but of small account in practice : it was then of such immense importance to the people to struggle against the prerogative, that it was of little consequence who were the electors, if the people were but possessed of an organ where their authority could be deposited and act with force ; the crown had not then the means of influence and corruption either amongst

amongst the electors or the elected ; and particular districts of the nation were not then bought, in order to sell again at discretion, not merely those who had been bought, but the rest of the nation, whose interests were left in the hands of the small number which constituted the elective body. Whoever looked at the English history would perceive, that in the infancy of that House, and before the confirmation of its high privileges, the Commons were uniformly bent on maintaining popular privileges, and formed a *real* and *practical* balance against the crown. There was no danger in those days that the representatives of the few would betray the interests of the many. The crown and the Commons were separated by fear and jealousy, and when the Commons got together, no matter how elected, they acted on that principle. But such a change has since taken place, that a small part of the nation was now in the habitual course of either selling the interests of the whole, or else their elective franchise was the absolute property of some individual, frequently the crown, who sold it for them, and the persons elected devoted themselves implicitly to the crown for the emoluments which were carved out of the people's substance to feed them ; by which that House had become a council of the crown, and not an active balance against its power.

Mr. Erskine contended not only that the American war, and the consequent separation of the American colonies from Great Britain, but that the mighty agitations which now convulsed and desolated Europe, with all the disastrous events of the moment, were to

be traced to the corruptions of the English government, which were sought by the present motion to be done away.

But though no specific remedy was demanded, the principle of it, Mr. Erskine said, must present itself to every one, though different persons might differ in the detail. It must be to simplify and equalize the franchise of election ; to make each body of electors too large for individual corruption, and the period of choice too short for temptation.

On the question of adjournment the House divided—Ayes 181—Noes 109.

On Tuesday the 7th of May, the debate was resumed.

Mr. Stanley admitted that the executive power must have a control somewhere, and that House was certainly the place for it. But sooner than risk the dangers of innovations at improper seasons, he would consent for a time, especially under a mild government, to have his liberties suspended. Under an Aurelius, or Henry IV. he would prefer the abridgement of his freedom to those violences that are ever attendant upon revolutions. Although he was a steady friend to the reform of parliament, he desired it to be understood that he was so under some modifications. He entirely differed from those gentlemen who wished to extend the elective franchise to all. Amendments were necessary, and when the time should come best adapted for the purpose, he would heartily concur with the friends of liberty in promoting them.

Mr. Buxton considered the present time as wholly unfit for entering into such discussions as that
now

now before the House : [while Mr. Duncombe, considering that abuses did actually exist, thought the present as proper a time for their correction as any other.

Sir William Young said, that the country had too much of a commercial turn ; and that its commerce would soon become too powerful for its virtues. He said, that boroughs bought and controlled by men of property, formed the only balance to the commercial influence, which ought to be checked. The constitution of the House of Commons, as at present formed, was absolutely necessary to the support of the British constitution. Alter the former, and the latter must perish. He denied that true representation was founded either upon property or numbers abstractedly considered. Sir William Temple states, in his account of the constitution of the United Provinces, that there is more property in Amsterdam, and greater numbers in the province of Holland, than in all the others united ; and yet no objections had ever been urged against the representation of the whole. He was therefore of opinion, that the petitions had no reasonable foundation.

Sir William Milner opposed the petition, because he conceived the opinion of the people to be decidedly against it.

Mr. Francis concluded a speech of considerable length against parliamentary corruption, by observing that it had encreased, was encreasing, and ought to be diminished.

The earl of Mornington declared, that his objections applied to the whole spirit and substance of

the measure which was the subject of debate. It appeared to be no less than to change the very genius and spirit of the British government. In a speech of great length and ability, his lordship exerted himself to prove, that the benefits actually enjoyed by the nation are invaluable ; that no proof either has been, or can be established of their being unconnected with the present constitution of parliament ; and that there is the strongest presumption of an intimate connection subsisting between them : that in comparison with these benefits, the grievances alledged are trivial and insignificant ; and that they can in no degree be imputed to the alledged defects in the representation ? and above all, that the constitution likely to be given to us in exchange for what we now possess, so far from securing any one practical good, or alleviating any alledged or practical evil, would utterly subvert every foundation of our present happiness and prosperity ; would aggravate every evil of which any man now can complain ; and introduce many others of infinitely greater magnitude, and of far more mischievous consequences.

For these reasons, his lordship concluded, that no alteration should be made in the existing frame of parliament.

Mr. Whitbread entered, with great animation into the abuses which he represented as prevailing in the elections for boroughs. He contended that the object of the motion was not to make any change in the constitution, but to produce a reform in the administration of it. He said, that metaphysical opinions have never, in any instance,

stance, produced a revolution.—The engine with which Providence has thought fit to operate these mighty events has been of a different description; *the feelings of the governed rendered desperate by the grinding oppression of their governors*; and there is no saying more strictly true than this—that “Times make men, but men never make the times.” What brought about that great event the reformation? Not the theories or speculations of philosophers, but the impolitic avarice and injustice of the church of Rome. What brought about the catastrophe of Charles the First? What the revolution in this country? The oppressions of the executive government. To the same cause America owes her freedom. Lastly, what brought about the revolution in France? The misery of the people; the pride, injustice, avarice, and cruelty of the court. The great characters who have acted in these different scenes, have had but little power to produce them. Luther, Cromwell, or Washington, the illustrious persons who appeared at the æra of the English revolution, or the wild visionaries of France, could never have persuaded the people to rise, unassisted by their own miseries and the usurpations of power. When the feelings of men are roused by injury, then they attempt innovation; then the doctrines of enthusiasts find ready access to their minds. The people are always long suffering; and unless they are most grossly abused, no apprehensions are to be entertained from any speculative opinion upon government.

No time, continued Mr. Whitbread, can be improper for doing

that which is right, and though the opportunity might not be passed, in which health and vigour might be restored to the constitution, he trembled at the consequences which a longer delay might produce. He, therefore, earnestly entreated the House to go into an investigation of the facts contained in the petition which has been presented to it, and to apply a remedy to the grievances of which it complains.

Mr. Pitt rose to explain the motives of his former conduct in proposing measures of reform, and to reconcile them to his present opposition: and after a succession of very strong observations on the present state of things, on the consequences of the French revolution, and the probable contingencies of it, he proceeded to consider the petitions before the House. With respect to them, two questions arose in his mind; first, what weight they ought to have with the House, and how far they ought to be allowed to go in influencing their judgment; and, secondly, whether this is a proper season for the consideration of that object which they claim, and favourable to a temperate reform? On the first point, when petitions came to the House, fabricated in appearance, and similar in substance and expression, it did not require much time to determine in what point of view they were to be considered. There was every reason to suspect that they were the work of a few individuals. They had certainly much more the appearance of the design of a few individuals, than of the general expression of the sentiments of the country. If it was asked, then, what weight they ought

it to have; the answer was
 None.—What weight ought
 belong to petitions coming to
 House in those circumstances,
 ring every appearance of con-
 and system, combined in the
 prayer, and expressed nearly
 e same language? The fraud
 too gross and palpable, and it
 evident from what quarter
 came, and with what views
 were presented. All the cir-
 stances in France and this
 try pointed out the present as a
 n unfavourable even to a tempe-
 reform. The gentlemen who
 orted the motion had been end-
 d in a society for a twelve-
 h for the purpose, as they
 selves stated, of allaying the
 nce of those who might be mis-
 y a blind rage of innovation,
 enlightening the people with
 ct to the nature of their true
 us. Such had been the objects
 h they had held out at their
 nencement; they had proposed
 ke a fair experiment, to allow
 eople of England a full op-
 nity of procuring a rational
 oderate reform; and if they
 d find that they could not
 ed, and that the people should
 isinclined to any plan of re-
 , and not disposed to prose-
 the measures which they
 d recommend, they were then
 andon their purpose. They
 ow gone on for upwards of a
 emonth, publishing to en-
 n the people, and using every
 s to promote their own influ-
 and during all that time they
 ot been able to make a con-
 of one man in England.—
 had been obliged at last to
 forward with a petition of
 own, introduced to the House
 L. XXXV.

on the very day that the debate
 was to take place. The other pe-
 titions which united in the same
 object of demanding parliamentary
 reform carried a suspicious and
 dangerous appearance. Ought they
 not then, consistently with those
 principles which they had avowed
 in the outset, to have come for-
 ward upon this occasion, to have
 acknowledged their mistake and
 their conviction, that the people of
 England were not desirous of a re-
 form; to have given up their ob-
 ject in which they found they could
 not succeed, and to have joined
 with us in opposing a reform which
 is not even desired, and which
 could not be granted with any pro-
 priety in the present moment, or
 even with the chance of advantage
 to those for whom it is demanded?
 But what are the grounds upon
 which they now bring forward this
 question of reform? First, they
 state, that, from the general burst
 of loyalty expressed by the nation
 upon the first alarm, there is no
 reason to fear that the people will
 pass beyond the bounds of discre-
 tion, and that no season can be
 more favourable for a temperate
 reform than that in which they
 have so strongly testified their at-
 tachment to the established order
 of things, and their reluctance to
 any change. Of this temper they
 recommend to us to take the ad-
 vantage. But how stands the case?
 The fact, I grant, is indeed true.
 But it is also true, that societies in
 this country have been anxiously
 seeking not to obtain reform, but
 to find cause of dissatisfaction; not
 to allay the violence of innovation,
 but to inflame discontent. Is it
 then out of deference to that small
 party, actuated by such principles,
 and

and pursuing such a line of conduct, that we are to grant a reform, and not out of respect to the great body of the people of England, animated by a spirit of the purest loyalty, and too much attached to the blessings of the constitution and the present government, to wish to hazard them by a change? What then is the question at issue? It is the same question which is now at issue with the whole of Europe, who are contending for the cause of order, of justice, of humanity, of religion, in opposition to anarchy, to injustice, to cruelty, to infidelity. I am sensible that ninety-nine out of an hundred of the people of England are warm in those sentiments, are sensible of the security which they enjoy for these blessings from the frame of our excellent constitution; and so far from wishing to touch it with an innovating hand, are prepared to defend it against every attack. Are we to yield then to the clamours of dissatisfaction and discontent; and are we to disregard the voice of satisfaction and gratitude? Are we, in order to gratify the caprice, or sooth the insolence, of a few disaffected men, to neglect the benefit of the common body? Are we, at a moment of emergency like this, when the great cause of all is at stake, to suspend our cares for the public welfare, and attend to the discussion of petty claims and the redress of imaginary grievances? Are we, at such a moment, in order to please a few individuals, to hazard the consequence of producing alarm and distrust in the general body, firm and united in the common cause? —After entering into the doctrine

of representation, and several other topics connected with the subject before the House, he proceeded in the following manner:—The merit of the British constitution is to be estimated, not by metaphysical ideas, not by vague theories, but by analysing it in practice. Its benefits are confirmed by the sure and infallible test of experience. It is on this ground, that the representation of the people, which, must always be deemed a most valuable part of the constitution, rests on its present footing. In the history of this country, from the earliest period down to that in which I now speak, the number of electors have always been few, in proportion to that of the great body of the people. My plan went to regulate the distribution of the right of electing members, to add some, and to transfer others: when such was my plan, am I to be told, that I have been an advocate for parliamentary reform, as if I had espoused the same side of the question which is now taken up by these honourable gentlemen, and were now resisting that cause which I had formerly supported? I affirm that my plan is ten times more contrary to that of the hon. gentleman, than his is to the constitution: nay, I go farther; I agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham) that to adopt the system now proposed, is to adopt the principles of the French code, and follow the example of their legislators. As these principles are unknown in the history of this country, it is to France only that we can look for their origin. The same principle which claims individual suffrage, and affirms that every man has an equal right to a share in the representation,

sentation, is that which serves as the basis of that declaration of rights on which the French legislators have founded their government. We ought to recollect that there are 250 persons who possess an equal voice in the legislature with that of this House; that there is a king, who, to the third of the legislative, adds the whole of the executive power; and if this principle of individual suffrage be granted, and be carried to its utmost extent, it goes to subvert the peerage, and to depose the king, and, in fine, to extinguish every hereditary distinction, and every privileged order, and to establish that system of equalising anarchy announced in the code of French legislation, and attested in the blood of the massacres at Paris.* The question then is, whether you will abide by your constitution, or hazard a change, with all that dreadful train of consequences with which we have seen it attended in a neighbouring kingdom? Abide by your constitution, did I say? It cannot be necessary for me to add a word more. But I would not stop there if it were possible to go farther. If it were possible for an Englishman to forget his attachment to the constitution and his loyalty to the sovereign—if it were possible for him to lose all those generous feelings which bind him to his country and secure his obedience to its laws—if it were possible for him to sacrifice all these to those principles which are brought forward to support a change of government; yet, if he should attend only to reason, he would find them wild and illusive theories. He would find the principal of individual will power-

ful and efficient to the destruction of every individual and of every community; but to every good purpose null and void. He would find that those rights which entitle all to an equal share in the government, are rights which only serve to remove them from useful labour, from sober industry, and from domestic connections, and which abandon them to be the slaves of every idle caprice, and of every destructive passion. The government that adopts such principles, ceases to be a government; it unties the bands which knit together society; it forfeits the reverence and obedience of its subjects; it gives up those, whom it ought to protect, to the daggers of the Marseillaise, and the assassins of Paris. Under a pretence of centering all authority in the will of the many, it establishes the worst sort of despotism. Such is the state of that wretched country, France, the detestable policy of which has added new words to the dictionary, such as the phrases of municipalities declaring themselves in a state of *permanent* revolution, and the nation itself in a state of *sovereign* insurrection! In what is called the government of the multitude, they are not the many who govern the few, but the few who govern the many. It is a species of tyranny, which adds insult to the wretchedness of its subjects, by styling its own arbitrary decrees the voice of the people, and sanctioning its acts of oppression and cruelty under the pretence of the national will. Such is the nature of those principles connected with the right of individual suffrage: and how far you are prepared to give countenance to that measure, by referring it to

a committee as a subject of deliberation, you are now called to determine.

Mr. Sheridan enlarged, with his usual ability, on the extent and power of parliamentary influence. That ministers might find it necessary for the purposes of their avarice or ambition; but that if the representation of the people in that House was complete, the king would be firmer upon his throne, than he was even at this moment. He declared that he had no delight in unfolding the abuses of government; but it was his duty, and he would fulfil it. He then entered into a detail of that influence which obtained corrupt majorities in parliament, and destroyed the representative energy of the people, by which the constitution must, in a great measure, look for improvement and support. Mr. Sheridan concluded by stating that the object of reform, he and his colleagues had in view, would be persevered in until it was effectually accomplished.

Mr. Fox began by attacking, in very pointed terms, the consistency of the chancellor of the exchequer, respecting his former and present conduct on the business of parliamentary reform. He then proceeded to declare his dislike to universal representation; but that was no reason, he said, for charging it with more mischief than was fairly imputable to it. It had not been the cause, as had been alleged in debate, of all the evils in France. The first, or constituting assembly, was not elected on this plan, but on old usages and old abuses; yet that assembly had done some of the most unjustifiable things done in France: it had de-

spoiled the clergy without regard to situation or character, and destroyed the nobility. The second, or legislative assembly, was not chosen by individual suffrage; for when the constitution was framed, wild as the French were, they had laid many restrictions on individual suffrage, and made the distinction between active and inactive citizens. It was, therefore, unjust to charge on it what was done by assemblies elected before it was brought into use. France, after doing great honour to herself by shaking off her old intolerable despotism, had since been governed by counsels generally unwise, and often wicked. But what had this to do with our reform? It had been said, that French principles, though not more detestable than the principles of Russia, were more dangerous and more to be guarded against, because more fascinating. Would any man now say that French principles were fascinating?—What then had we to fear from what no man in his senses would wish to copy?

Mr. Fox observed, that in some of the petitions on the table, the accumulation of the public debt was imputed to a defect of the representation, and he was sorry to see such an absurdity in them. The accumulation of the public debt was the necessary consequence of the wars which we had been obliged to maintain in defence of our constitution, and our national independence; and he had no scruple in declaring, that every war in which we had been engaged, from the revolution to the American war, was both just and necessary. He would, therefore, acquit the House of all the debt contracted,

tracted, except for the American war, and as much as might fairly be imputed to too remiss a superintendence of the expenditure of public money; for all the debt contracted to support the American war, after that war became unpopular, the House of Commons was undoubtedly answerable. It was not enough for preventing wars, that we were disposed to cultivate peace, if our neighbours were not as peaceably disposed as ourselves. When, therefore, the petitioners talked of preventing wars by reforming the House of Commons, they forgot that the work would be but half done, unless they could give as good a constitution to France as England would then be possessed of. But when he mentioned this, he raised no argument from it against the general prayer for a reform in the representation. A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Burke), on presenting his plan of conciliation with America in 1775, made a speech, in which the virtues and the efficacy of representation were displayed with a force and clearness unequalled. Were the people of Ireland uncivilised and unsubdued after a forcible possession of their country for ages, what was the remedy? Representation. Were the Welsh in perpetual contention among themselves, and hostility to Englishmen, what was the remedy? Representation. Were the counties of Chester and Durham full of discontent and disorder, what was the remedy? Representation.—Representation was the universal panacea, the cure for every evil.

Having endeavoured to shew, that the House of Commons, as now constituted, was neither ade-

quate to the due discharge of its duties at present, nor afforded any security that it would be so in future, what remains, said Mr. Fox, to answer, but general topics of declamation? He had sufficient confidence in the maxims he had early learned, and sufficient reverence for the authors from whom he learned them, to brave the ridicule now attempted to be thrown upon all who avowed opinions, that till very lately had been received as the fundamental principles of liberty. If such writings as were now branded, as subversive of all government, had not been read and studied, would the parliament of 1640 have done those great and glorious things, but for which we might have been now receiving the mandates of a despot, like Germans, or any other slaves.

Mr. Fox concluded by observing, that the petition presented facts into which the House was bound to enquire, both in its legislative and its inquisitorial capacity.

Several other members spoke in this debate; the House at length divided—for referring the petitions to a committee 41—against it 282.

The citizens of London having presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that the duty laid on coals, in the reign of queen Anne, might be referred to a committee, that they might report their opinion, It was, on Wednesday the 13th of March, taken into consideration, on the motion of Mr. Alderman Curtis.

Mr. Pitt said, that there were two points of view, in which the petition might be considered. The one was a question of policy, whether the duties in question ought to be repealed at the present season; the other, whether the duties had been

been applied in the manner intended by the legislature. In the reign of queen Anne, the sum of three shillings per chaldron had been laid upon coals in the port of London, in addition to five shillings upon all coals, for the purpose of building fifty-two churches. By the first of George the First, this duty was made applicable to the maintenance of the ministers of those churches, as well as the building of them. By the fifth of George the First, the duty was declared to be continued for thirty-two years. By the sixth of the same king, the duty was made perpetual, and rendered part of a fund, called the south-sea fund, to charge annuities upon the south-sea company. The consequence of which was, that the whole of it had since been appropriated for public purposes; and, by the twenty-eighth of George the Second, it became part of the consolidated fund. Mr. Pitt admitted, that this tax had been enacted for a local purpose; but did not think that any objection could be fairly made against its continuing to be applied to the public service, when so many acts of parliament had declared it to be so appropriated. It produced, he said, 130,000*l.* annually, to the public service, and expressed his opinion, that it should not, at least, be taken off on the outset of the war.

Mr. Alderman Curtis informed the House, that his constituents, the citizens of London, were not very sanguine in their expectations on the subject.

Mr. Fox observed, that it was a local duty, appropriated for a time to a local purpose; and that it had afterwards been diverted to a public purpose, when the local one ceased;

an injustice which time can never sanction. He considered it as an hardship, not only on the inhabitants of London and Westminster, but on all those who are supplied with coals from the port of London, and who had no interest whatever in the original creation of the tax, which he considered as partial and oppressive.

Mr. Rose mentioned, that the citizens of London, in the year 1719, presented a petition on this very subject, which had been rejected.

After some further debate, the commitment of the petition was rejected, by a majority of 77, against 35.

The long continuance of rain in the summer and autumn, having prevented the farmers, in the northern parts of Scotland, from drying their winter fuel, called peat, as well as from housing and stacking their half-ripened grain, the manufacturers were likely to suffer much inconvenience from the want of their usual supply of fuel, and the people, in general, great distress from a dearth of meal. Mr. Dundas therefore proposed, that the duties on coals carried coastwise in Scotland, the annual produce of which did not exceed ten or twelve thousand pounds, should be repealed.

In fact, this duty amounted to a prohibition; and, in the north of Scotland, the people trusted almost entirely to the great mosses for a supply of fuel, in preparing which, a large portion of the labour of that part of the country was expended, which might be beneficially employed in fisheries and manufactures; by which means, a great part of that resource was lost to the revenue,

revenue, which must arise from the industry of the inhabitants. These considerations, Mr. Dundas said, would have led him to propose the repeal of these duties on coals, as an advisable measure, had he even been unable to substitute any compensation in lieu of them : but being sensible, that the inconvenience was not confined to Scotland alone ; but that it was felt by other parts of the country, he wished to take some time to enquire and consider, whether he could not think of some proper means of supplying from Scotland the deficiency which the repeal of these duties would occasion. In the Highlands of Scotland, he believed, that a certain quantity of spirits was, in some shape or other, a necessary of life ; and that they were not then used to excess ; but, from every information he had been able to procure, it was his opinion ; that stills of a certain size now allowed to be used there, on payment of a licence duty of twenty shillings per gallon, might well bear to be charged with a licence duty of forty shillings per gallon. He would also propose, the taking off an exception, which the retailers of what is called *aqua vitæ*, in that part of the country, have been used to enjoy, and to impose a certain licence duty upon them, and these together he had no doubt would produce a revenue of more than 20,000*l.* per annum. What he had already spoken of, applied only to the Highlands ; but in the Lowlands of Scotland, where the business of distillation was chiefly carried on, the legislature had thought proper to impose an higher duty ; that duty was, in his opinion, still too low, which, from

the lowness of the price, had led to an alarming excess in the use of spirituous liquors, highly prejudicial both to the morals and health of the lower class of people. It seemed to be universally admitted, that nothing was so fair an object of taxation and of revenue, as spirits ; and that the duties on spirits could not be too high, unless they should go the length of giving encouragement to smuggling. At present, he said, the licence duty on each gallon of the distillation, or low wash still was 3*l.* which he proposed should be raised to 9*l.* when, according to his computation, it would produce an additional revenue of 33,400*l.* on the supposition that, by the increase of duty, the number of gallons should be reduced from 11,200, their present number, to only 800. On rectifying stills, no more was charged at present, than the mere trifle of an halfpenny per gallon, which had been found to occasion the practice of a great fraud on the revenue, by using rectifying stills, for the purpose of distillation : this was evident from the number of rectifying stills, which were no fewer than 25,000 ; whereas no more than 5000 or 6000 could be required, in order to rectify the whole spirits which could be produced from the low wash stills ; and, in order to remedy this, he would propose an imposition upon the rectifying stills, of the same licence duty of 9*l.* per gallon, as upon the low wash stills ; by which means, indeed, the number of these rectifying stills might probably be reduced to about 6000. But upon the whole of what he proposed, with respect to the duties on spirits, he was convinced, that, be-

sides

sides the providing for the deficiency of the duties on coals, now proposed to be repealed, an annual addition of nearly 100,000*l.* would be made to the revenue of the country, and in such a manner as would be advantageous also to the morals and health of the people.

Mr. Dundas then moved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the duties now payable on coals, culm, and cinders, brought coastwise into any port or ports of that part of Great Britain called Scotland, to cease, determine, and become no longer paid.

When sir John Sinclair had said a few words, signifying his approbation of the resolution, it was put and carried. Several other resolutions, with respect to the duties on spirits, were also agreed to; and the bill which was brought in to procure this repeal, &c. regularly passed into a law.

While these and other measures were employed to encrease the revenues of the country, and enable it to maintain its influence and character in the scale of nations, a plan was formed to advance its prosperity, augment its strength, and multiply its resources, by improving and enlarging the agriculture of the kingdom.

On the same day, sir John Sinclair, who had devoted a large portion of his time and talents to finance and political oeconomics, submitted to the consideration of the House the motion of which he had given previous notice, with respect to the state of agriculture in this country. He then proceeded to state at considerable length, and with much precision, the improvement of which agriculture was capable in Great Britain, and the

great advantages which were to be derived from it. Nothing, in his opinion, seemed so likely to effectuate this desirable purpose, as the appointment of a board of agriculture, composed of respectable gentlemen, perfectly conversant in and acquainted with the subject, as well as considerably interested in the success of the scheme, and who, he would propose, should act without any reward or emolument. Various advantages would, as he conceived, be derived from such a plan, and the expence would not exceed 3000*l.* in salaries to clerks, &c. This being a public board, would no doubt have the privilege of franking; and one very material benefit of it would be, the establishing of a free communication of the different improvements in agriculture, from one part of the country to another. He concluded with moving,

“ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, entreating, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration, the advantages which might be derived, by the public, from the establishment of a board of agriculture, and internal improvement :

“ Humbly representing to his majesty, that, though in some particular districts, improved methods of cultivating the soil are practised, yet that, in the greatest part of these kingdoms, the principles of agriculture are not yet sufficiently understood, nor are the implements of husbandry, or the stock of the farmer, brought to that perfection of which they are capable :

“ That his faithful Commons are persuaded, if such an institution were to take place, that such inquiries

quiries might be made into the internal state of the country, and a spirit of improvement so effectually encouraged, as must naturally tend to produce many important national benefits, the attainment of which his majesty has ever shewn a most gracious disposition to promote; and, in particular, that such a measure might be the means of uniting a judicious system of husbandry to the advantages of domestic manufacturing industry, and the benefits of foreign commerce, and, consequently, of establishing, on the surest and best foundations, the prosperity of his kingdoms:

“And, if his majesty shall be graciously pleased to direct the institution of such a board, for a limited time, to assure his majesty, that his faithful Commons will cheerfully defray any expence attending the same, to the amount of a sum not exceeding 3000*l*.”

The address was supported by Mr. Pitt, Lord Sheffield, Sir William Dolben, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Wilberforce, and was opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Hussey, and Mr. Grey. It was, at length, carried on a division of 101 against 26.

The state of those unhappy persons, who, in consequence of their crimes, receive the sentence of transportation, seem not to have been regarded with that attention which might be expected both from the humanity and policy of government, both as to the general objects of public justice, and the views of public economy.

This interesting subject, sir Charles Bunbury submitted to the attention of parliament, on Friday, the 31st of May, in order to

move certain resolutions which might produce such regulations, as would be consistent with the general view and object of legal punishment. He did not conceive it would be necessary for him to make any apology to the House, when he assured it, that his design, on the present occasion, was to lessen the sum of human misery, and to prevent an unnecessary expenditure of the public treasure. He conceived that not only humanity, but policy should induce his majesty's ministers to turn their thoughts towards the unhappy convicts destined for transportation. He then called the attention of the House to the situation of these unhappy persons, in the interval between their sentence, and its being carried into execution. During this time, which frequently continued for many months, they remained in their respective prisons in rags, filth, and idleness; and afterwards they were sent on board the hulks, where they frequently staid a considerable time; so that those whose morals were not totally depraved, were rendered completely so by such a mischievous and impolitic association. He then estimated, that, of the seven years transportation, which was the sentence of the court, two years were mispent in indolence and bad company; reckoning one year consumed in gaol, and on board the hulks, with the average passage to New South Wales, and return from thence; each of which voyages cost 20*l*. per man, so that the system was as expensive as it was baneful. Thus, nearly one third of their term, and sometimes more, was wasted in a manner not only adverse to reformation, but calculated

lated, as it should seem, to augment their depravity, and make them thieves during their lives. The association of the bad must produce evil. Separate and reform, is the maxim to be attended to, in the management of thieves. On the whole, sir Charles reprobated the practice of sending felons, sentenced to transportation for seven years, to a barren spot in one of the most remote parts of the globe; at which, when they arrived, after much trouble, they were to be preserved from perishing by famine, by meat and corn sent from England; the precarious arrival of which had subjected them to frequent alarms and distress. Sir Charles thought that the inferior delinquents, whom the laws deemed corrigible, and sentenced for the limited term of seven years; the very old, the very young, the crippled, the infirm, and the penitent, might be usefully employed in that labour best suited to their capacities in a well regulated penitentiary house; and by proper care and discipline, their bad habits might be reformed.

The propriety of this mode of treatment, he thought himself justified in recommending, as it had not only received the sanction of both houses of parliament; but in those counties where it had been adopted, the most beneficial effects had resulted from it. The remainder of these criminals, if the American States refused to receive them, he advised, should be sent to Hudson's Bay. When America refused to receive our convicts, penitentiary houses were proposed: but in consequence of the great expence, this scheme was not carried into execution. The next plan

adopted, was, that of Botany Bay. After recounting the miseries these unfortunate people underwent in prison, on board the hulks, and in their passage, sir Charles next proceeded to state the estimate of the expence incurred by government, for their transportation. The settlement appeared to have cost the public 600,000*l*. There had been, sir Charles said, a plan proposed by Mr. Jeremiah Bentham, to build penitentiary houses in a circular form, which would facilitate the inspection, and would reduce the expence to 25*l*. per cent. less than the hulks. Thus, well-regulated prisons, calculated to reform offenders, and to convert the dissolute and idle into good and industrious subjects, would be provided at a cheaper rate than vessels on the Thames, in which, from the free and contagious intercourse of the convicts, the most dangerous combinations were formed, and instead of being, as they ought to be, "schools for reformation," they might, with more propriety, be termed, "Schools for instructing youth in the arts of robbery." This observation applied still more forcibly to their treatment in their unimproved gaols, in which they were never allowed to work, and on board the ships, during the passage to New South Wales. Mr. Bentham proposed also a subordinate establishment, in which he would receive and employ such as could not find employment elsewhere, all those persons of blasted character, who, though acquitted for want of legal proof, were thought to be guilty, and those the terms of whose sentences were expired. This was an establishment, which, to the disgrace of the country, had long

- long been wanted, and which merited the warmest encouragement of government, as it tended to prevent crimes, to which, he feared, many who now sought employment in vain were driven by necessity.

Sir Charles next proceeded to state the mortality among the convicts during the voyage, and the expence. He said, the maintenance of each convict, during the two first years, cost the country 60*l.* a-year, which was the salary of an exciseman. In speaking of the mortality, he stated, that out of 500 passengers on board the *Neptune*, but forty-two were able to crawl over the ship's side; the rest were carried, and eight out of every ten died at Sidney Cove. The detail of the sufferings of these wretched convicts would be tedious and painful; suffice it to say, that by the depositions taken by the solicitor of the treasury, they were equal to any endured in the slave ships. That in another instance, out of 1863 on board the *Queen* and other transports in autumn 1791, 576 on landing were sent to the hospital. Governor Phillips wished to punish the author of these calamities, but doubted his power over offences committed on the high seas. It was necessary, therefore, that an admiralty court should be established at Sidney Cove. Sir Charles concluded by moving the following resolutions, on which he desired not an immediate decision, but left them for the consideration of gentlemen, and particularly of his majesty's ministers, to whom the care of felons, after conviction devolved.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That, by the general improvement which has taken place in the jails and bridewells throughout the kingdom, the punishment of convicts by imprisonment and hard labour on board of vessels in the river Thames, and elsewhere, is rendered unnecessary, and ought to be discontinued.

2. That the promiscuous confinement of felons under sentence in Newgate, and other jails destined for accused persons only and likewise on board of hulks for several months until ships are ready for their transportation, is impolitic, and productive of many evil consequences.

3. That a proper prison should be provided for the reception of such felons immediately after their conviction, with working rooms for select companies, and separate apartments during the hours of rest.

4. That the distance of the settlements at Sidney Cove and Norfolk Island, the length and peril of the voyage, the expence of conveying and maintaining the convicts when there, is so great, as to make it advisable to send thither only such as shall be sentenced to transportation during their lives, or at least for the term of fourteen years.

5. That it is expedient, that inquiry should be made whether the North American States would be inclined to receive and employ, as heretofore, any, and what number of convicted felons; and also, whether a settlement might not be allotted to those under sentence of transportation for seven years in any other part of the North American

rican continent, or the adjacent islands, or elsewhere, to which they might be sent at a moderate expence, where the soil is fertile, and where they might be usefully employed in the fisheries and commerce, and thereby contribute to their own support, and the advantage of this country.

6. That to preserve those criminals who may hereafter be transported, from a calamity similar to that which destroyed the greater part of the unfortunate crew of the *Neptune*, and to rescue them from the dangers of foul air and famine, it seems expedient to allow a space of at least two tons for each person; and that in addition to the salutary regulations proposed by Mr. Secretary Dundas, in his letter of June 23, 1791, to the commissioner of the treasury, a premium should be given to the contractors, on the arrival of every felon in good health at the place of their destination; and likewise that all the provisions on board of the ships hired to carry convicts, should be purchased for the service of government, and the surplus, at the end of the voyage, be deposited in their storehouses,

Mr. Dundas, after bestowing the highest encomium on the motive and object of the honourable baronet's motion, declared his readiness to co-operate with him in realizing its views: but in order to give time for the due consideration of it, he moved that the business be deferred to that day three months, which was accordingly agreed to.

At the close of the sessions, and when the House of Commons was by no means numerously attended, the Farnham hop bill, which had

originally been brought into parliament by Mr. Rose, came to be finally considered: and occasioned no small degree of asperity against the mover of it, especially from the gentlemen of the long robe, who expressed a very violent degree of hostility against it.

It appeared that the improprator of the tythes in the parish of Farnham, in Surrey, where a composition of 20s. an acre was paid for the tythe on hops, (a larger rate than is generally paid on any other part of the kingdom,) made a demand amounting to 3l. 12s. per acre, or insisted upon taking the tythes in kind. According to the representation of this business, as it appeared from the evidence produced on the occasion, the greater part of the hop lands are not worth the sum which the improprator demanded; and the nature of gathering hops is such, that it would not only be a great inconvenience for them to be taken in kind, but would frequently occasion the loss of one half in value to the planter. It was also apprehended, that, if the proposed exorbitant advance in the tythes was allowed, there would be an almost insupportable addition to the poor's rates of the parish from the annihilation of so large a proportion of its local and habitual cultivation; as four acres of hop-ground was generally found to afford a support to the poor labourer, his wife, and children. For these, and various other reasons which the inhabitants of Farnham considered as weighty and important, they applied to parliament for relief, and Mr. Rose brought in a bill to regulate and fix the payment of tythes in that parish in such a manner,

manner, as to do justice to the impropiator without oppressing the owners of hop-plantations.

On Friday the 7th of June, the order of the day being read on the Farnham hop-bill, the attorney and solicitor general, with Mr. Bearcroft and Sir William Scott, reprobated the principle of the bill, and considered it as an unconstitutional attempt to commit a gross act of injustice by legislative authority.

Lord George Cavendish said, that, in the present instance, it appeared to him, that a gross act of oppression had been attempted by an individual, and he thought it extremely proper that parliament should interfere to prevent it.

Mr. Rose thought the bill both just and necessary, and however he might be misrepresented on the occasion, he was determined to persevere in giving it every support in his power.

Mr. Cawthorne, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Gilbert, and Lord William Russel, then spoke in favour of the bill; while Mr. Burton and Mr. Wigley opposed it. It was however carried, on a division, for going into a committee, 38 against 19.—On a further division of 44 against 4; counsel were called in and heard upon the bill.—But on Wednesday the 12th of June, Mr. Rose informed the House, that on account of the advanced state of the session, he should defer all further proceedings on the Farnham hop bill. He justified the steps he had taken in this business, as being founded on the necessity of the case, and observed, that as to the remedy to be applied to the grievance complained of, he did not know precisely what the House would think proper to do; perhaps

a general regulation might take place, for it was a clear case, that taking the tythes of hops in kind would occasion the total destruction of the article; he therefore hoped something would be done in the next session of parliament on that subject.

Mr. Wharton made an unsuccessful motion respecting the exercise of the executive authority.—He concluded a speech of some length with moving, "That a committee be appointed to enquire whether any and which of the provisions made by parliament, in the reign of William and Mary, and in the reign of William the Third, for securing the responsible exercise of the executive authority, for securing a real, independent, and faithful representation of the Commons in parliament; and for securing a fair and impartial administration of justice in the courts of law; whether any, and which of these have, by any means, been invalidated or taken away; and to consider whether any, and which of those invalidated provisions may be fit to be re-enacted and restored, in order that the people of this land may recover that situation and security, in which they were placed by the glorious revolution of 1688.

There were only 83 members in the House on this occasion, of which no more than 11 supported the motion, and 71 voted against it.

But amongst the important business which had been transacted during this session for the advantage of the country, we find parliament bestowing due rewards and honours on those who had conquered for it. Mr. Chancellor Pitt, on Thursday the 30th of May, acquainted

quainted the House that he had a message from his majesty, which the speaker read as follows :

“GEORGE R.

“His majesty, being desirous that the annuity of two thousand pounds, which, in consequence of the eminent and signal services performed by the late lord Rodney, was granted by an act of the twenty-third year of his majesty's reign to the said lord Rodney, and to the two next persons on whom the title of lord Rodney should descend, should be further continued to the persons on whom the title of lord Rodney shall hereafter descend, but his majesty not having it in his power to extend the said grant beyond the existing term, recommends it to his faithful Commons to consider of a proper method of extending and securing the same, in such manner as shall be thought most effectual for the benefit of the heirs of the said lord Rodney, on whom the said title shall descend.

“G. R.”

On the following day this message was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House, when, after an eloquent eulogium on the character of lord Rodney, from the chancellor of the exchequer, the House passed a resolution, that the annuity of 2000*l.* secured on George lord Rodney, and the two persons on whom the title should next descend, be further settled and secured on the heirs of lord Rodney in whom the barony of Rodney shall be vested. And on Monday the 17th of June, on the motion of Sir Watkin Lewes, the House agreed to address his majesty, praying that he would give directions that a monument should be erected in the cathedral

church of St. Paul, in the city of London, to the memory of lord Rodney, vice-admiral of Great Britain, with a suitable inscription, stating the services he had rendered his country.

The House at the same time voted similar honours to the memory of general lord Heathfield, for his glorious defence of the fortress of Gibraltar.

In an early part of this session, Mr. Sheridan had moved that several petitions from the inhabitants of the royal burghs of Scotland, praying for a reform of their internal government, should be brought up and read. As they were all to the same effect, that of Glasgow was alone read at full length, and, with that of Lanark, was laid upon the table.

On Monday the 25th of March, Mr. Sheridan renewed this business, and declared it to have been his intention to have brought forward, as on that day, such facts and arguments as, he trusted, would have fully supported the motion which he intended to have submitted to the House; that leave should be given to bring in a bill for reforming the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland. But as he understood that a determined opposition would be given to such a motion; he had thought it prudent to change his plan, and to follow the mode which had been adopted last year, of moving to go into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the several petitions which had been presented in this sessions, with the accounts and other papers on the table.

Mr. Dundas thought, from the advanced period of the session, and the

the very important business which demanded the attention of the House, a select committee would be more suitable to the business in question; and accordingly, after some further observations from Mr. Sheridan, a select committee was appointed.

On Monday the 17th of June, a report was brought up from the committee to which the petitions, praying for a reform in the Scotch burghs, was referred: when Mr. Sheridan declared his intention to move that the report should be printed for the use of the members during the recess.

On the motion of Mr. Jekyll, the report made by the commissioners appointed by act of parliament to enquire into the salaries, fees, and emoluments of the persons employed in the different public offices, was ordered to be printed.

Mr. secretary Dundas reminded the House of his intention to propose, during the present session, the establishment of a militia in Scotland; but as it was now so near its close, he designed merely to submit to the House the plan he had formed on this subject. He had drawn it up, he said, in the shape of a bill, which he intended to move the House for leave to bring in immediately, that it should be read a first time and printed, but without making any further progress during the present session. He accordingly made his proposed motion, which was carried without opposition.

Mr. Windham, after adverting to the report made by the committee appointed to enquire into the particulars of the petition of Mr. Mudge, with his usual ingenuity,

supported the opinion that the invention of which Mr. Mudge was the author gave him a fair title to a parliamentary reward. He was aware, he said, that the extent of the benefit which the public might derive from this invention, through the improvement that it would make in time-keepers, could be ascertained only by subsequent experience: for the present, therefore, he would ask only for a moderate reward for Mr. Mudge, leaving him at liberty to apply hereafter to parliament for a greater one, if it should be found that the benefit to the public was greater than it was at present fair to suppose it would be. He then moved an address to his majesty, praying, that he would be pleased to grant to Thomas Mudge, watchmaker, the sum of 2500*l.* as a reward for his invention for the improvement of time-keepers, on condition that he should disclose the principles on which the improvement was made, and assuring his majesty that the House would make good the sum to him.—The motion was carried without opposition.

The last important business which occupied the attention of the House of Commons previous to its prorogation was, a motion made on the same day, by Mr. Fox, in consequence of notice that he had previously given of his design to call the attention of the House to the present war, as well as to propose an enquiry into the reason for its continuance on our part after the object for which we entered into it was obtained.

Mr. Fox accordingly rose to state to the House the reasons which induced him to think it was the duty of that House to take such steps

steps as might justify a change of opinion with regard to the continuation of the war, as applied to their former votes on that subject. He should, therefore, but for the sake of argument alone, consider the present as a just, prudent, and necessary war, called for and entered into for the general safety of Europe, and for the interest of this country. He had always understood, that the grounds of the present war, on the part of Great Britain, were principally these: first, the particular alliance we had with the Dutch, attacked as they were by the French. Secondly, not only this alliance, which in point of good faith called upon us to act from a regard to our own honour; but also on account of the interest we ourselves had in the issue. To these might be added the aggrandisement of France, with the effect and operation of the spirit of their councils. It was his object therefore to shew, that upon none of these grounds could the present war be continued. With respect to Holland our ally, she was now safe from any attack from France: but whether in the present state of affairs the future safety of our allies the Dutch was to be secured by our pursuing the war in conjunction with the other combined powers, was a matter of some doubt in his mind. How far, if this war was countenanced by us, the general safety of Europe would be preserved, was a topic he did not wish to decide upon; because it afforded, in his opinion, a prospect that could not be agreeable to any man who had the least regard for the principles of liberty. Mr. Fox then proceeded to consider the general state of Europe at that moment.

We attacked France, because our allies were attacked by her, and because we saw in the character and spirit of her councils views of her own aggrandisement. But was this spirit and were these views peculiar to France? Let us ask ourselves, with all the indignation we naturally entertained against the conduct of France, whether the conduct of the court of Berlin, and the court of Petersburg, in their invasion and partition of Poland, was not equal in infamy to that of France.

And here he wished to know what answer gentlemen would give him, if he asked, whether they thought, that, even if the French had been able to retain all they took, Flanders and Brabant, it would have been more dangerous to the general prosperity of Europe than this division of Poland? Or that now they were restored, and supposing them to be under the condition they stood in by the order of the Emperor Joseph, was there a man in that House of opinion, that our safety required the continuance of this destructive war?

As to Savoy, he should say nothing by way of comment upon the conduct of Great Britain; he believed that business had been commenced on the part of the French, without any thing intended to be done by us, and certainly without any promise of assistance from us to the party attacked; and therefore we were not involved in any point of honour on that account.

He now lamented, that he must come to the present state of this country, and ask whether there ever was a war more destructive to
British

British commerce than the present. We ought not, therefore, to ask what indemnity we can obtain of France; but what Europe has to bestow upon Great Britain, that will equal the shock which may be given to her commerce by continuing the present war? What was it that we were now fighting for? For our religion? It was not attacked. For our constitution? It was perfectly secure. What if France was distracted, was that circumstance an advantage to us? What, if we made law to-morrow for France? What, if we exacted indemnity? What had she to give? What had Europe to give to Great Britain for the prosecution of the war? What stood now in the way of peace? We had no alliance with Austria upon this occasion, nor any in that respect with the king of Prussia. With regard to Holland, any proposition of peace must be acceptable there. There were some articles, indeed, in the treaties now on the table with Russia and Sardinia, that were objectionable in his opinion; but as the House had not adopted them, he should not consider them as topics for immediate consideration. Mr. Fox said, he knew the difficulty which had often been started with respect to peace. Are we to treat with France in its present state? He answered, yes.—With him or them, be he or they what they will, we ought now to treat, as we must ultimately do it. If, however, we are to treat with them only, on a plan of our own, so as to form a government, we must fight them, till a government is established among them; and what reason have we to expect such an event? When and how are we

VOL. XXXV.

to enforce it? Let them suffer the penalties of their own injustice—let them suffer the miseries arising from their own confusion—Why were the people of England to suffer because the people of France were unjust? Why was every man in England to be a sufferer, because the people of France were in confusion, and that too when France had no power to annoy us, and when we could conclude peace with safety to ourselves and to our allies? If we were determined to say, we should not make peace with the French until they have a form of government which we shall approve; that would amount to saying, we would dictate to them a form of government; and if that had been avowed at the beginning to that House, he was confident they would not have adopted the war at all; and although it was his majesty's undoubted prerogative to commence it of his own will, yet the House would have refused to pledge itself for supplies for carrying it on. If he was asked, With whom we could have signed a treaty of peace some time ago? He would answer, With M. Le Brun. All those who had supported this war had agreed that peace, if it could be obtained, was a desirable object; and in all that had been said or done by the national convention, every thing that had been said or done in the city of Paris, demonstrated this; it had ever been the opinion of that people, that a peace with this country was the most desirable of all objects for them to obtain. He owned, for his part, the necessity of this country's being at peace with the French, and all the people of England would

[N]

see

see it in the same light very soon, unless they were ready to say they would pay for the follies of the French. It was a new thing to hear, that to be at peace with a people, we must be pleased first with the form of their government. He knew it was not wise to treat in general with those whose power was unsettled. This applied to treaties of alliance; but when peace was the object, this doctrine was not to be admitted, as, otherwise, we might be at war for ever.

He concluded his speech by moving, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to lay before his majesty the humble representations of his faithful Commons on the present awful and momentous crisis; a duty which they feel themselves the more especially called upon to perform at this juncture, as a long and eventful period may probably elapse before his majesty can again have an opportunity of collecting, through their representations, the real sentiments and wishes of his people.

"In the name of the people of England, his majesty's faithful Commons are bound to declare, that they concurred in the measures necessary to carry on the present war, for the objects of defence and security, and for those objects only.

"That any plan of aggrandizement, founded on the present distressed situation of France, much less any purpose of establishing among the French people any particular form of government, never would have had their concurrence or support.

"In expressing these their sentiments and opinions, on entering into the present war, his majesty's

faithful Commons are sensible that they are only repeating those benevolent declarations, which policy, and a careful attention to the real interests of the British nation, induced his majesty to use in his most gracious speech from the throne at the beginning of the present session of parliament, and in repeated messages to this House.

"To represent to his majesty, that though his faithful Commons have the most perfect reliance on his majesty's sacred word and promise, solemnly pledged to this country and to Europe, not to interfere in the internal affairs of France, or to enter into the views and projects of other powers who, in the present war, may be actuated by motives far different from those which govern the conduct of his majesty; yet they feel it to be their indispensable duty to call his majesty's most serious attention to some of the circumstances, which have occurred since the commencement of the present unfortunate contest.

"The French arms, which after a successful invasion of Brabant, had threatened the security of his majesty's allies the States General, have since been confined within their own territory, and are now occupied in defence of their frontier towns against the united forces of his majesty and his allies. The danger apprehended from the former conquests and aggrandisement of the French nation, appears therefore to be no longer a subject of just uneasiness and alarm.

"Some of the powers engaged in the confederacy against France, have, on the other hand, openly avowed, and successfully executed plans of domination and conquest,
not

not less formidable to the general liberties of Europe. The rapacious and faithless dismemberment of the unhappy kingdom of Poland, without having produced, as far as it appears to this House, any remonstrance from his majesty's ministers, has excited in his majesty's faithful Commons the highest indignation at so daring an outrage on the rights of independent nations, and the keenest solicitude to rescue the honour of the British government from the suspicion of having concurred or acquiesced in measures so odious in their principle, and so dangerous in their example to the peace and happiness of mankind.

"The severe calamities which, since the commencement of the present war, this nation has already experienced—the shock given to commercial credit, and the alarming consequences which the failure of the mercantile and manufacturing interests threatens to the public revenue, and to the general prosperity of the country, cannot have failed to attract his majesty's attention, and to excite in his benevolent mind a sincere desire to relieve his subjects from distresses of which they cannot hope for a termination but in the speedy re-establishment of peace.

"His majesty's faithful Commons make it, therefore, their most earnest and solemn request, that his majesty, taking into his consideration all the above circumstances, will not fail to employ the earliest measures for procuring peace on such terms as are consistent with the professed objects of the war, and with that good faith, strict justice, and liberal and enlightened policy which have hi-

therto so peculiarly distinguished the British nation."

Mr. Hussey seconded the motion.

Mr. Windham acknowledged, that so far as the declared objects of the war regarded Holland and Flanders, the statement of his right honourable friend was fair and satisfactory: but with respect to the alleged disavowal of any interference as to the internal government of France, he had not displayed an equal precision. He was ready to admit that there had been a disavowal of any intention on our part to interfere, for the purpose of establishing in France any particular form of government, whether monarchical, democratic, or despotic; but he conceived it to have been an avowed purpose of the war, to endeavour to bring about the establishment of such a government, in that country, as we might with safety, treat with;—we were to prosecute the war, till we could make peace with safety. For his part, he said, he was yet to learn any principle in reason, or any rule or example in practice, by which a country could be called upon, at the beginning of a war, to state definitely, what are the precise objects of the war, or what the precise situation in which it ought to desist from that war; to do so would be truly impossible, because much must frequently depend, in point of prudence and propriety in that respect, upon contingencies during the prosecution of the war. His right honourable friend, however, having first assumed this as a fixed principle, having then assumed what were the avowed objects of the present war, and having also assumed that these objects are attainable;—he had, on all these

[N 2]

assumptions,

assumptions, grounded this conclusion, that we are now only at war for indemnification; but, denying, as he did, the premises, he could not possibly join in the conclusion. In this, or in any other war, he was ready to admit, that the state of the country was undoubtedly one consideration, and ought in every thing regarding it, to make part of the calculation; but he could, by no means, agree in the opinion, that the present state of this country, with respect to commercial credit particularly, had been occasioned by the war; he certainly thought it had proceeded from causes distinct from the war. He would next ask, how did his right honourable friend make out his position, that the objects of the war are attainable by negotiation?—Were that indeed practicable, no doubt could remain on the subject; but at the same time, he must deny that the objects of this or any war can be said to be attained, unless security is established; and how security could be attained by negotiation with France in its present state of anarchy and misrule, he was at a loss to determine. That so far from being unsuccessful in the prosecution of the war, he considered that we had hitherto been prosperous; and that those depredations with which our commerce had been threatened, were now passed away. Feeling also the difficulty of getting a combination of powers sufficient to attain that security which was the great object of the war, and the probable impossibility of again forming such combination, if once dissolved, he must consider an attempt on our part to make peace, under the existent circumstances, as next to

madness. He therefore hoped that the present confederacy would persevere till it has fully attained the great objects for which it was formed.

Mr. Jekyll, after sporting in his usual way with Mr. Windham's expression, that making peace under the present circumstances should be considered as madness, declared his assent to the motion.

Mr. Burke conceived the motion before the House to involve a question—whether we should make war with all the powers of Europe, in order to make peace with France. The House was called upon to send up an address to the throne, containing a bitter invective against three great powers of Europe: and what was to be the consequence? Did we mean to provoke them without an object? it was womanish to rail without doing more; and if we do more, we are at war with all Europe.

On the subject of Poland, whatever were his sentiments, he should think it wise to hold his tongue; for was it possible for Great Britain to go to war with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, with all the great powers of Europe, with no ally but France? and what Government was there in France with which we could form an alliance? He remembered in history, when Charles the Twelfth disposed of that country (Poland), and gave it another king; did, we on that, or on other similar occasions, call upon France to assist us in rescuing Poland? No. France, indeed, would have been sufficiently desirous of assisting us, but Great Britain and France could not then attempt it; the situation of Poland rendered any such attempt impracticable; for, with respect to us,

us, it may be, in fact, considered as a country in the moon. But what is the line of conduct we are now desired to follow with respect to those powers with whom we have hitherto acted in this war? Shall we begin to desert them in the first moment of our being called upon to attack? Shall we totally forget what they had done, and how they had fought for us in defence of Holland, in which we had so great and interest? The danger which then threatened Holland was formidable indeed, when attacked by M. Dumourier. Of him and his 100,000 Sans Culottes the Austrians had cleared Holland, and, in doing so, had shed torrents of their blood. Shall we then now say that we are tired of the war, at the very instant when we have got a glimpse of hope, and before we have taken any one fortress? For his part, he reprobated such shameful perfidy. But when we shall have excommunicated ourselves from the whole band of European sovereigns, in order to treat with France, we can have no security whatever for the performance of any treaty on their part, which can be equal even to the constancy or consistency of a single individual. He did not deny the ambition of the sovereign powers of Europe; but the question, in his opinion, came to be, which was that power whose ambition was most likely to press on Great Britain? The partition of Poland might possibly be made so as not to destroy, or even to effect, in any great degree, the balance of power in Europe. The king of Prussia had, indeed, taken Dantzick, and he was sorry for it; but had he taken the lives or the property of any in-

dividuals? He hoped he would not be conceived that he approved of this; but he must consider the different conduct of France, and oppose to it the detestable principles of their infamous decree of the 15th of December. He had not heard that, either in Poland, or in Dantzick, any one clergyman had lost his living, or that any man had lost his life or property. The beginning of a war must always be the most expensive part; and yet, after having incurred all this enormous expence, we are now called upon to put an end to the war, before it has been possible to derive any fruits from it.

With whom, continued Mr. Burke, can we at present treat? M. Le Brun, with whom we were so lately called on to treat, is in jail. Claviere, another minister, is no where to be found; or shall we treat with M. Egalité, who is now in the dungeon of Marseilles? But what were the principles upon which this negotiation was to be carried on? He knew from the mouth of Brissot himself, what the French, at least, thought on this subject. It was the report of a committee, of which he was the head, upon the subject of a treaty with Geneva, in which he affirmed, "that treaties were useless, and could not bind the people, who were to be united by principles alone, and therefore to make treaties with any other sovereign power, was disgraceful to a free people." He remarked, that there was one grand sophistry that run through the whole of the right honourable gentleman's speeches, namely, that we made war on France, while *de facto* she made war upon us, and that too at a time when Dumourier was affecting to treat

treat with us. He insisted that it was a travelling delusion, that nations were not to interfere with each other; for if any nation endeavoured to confuse, to trample upon, violate, or despise, the rights of others, the interests of human society required that all should join against them. If, by the subversion of all law and religion, a nation adopts a malignant spirit to produce anarchy and mischief in other countries, it is the right of nations to go to war with them. In support of this doctrine, he quoted the authority of Vattel, who lays it down, "that if one nation adopt principles maleficient to all government and order, such a nation is to be opposed from principles of common safety." This, he insisted, was the spirit of France; and what was to keep the effects of it from England? War, and nothing else. Until, therefore, we could find that security in their principles and practices which could alone make peace permanent, he would never agree to prostrate the throne of Great Britain at the foot of any national convention or jacobin club whatever.

Mr. chancellor Pitt, after some strong observations on the motion before the House, which he denominated impolitic and preposterous, proceeded to illustrate what he conceived to be the situation of this country with respect to France, previous to the declaration of war on her part. We then, he said, contended, 1. That she had broken a treaty with our allies, which she was bound to support. 2. That she had engaged in schemes of ambition and aggrandizement, inconsistent with the interests of this country and the general security of

Europe. 3. That she had entertained principles hostile to all governments, and more particularly to our own. In consequence of these circumstances, this House had declared its addresses to the throne, that if proper satisfaction was not obtained, a war must be the consequence. But while this was in agitation, the French had themselves declared war, and been guilty of a sudden and unprovoked aggression upon this country. The necessity of security against these three points, their disregard of treaties, their projects of ambition, and their dangerous principles, certainly becomes greater, inasmuch as their injuries are increased by the aggression. The question then resolves itself into this: shall we, from a view of the present situation of the belligerent powers, risk more by vigorously persisting in the war till we have obtained its objects, or by abandoning it without reparation or security? After urging this point, with his usual ability, he proceeded to observe, that the best security we could obtain would be in the end that wild, un-governed system, from which have resulted those injuries against which it is necessary to guard. There are, however, degrees and proportions of security which may be obtained, and with which we ought to rest satisfied; but these must depend upon the circumstances that shall afterwards arise, and cannot be ascertained by any previous definition. But when we have seen ourselves and all Europe attacked; when we have seen a system established, violating all treaties, disregarding all obligations, and, under the name of the rights of man, uniting the principles

ples of usurpation abroad, with tyranny and confusion at home—we must judge whether we ought to sit down without some security against the consequences of such a system being again brought into action. And this security can only be obtained in one of three modes—1st, That these principles shall no longer predominate. Secondly, That those who are now engaged in them shall be taught that they are impracticable, and convinced of their own want of power to carry them into execution; or 3dly, That the issue of the present war shall be such, as by weakening their power of attack shall strengthen your power of resistance. Without these, we may indeed have an armed truce, a temporary suspension of hostilities; but no permanent peace; no solid security to guard us against the repetition of injury and the renewal of attack. If on these points we have made up our minds, if we are determined to prosecute the war till we shall obtain proper satisfaction, and at least be able to provide some security for the continuance of peace, the present motion can only tend to fetter the operations of war, to delude the people, to gratify the factious, to inflame the discontented, to discourage our allies, to strengthen our enemies. What could be the effect of any negotiation for peace in the present moment? It is not merely to the character of Marat, with whom we would have to treat, that I object; it is not to the horror of those crimes which have stained their legislators, crimes in every stage rising above another in point of enormity; but I object to the consequences of that character, and to

the effect of those crimes. They are such as render negotiation useless, and must entirely deprive of stability any peace which could be concluded in such circumstances.—Where is our security for the performance of a treaty, where we have neither the good faith of a nation, nor the responsibility of a monarch? The moment that the mob of Paris comes under the influence of a new leader, mature deliberations are reversed, the most solemn engagements are retracted, or free will is altogether controuled by force. In every one of the stages of their repeated revolutions we have said, “Now we have seen the worst, the measure of iniquity is complete, we shall no longer be shocked or astonished by the contemplation of added crimes and increasing enormities.” The next mail gave us reason to reproach ourselves with our credulity, and by presenting us with fresh crimes and enormities still more dreadful, excited impressions of new astonishment and accumulated horror. All the crimes which disgrace history have occurred in one country, in a space so short, and with circumstances so highly aggravated, as outrun thought and exceed imagination. Should we treat with Marat, before we had finished the negotiation, he might again have descended to the dregs of the people from whom he sprung, and have given place to a still more desperate villain. A band of leaders had swayed the mob in constant succession, all resembling in guilt, but rising above one another in point of enormity; each striving to improve upon the crime of his predecessor, and swell the black catalogue with new modes and high

higher gradations of wickedness—no treaty can exist on their good faith, independent of the terms of peace. Could they be bound by engagements more solemn than those to which they had pledged themselves in return for our neutrality? What new engagements can be more binding, or from what part of the character of the leaders, or what change in the principles of action, can we expect greater good faith, or stricter attention to engagements, than were exhibited by their predecessors. But if the motion, continued Mr. Pitt, can answer no good purpose, can it answer no bad one! May it not serve to encourage the French; and will not the sad picture which the right hon. gentleman drew of the commerce of this country have that tendency? But our situation is not yet so desperate. The effect of the relief held out by the legislature even before it was experienced, in the late interruption of public credit, was to restore entire confidence and vigour to commerce; a proof that the embarrassed state of credit was only temporary, and in a great measure accidental. The present motion, he added, by magnifying the inconvenience we have sustained into a calamity, is calculated to discourage our allies, and inspire our enemies with confidence.

Mr. Hussey lamented the necessity of heavy taxes, and the diminution of the revenue; while Mr. Pitt, though he apprehended the former, supported the productive and increasing state of the latter.

After an animated reply from Mr. Fox, and some observations against the motion from Mr. Drake, and Sir William Dolben, the House

divided, when there appeared for the motion 47, against it 187.

On Friday the 21st of June, both Houses of parliament were prorogued, after his majesty had made the following speech from the throne:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The firmness, wisdom, and public spirit, by which your conduct has been eminently distinguished on the many important occasions which have arisen during the present session, demand my peculiar acknowledgments.

“ Your firm determination to support the established constitution, and the zealous and general concurrence in that sentiment, which my subjects have so strongly and seasonably manifested, could not fail to check every attempt to disturb the internal repose of these kingdoms; and you will, I doubt not, in your several counties, encourage the continuance of the same vigilant attention to that important object.

“ The rapid and signal successes which, in an early period of the campaign, have attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which you have enabled me to employ by sea and land; and the measures which I have concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war, afford the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged: it is only by perseverance in vigorous exertions, and by endeavouring to improve the advantages already acquired, that we can hope to obtain the great end to which my views are uniformly directed, the restoration of peace on such terms as may be consistent with

our permanent security, and the general tranquillity of the country."

Members of the House of Commons,
I return you my particular thanks for the cheerfulness and alacrity with which you have supplied the necessary supplies; and I am happy to reflect, that you have been enabled liberally to provide for the exigencies of the public service in a manner so little onerous to my people."

Lords and Gentlemen,
The arrangements which you have formed for the government of our British territories in India, and the regulation of our commerce with that part of the world, I doubt not, secure and augment the important benefits which we have already derived from those possessions. It has been a pleasure for me to see, without any undue embarrassment which might have arisen in the state of our commercial credit; but the steps which you have taken to prevent the progress of that evil appear to have been productive of salutary consequences; and they have afforded a striking proof of your attention to the interests of my people, their effect furnishing additional reason to believe that the distress, which has been felt, proceeded from a succession of temporary causes, not from any diminution of national wealth, or any failure in our permanent resources of the country.

I have much satisfaction in reflecting on the effectual protection which I have been enabled to afford to the trade of my subjects by breaking out of the war; and at the same time persuaded

that, if our commercial interests had unavoidably been affected to a more considerable extent, it would not have been forgotten that we are contending for our future security, and for the permanent preservation of advantages, the most striking and the most valuable, which any nation has ever; by the blessing of Providence, been permitted to enjoy."

The great national objects which occupied the attention of parliament during the present sessions, have already been presented to the reader, as we trust, with becoming attention; either in the extracts which have been made from the debates that occasioned them, or by such observations as tended to illustrate their nature and effects: we shall, therefore, at this period of our history, recur only to one of them, and we make it the particular object of our selection; because we consider it as one of the most distinguished operations of finance in our day; as well as one of the most complete remedies applied to public exigency in any day. We allude to the commercial credit bill, a very prominent circumstance in the public measures of the present year.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat, that the state of public credit had, from various temporary, but unexpected causes, assumed a very threatening aspect. It was, in truth, a very alarming moment. The immense circulation of paper was a bubble which every reflecting man foresaw would one day burst; and the war, though by no means the cause of that event, certainly hastened the crisis. When, however, it arrived, a very general consternation accompanied it; and at

at the same time, the leading commercial men, in the city of London, while they stated the evil in its full extent to government, were not only unable to suggest a remedy, but could not comprehend the practical success of the scheme proposed by the minister to produce it. When Mr. Pitt declared his intention to issue exchequer bills, to the amount of five millions, on certain terms, as an accredited medium, to set the suspended credit of the country in motion, the mercantile people doubted its operation. While the opposition rang the knell of British commerce, predicted the ruin of our trade and manufactures; represented the existing evil of such a magnitude, that five millions, in exchequer bills, would be but as a drop of water in the ocean; and considered the whole as a project which, while it was altogether unconstitutional, discovered at once the weakness, the incapacity and ignorance of its author. But this was not all. Many of those respectable persons who were entrusted by parliament to conduct and regulate the business, suspected the efficacy of its operations: but, notwithstanding all the dire forebodings, trembling apprehension, and pointed ridicule, which this political exertion produced, it not only attained its object completely, entirely and immediately, but even with half the power it possessed. Two millions and an half of the exchequer bills were found sufficient to invigorate our languid commerce, and to restore universal confidence to the trading part of the nation.

This loan, after having proved the salvation of many opulent and respectable individuals, was after-

wards completely redeemed without a single defaulter, with the positive gain of several thousand pounds to government, after the payment of every expence attendant on its progress and completion. We cannot, therefore, hesitate to consider this measure as the work of a great statesman, whose superior intelligence prevailed over those difficulties, which alarmed his friends, were regarded as the source of future triumph to his enemies, and were rightly comprehended by none but himself. In former periods, ministers had nothing to do, in any exigency, but to discover how others had acted in similar situations, and to govern themselves by their example: but we live in a period when experience is of little use; when events daily happen, new in their nature and operations; and when a minister, instead of acting from the precedents of former æras, must himself make them for those which are to come.

Having concluded our history of the important transactions of the British parliament, we cannot pass on to the more extended objects before us, without mentioning that, during this period, some very important measures had been adopted by the legislature of Ireland.

The earl of Westmoreland, in his speech to both Houses of Parliament, on opening the sessions, on the 10th of January, after lamenting the spirit of discontent which had manifested itself in different parts of the kingdom; after stating the aggressive conduct and ambitious views of France, and observing on the topics usual on the occasion; he proceeded in the following manner:

“ His majesty has the fullest confidence,

fidence, that you will, on all occasions, shew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend on his majesty's cordial co-operation and support: and I have it in particular command from his majesty to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be the most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's Catholic subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view, his majesty trusts, that the situation of his majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention; and, in consideration of this subject, he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament."

On the second of January, certain delegates from the body of Roman Catholics in Ireland had presented in due form an address to his majesty at St. James's, praying, among other things, to possess the right of voting for members of parliament: and, in the March following, Mr. Secretary Hobart brought a bill into the Irish House of Commons, to answer the objects of that address. It met with considerable opposition in all its parts; but was at length carried with the diminution of some of them: and the Roman Catholics, though they did not obtain every object of their wishes, appear to be grateful for those privileges, which they have now received from the legislative power of their country.

At this period, Ireland was by no means in a state of tranquillity. Bodies of armed men, chiefly Ro-

man Catholics, some of whom were probably influenced by French money, as well as French principles, and assuming the title of defenders, had done considerable mischief, as well as committed very horrid enormities in several parts of the kingdom. As, in many instances, these bands of desperate men had been too powerful for the civil magistrate, it became necessary, in order to enforce obedience to the laws, to maintain the authority of government, and to preserve the general tranquillity, to increase the military force of the country. An act was accordingly passed for establishing a militia, to consist of sixteen thousand men. An additional force of five thousand regular troops was also raised: so that the whole military strength will, in consequence of these measures, amount to 33,000 men, an unprecedented, but necessary, army establishment in that kingdom.

A reform in the parliamentary representation was become a favourite subject with many respectable persons in Ireland, as it had been in Great Britain; and was made an equal pretext with wicked and seditious people, in both kingdoms, to produce and foment discontents and disturbance. It was thought necessary, therefore, to bring into parliament a bill, called the convention bill, and which afterwards passed into a law.

This act recites, "That the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations, and other addresses to the king, or to both or either Houses of Parliament,

ment, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church and state, may be made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder:" and it enacts, that all such assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or otherwise constituted or appointed are unlawful assemblies: and that all persons giving or publishing notice of the election to be made of such persons or delegates, or attending, or voting, or acting therein by any means, are guilty of an high misdemeanor. The act concludes, with a declaration, "that nothing in it shall impede the undoubted right of his majesty's subjects, to petition the king or parliament for redress of any public or private grievance. It must be allowed, that this was a strong measure; but, at the same time, it cannot be denied, that the seditious disposition which had appeared among certain classes of people, combined with the circumstances of the times, seemed to demand it. Two acts were also passed similar to those which the vigilance of the British government had enacted under the titles of the alien and traitorous correspondence bills. In the same sessions also, an act was passed on the same principle, and affording the same illustration of the law on libels, as that which had been introduced into the British parliament, by Mr. Fox.

In order that the legislature of Ireland might possess the same controul over the application of the public money, as is enjoyed by that of Great Britain, his majesty had thought proper to surrender his

power over the hereditary revenues of Ireland, and to accept a limited sum for the expences of his civil list. The parliament, therefore, granted a civil list establishment of 235,000*l.* per ann. and limited the power of the crown to grant pensions to 80,000*l.* per ann. and not to exceed 1200*l.* to any one person, except the branches of the royal family. An act was also passed, during this sessions, for excluding certain placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons.

The same causes which had combined to give a temporary check to the commercial credit of Great Britain, had operated with equal alarm in the sister kingdom. The parliament of Ireland, therefore, evinced the same prompt and preventive care as had been manifested by the English government, by undertaking to make good the sum of 200,000*l.* which the bank had engaged to advance to certain mercantile houses, with interest at 5 per cent; a measure, which renewed and enlivened the current of commercial credit, and prevented its short suspension from being attended with any consequences prejudicial to the trade of the country. In short, the vigorous conduct of the government of Ireland, during this period, was admirably adapted to restore tranquillity, and defeat the designs of those who wished to raise public discontent, and to introduce the principles of French anarchy; while the salutary laws with which this session of parliament strengthened the executive power, were wisely formed to secure the blessings of domestic peace and public security.

The spirit of parliamentary reform had found its partizans, and produced its associations in Scotland,

land, as well as in England and Ireland; and Mr. Muir, one of the faculty of advocates, and Mr. Palmer, formerly of the university of Cambridge, but since a dissenting minister at Dundee, had been tried for seditious conduct, at different meetings, assembled for the purpose of improving the parliamentary representation of the country. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be transported beyond the seas, to such place as his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, should judge proper, for the space of fourteen years. But this affecting example did not prevent a very numerous association from establishing itself at Edinburgh, which, under the forms and assumed authority of a legislative assembly, and dated their resolutions in the first year of the British convention. They adopted the phrases and modes of proceeding of the French government, established after its ex-

ample, committees of organisation, finance, and of secrecy; made honourable mention of services; decreed their authors the honour of the sitting; instituted primary and provincial assemblies and departments; and as they adopted the forms, seemed to possess the revolutionary spirit of the French convention. Several of the leaders were, however, taken into custody, and, by the vigilance and activity of the Scottish magistrates, this convention was dispersed. It appeared, nevertheless, to spring up again, though in separate forms, and with more expanded character: but the power of the laws, the vigour with which they were employed by those who had the administration of them, and the general loyalty and good sense of the people, controuled the spirit, frustrated the designs, and at length dissolved the association of these ignorant, misguided, and seditious people.

C H A P. V.

Affairs of France. Preliminary Observations. State of Parties in the Convention. Preparations for the Trial of Louis XVI. Reports of the Committees concerning it. The Order of conducting it. Criminating Papers produced. The Mayor conducts the King from the Temple to the Convention. His Conduct and Examination at the Bar of it. He demands Counsel to assist him in his Defence. Counsel are appointed him. His intermediate Employment in the Temple. His return to the Bar of the Convention. His Defence delivered by M. De Seze, one of his Council. The King's Address to the Convention. He is found guilty, and condemned to die. The Court of Spain applies to the Assembly, in behalf of the deposed Sovereign. State of the Votes on the Occasion. The Preparation of Louis for his End. The King is allowed Mr. Edgworth to attend him as Priest and Confessor. Last Separation from his Family. Various Circumstances that accompanied and followed upon his Death. The Character of Louis XVI. Subsequent Circumstances.

WE now proceed to consider the state, condition, and transactions of France; and the first event that presents itself to our attention, is among the most atrocious and disgraceful acts that have stained

ed the annals of the world. We tremble to draw aside the veil, and unfold the horrid crime. Over the bloody threshold we hesitate to advance; and the same inscription which the poet read on the outward gate of hell, seems here engraved to turn us aside from such a path of horror.

Per me si v`a nella città dolente;
Per me si v`a nell'eterno dolore;
Per me si v`a tra la perduta genta.

But, before we conduct the reader to the prison of the temple, the bar of the convention, and the fatal scaffold, it may be necessary to offer some preliminary remarks to his attention.

It was an undoubted principle, with the most active party of the convention, that, while Louis lived, there would be no permanent security for them; the object, therefore, of all their councils and designs, was to bring the unhappy monarch to that fate which he so soon suffered. But their views were not accomplished without much interruption, considerable difficulty, and the exertion of the most subtle manœuvres.

Many members of the convention regretted that decree which produced such a precipitate abolition of royalty, and most sincerely wished, that the king and constitution might be re-established. A still more considerable number were of opinion, that, when the republican form of government was once adopted, that the king and royal family should be escorted, with every exterior mark of regard, to the frontiers of France, that an ample settlement should be made on them, which might appear, in the eyes of Europe, as suited to their

former station, and that they might be qualified to live in tranquillity and respect, in any other part of Europe they might chuse for their residence.

There were others of the convention who were very anxious to save the king: but dreading the consequences of avowing their opinions, endeavoured to delay any proceedings against him, until the public should be in such a state of mind as to admit of a fair and honest trial. When their endeavours to attain this object failed of success, they attempted to carry the sentence of confinement, during the war, and exile after it. When they were baffled in that attempt, they tried the appeal to the primary assemblies; and, finally, they strove to save the devoted monarch, by proposing to postpone the execution of his sentence. But the party who considered the king's death as essentially necessary to the views of their ambition, and were, therefore, most violent against him, left no measure unexerted, and no artifice unemployed, both within and without the assembly, to cut short all forms of process, by a sudden and bloody catastrophe.

Legendre proposed, that all who had consigned their opinions on the subject of the king's conduct to writing should lay them on the table of the assembly, and that after the intervention of one day, they should pronounce sentence on the culprit, without suffering him to utter a word in his defence. Robespierre thought the whole business might be completed in twenty-four hours, and that the assembly should not separate till it was concluded. St. André declared, that Louis had been judged and con-

condemned by the people on the 10th of August, and nothing was left for them to do, but to proceed to execution. Those who desired the death of the king were alarmed at the effects which might be produced in the minds of the people by his appearance at the bar of the convention; but when they found that their power did not reach so far as to exclude him from the privilege of being heard in his defence, they employed the most abominable and profligate means to prevent any circumstance favourable to the king from being produced by such an awful and affecting spectacle, as would be presented on such an occasion. Inflammatory papers were accordingly dispersed among the people, inciting them to insist on his immediate execution, or to execute him themselves; to impress an opinion that the death of the royal sufferer was necessary to the existence of the French nation; that the Gironde party was bribed by the powers at war with France, to save Louis, and that their final object was to re-establish him and despotism together on the throne.

But while they endeavoured to dispose the public mind to co-operate with them, they artfully contrived that the object of their diabolical enmity and injustice should be placed in a situation the most disadvantageous to himself, as it might forcibly tend to unsettle and trouble his mind, at a moment when he required all its powers to support him; and when his understanding, to do him service, must be clear and unclouded. To effect this base and infamous purpose, the whole of the intended proceedings were carefully concealed

from the king, and it was merely from the zealous curiosity of Clery, his faithful valet de chambre, that he barely knew the intentions of the convention to call him to their bar, a very few days before it happened. To keep him ignorant, to the last moment, of any design of this nature, and then hurry him, unprepared, before them, was a contrivance worthy of the hellish spirits that conceived it. This circumstance, with the cruel and sudden separation from his son, might have disconcerted him in such a manner, as to have given his enemies the opportunity of imputing the disorder and confusion of his answers to conscious guilt. But these arts to ensnare the unhappy monarch failed of their aim: for though the questions proposed to him, were prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose, and afterwards reconsidered by the convention; and though he was suddenly led away amidst insult and indignity, and without the least preparation to answer them on the instant; yet such was his conduct on this trying occasion, such the calm and majestic character of his deportment, such the readiness and sagacity of his replies, and such the predominating proofs of his innocence, that several of his most virulent enemies were filled with alarm, lest such a combination of affecting circumstances should have at once recalled the spirit of ancient loyalty into the bosoms of his former subjects who heard and beheld him.

A commission of twenty-four deputies, selected from various committees, having been for some weeks employed in ransacking every suspected place for criminal-
ing

ing papers, and in collecting evidence against the deposed monarch, produced on the sixth of November, a report full of vague and unsupported accusations; and on the following day the committee of legislation presented a plan for his trial; in the preface to which it was declared—"That the moment is now arrived when the French nation can give to the world an example of the justice of a great people, exempt from any impure mixture of the human passions." This plan is detailed in the following articles:

1. Louis XVI. may be tried.
2. He shall be tried by the national convention.
3. Three commissioners, chosen from the convention by public election, shall be charged with the care of collecting all the documents necessary for the trial, and of presenting the result of them to the convention.
4. The commissioners shall terminate their report by an enumeration of the crimes.
5. The enumeration shall be printed and distributed.
6. Eight days after, a discussion shall commence on the act of accusation, when the charges shall be adopted or rejected.
7. If the act is adopted, it shall be communicated to Louis XVI. that he may provide for his defence.

8. A copy of the report and other papers respecting it, shall be also presented to Louis XVI.

9. If he demands the originals, they shall be carried to him by twelve commissioners.

10. The originals shall not be carried from the archives, until copies of them are taken.

11. The national convention shall fix a day on which Louis XVI. shall present his defence.

12. Louis XVI. shall present his defence in writing and signed by himself.

13. Louis XVI. may give verbal answers.

14. After he has made his defence, and the expiration of any interval settled by the convention, they shall pass a sentence by public vote.

This mode of passing sentence was supported with great violence by the inveterate faction of the mountain, in the expectation that some whose consciences acquitted the king, might, from terror of the populace, be influenced to pronounce against him. If the opinion of the convention had been taken in the usual way, it would have been less subject to the operations of fear; but if it had been determined by ballot: there would most probably have been a majority in favour of the king on the first question; and, without doubt, a very decisive one, against his death.

The following were the principal proofs of guilt which were produced against the king.

1. A receipt from Bouillé, dated Mayence, October 15, 1791, containing an account of the expenditure of the sum of 993 millions, issued for the formation of the camp of Montmedy. This money had been distributed among the following persons:—Monsieur, the comte d'Artois, the prince de Nassau, the duc de Choiseul, Demandell, Bon, Hamilton, Lassale, Weyman, and several other general officers and private persons.

2. Another signed Choiseul Stanville,

ville, attesting the receipt and distribution of 600,000 livres.

3. A letter, stating that the diamonds of madame Elizabeth had been transmitted, on the 22d of June, 1791, to an officer of Hussars, who had carried them to the brothers of the late king.

4. A paper, proving that the editor of the *Postillon de la Guerre*, (a newspaper), had received 8000 livres from the civil list; and the *Logographe* (another public print) no less than 60,000 livres, during the short space of three months.

5. A great number of letters, &c. proving that Louis Capet was a monopolizer of corn, sugar, and coffee: these monopolies were made in foreign countries: the treasurer of the civil list superintended the business, and was ordered to advance to the amount of three millions.

6. A new order of chivalry, introduced under the name of "*Chevaliers de la Reine*;"—the decorations of this order consisted of a medal, one side of which was adorned with the portrait of the queen; the other had the following inscription—*Magnum reginae nomen adumbrat*. Several persons had received this decoration, notwithstanding an express decree, forbidding the creation of any new orders of chivalry.

7. A bundle of papers, which prove that a person of the name of Gilles had received 12,000 livres, in order to pay a band of 60 men, against the express letter of the constitution; which forbids the king to maintain any armed men, without the permission of the legislature.

8. A paper box, full of proofs that Louis Capet had continued the

pay of such of his body guards, as had emigrated to Coblenz; that a number of conspirators were continually assembled at the Tuilleries; that Bouillé had the audacity to repair there, since the invasion projected in 1791; and that from the day that the ci-devant comte d'Artois had been decreed to be in a state of accusation, Louis had assigned a pension of 200,000 livres to his children.

The consideration of the report was immediately succeeded by a question, of all others the most embarrassing to the convention, concerning the constitutional inviolability of the king. There can be no doubt that the king's life was fully protected by the constitution; and he could not, with any semblance of justice, have been condemned to death, although every charge brought against him had been proved; which was not the fact with one of them. The objection, however, which arose on this consideration, was most iniquitously over-ruled in the convention, by a *post facto* law; a measure equally unjust and destructive of freedom, as well as in direct opposition to those rights of man, which the French nation had held forth, with so much pride and effrontery, to the rest of Europe.

But while the mock trial was preparing for this degraded and insulted monarch by his wicked and inveterate enemies; the sad and adverse state of his fortune did not deprive him of every friend; several of his former adherents offered to stand forth in support of his innocence at the hazard of their lives. M. Cazéles, so distinguished in the first assembly by his zeal for monarchy and aristocracy, and who

[O] was

was then in England, solicited a passport, that he might appear as counsel for his former king. The same offer was made by M. Narbonne, ex-minister of war, and M. Lally Tollendal. The marquis de Bouillé transmitted an attestation in his favour, respecting the flight to Montmedy, and an exculpatory letter of M. Choiseul, respecting the money paid by the marquis to the king's brothers. M. Bertrand also ex-minister of marine, then an emigrant in England, manifested the most zealous solicitude to appear as an evidence on the trial of his deposed sovereign. But when the proposal made by Manuel, for assuring to all those who should speak for the impeached Louis, the protection of the laws, was suppressed by murmurings and hootings, the spirit by which the assembly was governed was too manifest to expect honour or justice from its conduct or decisions. Besides, when Robespierre moved, on the 3d of November, that sentence should be pronounced against the king without further inquiry—when it was declared by him and his party, that the forfeiture of his crown implied the forfeiture of his life—that to put the question, “whether he is a criminal?” would be to betray the faith due to the sovereign people, and that liberty demanded the immediate infliction of his punishment; there could then be but one apprehension, and one opinion of the final catastrophe, though the immediate completion of it was opposed and prevented by the more moderate party. Their opinions prevailed, and the arraignment of Louis was decreed. But though he was now reduced to a simple and accused ci-

tizen, he seemed to inspire the convention with apprehension and dread. They feared that the sad spectacle of degraded majesty, and the notorious injustice of the proceedings against him, would, in spite of all their cunning and horrid manœuvres, awaken the loyalty that slumbered, stimulate the loyalty that was still awake, or recall the loyalty that had wandered, to unite in saving the royal object of its former duty, affection, and veneration, from the fate that appeared to await him. Conscious of acting with violence, the ruling powers feared it might be returned upon themselves. But what could be feared or hoped in a city, where 80,000 national guards, well equipped and disciplined, suffered themselves, on a former occasion, to be, as it were, disarmed by less than 6000 federated rabble from Mar-seilles and Brittany.

The many thousand inhabitants of Paris whose hearts were still loyal to the king, and whose wishes and prayers were continually offered up, not only for the preservation of his life, but the restoration to his throne, were either overcome by fear, or rendered powerless by astonishment, or deceived by false expectations; and Louis XVI. the best of their kings was left to his fate.

On the 11th of December, at so early an hour as five in the morning, the generale was beat throughout Paris, and a considerable body of cavalry, with several pieces of artillery, were introduced into the garden of the Temple. The noise occasioned by these preparations would have caused no small alarm to the king and the royal family, if they had not been previously in-
formed

formed by Clery, his valet de chambre, of the designs which the convention had been agitating respecting him.

At 11 o'clock, while the king was endeavouring to calm his spirits by giving the usual instructions to the dauphin, or amusing the young prince by some engaging recreation, two persons of the municipality entered to inform him that they must, by order of the convention, conduct the young Louis to his mother. Of this cruel and unexpected separation, the king in vain demanded the reason; and, in a short time, one of the commissioners returned to inform him, that Chambon, the mayor of Paris, was preparing to make him an official visit. In this interval, the removal of the dauphin from him seemed to affect the king far more than any apprehension he entertained of the mortifying arrangements which were making to receive him as a public criminal, or the fate which he thought would finally await him.

At one the mayor appeared:—He was accompanied by Chaumette, solicitor of the commune, Coulombeau, secretary of the rolls, several municipal officers, and Santerre, commander of the national guards, with his aids-de-camp.—The mayor informed the king that he came to conduct him to the convention, in consequence of a decree, which the secretary should read to him. When that office was performed, the king concluded some observations on the cruelty of depriving him of the society of his son, by saying, I am ready to follow you; not indeed because I am disposed to obey the convention; but because my enemies pos-

sess the power to enforce obedience. A large military escort attended him from the gate of the Temple. At length, accompanied by the mayor, two generals, one of whom was Santerre, not long before a brewer, but now commander of the Parisian guards, and several municipal officers; in an ordinary dress, with neglected hair, and a face long unshaven, Louis XVI. was presented at the bar of the national convention. Nay, such were the form and appearance of the fallen monarch, that he seemed to subdue, for a moment, the horrid malignity of his enemies, and to awe the uproar of inveterate Jacobinism into something like a respectful silence. The tumult of those who occupied the seats and galleries ceased at once, and sunk into a solemn stillness, when the extraordinary spectacle of their former king was presented to them in such a state of humility and degradation.

Barrere, the president, immediately addressed him as he stood at the bar.—“Louis, the French nation accuses you. The national convention decreed, on the 3d of Dec. that you should be tried by it. On the 6th of December it was decreed, that you should be brought to the bar; and while the charges against you are read, you are permitted to seat yourself.”

Louis, who well knew that it would be as vain to disclaim the authority as to resist the power of the convention, submitted in silence to the proceeding against him: and having availed himself of the permission to sit, heard, with profound attention the several papers read, in which he was accused of crimes which may be arranged in two distinct

distinct classes, such as were prior, and such as were subsequent to his acceptance of the constitution. The latter may be also subdivided into offences common to him and his ministers, and such as were personal to himself.

The crimes laid to his charge antecedent to the acceptance of the constitution were, "that he had attempted to dissolve the assembly in June 1789; that in the month of July in the same year, he had endeavoured to overawe the assembly with troops; that he had ordered the regiment of Flanders to march to Versailles; that he had contrived the insult offered by the household guards to the national cockade; that he had corrupted the public mind in 1791, by paying for various publications; that he had in a letter applauded Bouillé for his sanguinary conduct at Nancy; that he had fled to Varennes; that he had been the cause of the blood shed in the field of Mars, on the 19th of July; and that he had encouraged libels against the patriots."

The crimes which he was accused of having committed subsequent to the acceptance of the constitution, and in which his ministers must have been involved, were, "that he had concealed the convention of Pilnitz from the assembly; that he had retarded the transmission of the decree, by which Avignon was re-united to France; that he had excited the troubles at Nîmes, and the convulsions at Jales; that he had prevented the sudden increase of the army during the administration of Narbonne; that he had disorganized the navy; that he had been the author of all the disasters which

had befallen the colonies; that his artifices had affected the surrender of Longuy and Verdun; and that he had illegally retained the Swiss Guards in his pay."

The personal charges were, "that he had refused his sanction to the decree against the generals, and to the decree for the formation of a camp near Paris; that he had written a letter to the bishop of Clermont, in which he promised, if he should recover his authority, that he would restore the Christian religion; that he had illegally kept the guards in his pay; that he had assisted the emigrants; that he had corresponded with his brothers; that he had used his influence at the court of Vienna to the prejudice of France; that he had, by his ambassadors, encouraged the confederacy of despots; that he had carried on an iniquitous traffic in corn; that he had bribed the members of the assembly; that he had paid his guards at Coblenz; and that the horrors of the 10th of August were to be imputed to him."

The futility and injustice of the charges, in the first class, were so manifest, that they shocked even the morality of Marat, and troubled the philosophy of Thomas Paine. The former demanded, that they should be expunged as unfounded in law, and nullified by the amnesty implied in the proffer and acceptance of the constitution; and the latter contended, that they should not be applied to Louis, as they were accusations against the king, and not the person; a prosecution against kingly government, and not against the king: but the convention, with its usual disregard for every thing but its own will,

cutive power was, for a moment, suspended in your hands ; and you formed another conspiracy. On the 17th of July the blood of citizens was shed in the field of Mars. A letter written by yourself to La Fayette, 1790, proves, that there existed a criminal correspondence between you and him, to which Mirabeau had acceded. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expence of publishing libels, pamphlets, and newspapers, which were designed to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil shew what endrmities have been employed in these manoeuvres, which were employed for the destruction of liberty.

A. Whatever happened on the 17th of July has no relation to me : of the rest I know nothing.

Q. You appeared to accept the constitution of the 14th of Sept. ; your discourses announced the wish to maintain it ; and you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. A convention had been agreed upon at Pilnitz, the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederick William of Brandenburg, who engaged to re-elevate the throne of absolute monarchy ; and you was silent on the subject of that convention, till it was known throughout Europe ?

A. I communicated that event as soon as it came to my knowledge. Besides, it is a business, which, according to the existing constitution, is to be referred to the ministers.

Q. Arles had raised the standard of revolt ; and you favoured it by sending three civic commissioners,

who employed themselves in justifying these violent proceedings, instead of repressing them.

A. The instructions of the commissioners will prove the object of their mission ; and I knew none of them, when they were presented to me by the ministers.

Q. Avignon, and the county of Venaissin had been re-united to France ; but a month had elapsed before you executed that decree ; and, in the mean time, that country was desolated by civil war. The commissioners, whom you successively sent, completed its devastation ?

A. I do not recollect why the execution of the decree was delayed. This circumstance has no personal reference to me. The persons who were sent, and those who sent them, are alone to be considered.

Q. Nismes, Montauban, Meude, and Jales, had suffered great agitations in the early days of liberty ; nevertheless you attempted nothing to check these shoots of a counter-revolution, till the moment when the conspiracy of Dussaillans broke forth.

A. I gave every order, on that occasion which the minister proposed to me.

Q. You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marseillois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles.

A. I must have the papers relating to that business, to qualify me to give a proper answer.

Q. You gave the command of the south to Wigenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April 1792, after he had been recalled—" In a very short time I shall call around the throne of your majesty millions

of

which you have not kept. Soon after that event you attempted to corrupt the public opinion with the assistance of Talon, who acted in Paris, and Mirabeau, who was to have excited counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces. You lavished millions to effect this corruption, and employed popularity as an engine to enslave the people. These facts are proved by a memorial of Talon, on which you have made marginal comments in your own hand-writing; and by a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the 29th of April; in which, after recapitulating a conversation he had with Rivarol, he told you that the millions which you had been induced to throw away had produced nothing?

A. I do not recollect with precision what happened at that period; but the whole of it is antecedent to my acceptance of the constitution.

Q. Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the suburbs of Saint Antoine, and distributed money to the poor labourers; when you told them that you could not employ it better.

A. My greatest pleasure has ever been to relieve the needy. I cannot conceive how the performance of such a duty can be converted into a plot.

Q. On the 28th, a great number of the nobles, and several military persons attended you at the Thuilleries to favour an escape that you had meditated. You wished to quit Paris on the 10th of April, to go to Saint Cloud, but the resistance of the citizens made you sensible that their distrust of you was not to be baffled. You endeavoured

to remove it by communicating to the constituent assembly a letter which you addressed to the agents of the nation at foreign courts, to announce to them that you had freely accepted the constitutional articles which had been presented to you; and, notwithstanding, on the 21st you took flight with a false passport. You left behind a protest against these very constitutional articles; you commanded the ministers to sign none of the acts issued by the national assembly; and you forbade the minister of justice to deliver up the seals of state. The public money was lavished to secure the success of this treachery; and the public force was to protect it under the orders of Bouillé, who some time before had been charged with the massacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote on this subject, "to maintain his popularity, because it would be of service to you." These facts are proved by the memorial of the 23d of Feb. with marginal comments in your own hand-writing; by your declaration on the 20th of June, written by yourself; by your letter of the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and by a note of the latter, in which he gives you an account of the use he made of nine-hundred and ninety-three thousand livres given by you, part of which were employed to seduce the troops who were to escort you?

A. I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February. As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I must refer to the answer I gave, at that time, to the constituent assembly.

Q. After you were stopped at Varennes, the exercise of the executive

cutive power was, for a moment, suspended in your hands ; and you formed another conspiracy. On the 17th of July the blood of citizens was shed in the field of Mars. A letter written by yourself to La Fayette, 1790, proves, that there existed a criminal correspondence between you and him, to which Mirabeau had acceded. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expence of publishing libels, pamphlets, and newspapers, which were designed to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil shew what enormities have been employed in these manoeuvres, which were employed for the destruction of liberty.

A. Whatever happened on the 17th of July has no relation to me : of the rest I know nothing.

Q. You appeared to accept the constitution of the 14th of Sept. ; your discourses announced the wish to maintain it ; and you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. A convention had been agreed upon at Pilnitz, the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederick William of Brandenburg, who engaged to re-elevate the throne of absolute monarchy ; and you was silent on the subject of that convention, till it was known throughout Europe ?

A. I communicated that event as soon as it came to my knowledge. Besides, it is a business, which, according to the existing constitution, is to be referred to the ministers.

Q. Arles had raised the standard of revolt ; and you favoured it by sending three civic commissioners,

who employed themselves in justifying these violent proceedings, instead of repressing them.

A. The instructions of the commissioners will prove the object of their mission ; and I knew none of them, when they were presented to me by the ministers.

Q. Avignon, and the county of Venaissin had been re-united to France ; but a month had elapsed before you executed that decree ; and, in the mean time, that country was desolated by civil war. The commissioners, whom you successively sent, completed its devastation ?

A. I do not recollect why the execution of the decree was delayed. This circumstance has no personal reference to me. The persons who were sent, and those who sent them, are alone to be considered.

Q. Nismes, Montauban, Meude, and Jales, had suffered great agitations in the early days of liberty ; nevertheless you attempted nothing to check these shoots of a counter-revolution, till the moment when the conspiracy of Dussaillans broke forth.

A. I gave every order, on that occasion which the minister proposed to me.

Q. You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marseillois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles.

A. I must have the papers relating to that business, to qualify me to give a proper answer.

Q. You gave the command of the south to Wigenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April 1792, after he had been recalled—" In a very short time I shall call around the throne of your majesty millions
of

of Frenchmen, who are again become worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness."

A. This letter is subsequent to his recall. He has not been employed since; nor have I the least recollection of the letter.

Q. You paid your former body guards at Coblenz. The registers of Septeuil bear testimony to it: and many orders, signed by you, prove that you remitted considerable sums to Bouillé, Rochefort, Vauguyon, Choiseul, Beaupré, Hamilton, and the wife of Polignac.

A. As soon as I heard that my body guards had assembled on the other side of the Rhine, I ordered their pay to be stopped. As to the rest I know nothing of it.

Q. Your brothers, who are enemies to the state; caused the emigrants to rally under their standards. They raised regiments, made loans, and contracted alliances in your name; and you did not disavow them, till the moment you were certain that you could not interrupt their projects. Your intelligence with them appears by a note written by Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by your two brothers, and which was conceived in the following terms. "I wrote to you, but it was by the post, and I could say nothing. We are two in person, but one in sentiment, in principles, and in zeal for your service. We keep silence, because were we to break it too soon, we should endanger you: but we shall speak as soon as we are certain of general support, and that moment is at hand. If we are spoken to on the part of those people we shall hear nothing; but if on your part, we will listen: we shall pursue our

road straight: it is therefore desired that you will enable us to say something: banish therefore all restraint. Be at ease as to your own safety: we exist but to serve you: we labour without ceasing for that object; and every thing goes on well. Even our enemies feel themselves too much interested in your preservation to commit a needless crime, which would terminate in their own destruction. Adieu.—
LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER ET
CHARLES PHILIPPE?"

A. I disavowed all the various proceedings of my brothers as soon as I received intelligence of them, as the constitution prescribed me. As to the note, I know nothing of it.

Q. The army of the line which ought to have been raised to the war establishment, consisted only of 100,000 men, at the end of December: you therefore neglected to provide for the safety of the state. Narbonne, your agent, demanded a levy of 50,000 men, but he stopped recruiting at 26,000, when he declared that the whole was ready; which, however, was not the truth. After him, Servan proposed to form a camp of 20,000 near Paris, which was decreed by the legislative assembly, but you refused your sanction.

A. I had given to the ministers all the orders necessary for accelerating the augmentation of the army. Estimates were laid before the assembly in December: and if the ministers were guilty of deception, it ought not to be imputed to me.

Q. A flight of patriotism made the citizens repair to Paris from all quarters. When you issued a proclamation to stop their march, though

though our armies wanted recruits. Dumourier, the successor of Servan, declared that the nation had neither arms, nor ammunition, nor subsistence, and that the ports were left defenceless. You had commissioned the commanding officers of the troops to disband the army, to force whole regiments to desert, and to make them pass the Rhine, that they might be at the disposal of your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulangeon, governor of Franche Comté.

A. There is not a word of truth in this accusation.

Q. You charged your diplomatic agents to favour the coalition of foreign powers and your brothers against France: and especially to cement the peace between Turkey and Austria, to render it unnecessary for the latter to leave troops on the Turkish frontier, and thereby enable it to send a larger body of men against France. A letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador at Constantinople, proves the fact.

A. M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth. Such an arrangement never existed.

Q. The Prussians advanced towards our frontiers; and your minister was summoned to give an account of our political relations with Prussia. You answered, on the 10th, that 50,000 Prussians were marching against us; and that you gave notice to the legislative body of the formal acts of the pending hostilities, in conformity to the constitution.

A. It was at that period when I received the first intelligence of it. The whole of the correspondence passed between the respective ministers.

Q. You entrusted the war department to Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne; and such was the success of your conspiracy, that the places of Longuy and of Verdun were surrendered as soon as the enemy appeared before them.

A. I did not know that Dabancourt was the nephew of M. Calonne—I did not dismantle these places; nor do I know that they were dismantled.

Q. You have destroyed your marine: its officers have emigrated in great numbers; so that very few remained to do duty in our harbours. Nevertheless Bertrand was daily granting passports; and when the legislative body represented his criminal conduct to you on the 8th of March, you answered that you were satisfied with his services.

A. I did my utmost to retain the officers. As to M. Bertrand, since the national assembly did not exhibit any specific accusation against him, I did not think it was my duty to supersede him.

Q. You have encouraged despotic government in the colonies; and your agents have every where fomented in these colonies the disturbances and counter-revolutionary plots, which were to have operated there at the same time, when a counter-revolution was to have been brought about in France: all this sufficiently proves that your hand conducted the plot.

A. If there were any persons in the colonies who said they were my agents, they have not spoken the truth. I know nothing of the business which you have just stated.

Q. The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics; you shewed yourself their protector, and manifested

fested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means.

A. I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design.

Q. The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you suspended the execution of it.

A. The constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting decrees.

Q. Disturbances encreased; the minister declared that he knew of no existing laws by which the guilt could be punished. The legislative body passed a new decree, and you also suspended the execution of it.

A. The same answer as that preceding.

Q. The conduct of those guards which the constitution had given you, was so unlike that of good citizens, that the assembly was under the necessity of decreeing that they should be disbanded: the very next day, you wrote a letter to the assembly, declaring your satisfaction; and you continued to pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list.

A. I only continued their pay until they should be re-established according as the decree required.

Q. You retained your Swiss guards about your person in contradiction to the constitution; and after the legislative assembly had expressly ordered their departure.

A. I confirmed the decree on that subject.

Q. You authorised d'Angremont and Gilles to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution.

These receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organize a corps of 60 men, will be presented to you.

A. I am altogether ignorant of those schemes attributed to me.—The idea of a counter-revolution never entered into my mind.

Q. You endeavoured, by considerable sums, to bribe several members of the constituent and legislative assemblies. This fact is proved by letters from Dufresne, St. Leon, and many others, which will be produced.

A. Such plans were frequently presented me, but I rejected them.

Q. Who were the members of the constituent and legislative assemblies whom you corrupted?

A. I never sought to corrupt any—I know of none.

Q. Who were the persons who presented plans to you?

A. The plans were so absurd; I do not recollect.

Q. To whom did you promise money?

A. To none.

Q. You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in those countries?

A. The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. Besides, that was the business of the ministers.

Q. On the 10th of August you reviewed the Swiss guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens.

A. I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were present. I had even requested that a deputation might be sent me from the national assembly, that they might

might advise me how I should act in that emergency; and I afterwards took refuge in the assembly with my family.

Q. Why did you cause the Swiss guards to be doubled in the beginning of August?

A. All the constituted authorities were apprized of it. The palace was menaced; and as I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself.

Q. Why did you send for the mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August?

A. On account of the rumours which were circulated.

Q. You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed?

A. No, sir, it was not me.

Q. Did you not authorize Septeuil to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburg, and in other town? This is proved by Septeuil's own letters.

A. I know nothing of what you mention.

Q. Why did you put a veto on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed round Paris?

A. The constitution gave me the uncontrolled exercise of this power: and even at this period, I ordered a camp at Soissons, nearer the frontiers.

Q. Louis, is there any thing you wish to add?

A. I demand a copy of the charges, with the documents on which they are founded, and that I may be allowed an advocate to conduct my cause.

When these interrogatories were closed, the president said, Louis, the original papers on which your accusation is founded are about to be read to you.

Valazé then read them to him in the following order, and the king replied to him in the following manner:—Their respective titles were—

1. "A memoir of Talon, with notes in the margin; and Louis being asked if the notes were of his writing; he replied, that he knew nothing of them."

2. "A memoir of La Porte."

Louis—"I know nothing of it."

3. "Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29, 1790, settling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to produce a change in the constitution."

Louis—"I reserve to myself the privilege of answering the contents hereafter. (Valazé read the letter.) It is only a plan, in which there is no question of a counter-revolution, and the letter was never sent."

4. "A letter of Laporte, supposed to be dated by Louis."

Louis—"I know nothing of the letter or the date."

5. "Two letters of Laporte, the one dated 3d of March, and the other the 3d of April, 1791, and both having marginal notes by Louis Capet."

Louis—"I disown both these letters."

6. "A plan of a constitution, signed by La Fayette, with nine lines in the hand-writing of Louis."

Louis—"I do not acknowledge either the plan or the remark."

7. "Three letters of Laporte of different dates in the year 1791, and all containing annotations in the hand-writing of Louis."

Louis—"I disown them all."

8. "A paper-writing without any signature, containing an account of expences."

President—"Before you are examined

mined on this paper, I desire to be informed, if you caused an iron press to be constructed in the walls of your chateau, for the purpose of securing your papers?"

Louis—"I have no knowledge of it whatever; nor of the paper without a signature."

9. "Several other writings signed by Louis, Talon, and St. Foy,"

Louis—"I know nothing of them."

10. "A journal written by Louis himself, entitled, pensions or gratuities granted out of his coffers."

Louis—"I acknowledge it; but it merely relates to my own charitable donations."

11. "An account of the money paid to the Scotch company of body guards; as well as to the companies of Noailles, Grammont, and Luxembourg, dated July 9, 1791."

Louis—"This is prior to the time, when I ordered their pay to cease."

President—"Where did you deposit those writings which you acknowledge?"

Louis—"With my treasure."

12. "A paper relating to the body of one hundred Swiss."

Louis—"I know nothing of it."

13. "A paper signed Ninon the notary."

Louis—"I do not acknowledge it."

14. "A memoir, signed Conway."

Louis—"I am not acquainted with it."

15. "The copies of papers respecting the conspiracy of the camp at Jales, whose originals are deposited in the department of l'Ar-dèche."

Louis—"I have no knowledge of them."

16. "A copy of the original powers given to Dusuillan."

Louis—"I know nothing of it."

17. "A copy of instructions and powers given to M. Conway by the brothers of the king."

Louis—"I never before heard of it."

18. "A letter from M. Bouillé, giving an account of 900,000 livres received of Louis."

Louis—"I disown it."

19. "A packet containing five papers, found in the port-folio of Septeuil, two of them signed by Louis; with several receipts of Bonnieres, &c."

Louis—"I do not acknowledge it."

20. "A packet, containing two papers relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac and Lavauguyon."

Louis—"I have not the least knowledge of either of these papers."

21. "A note signed by the king's brothers."

Louis—"I have no knowledge of the note, the hand-writing, or the signatures."

22. "A letter from Toulangeon to the king's brothers."

Louis—"I know nothing of it."

23. "A bundle of papers relative to Choiseul Gouffier, at Constantinople, and his agencies."

Louis—"I am entirely ignorant of it."

24. "A letter from Louis to the bishop of Clermont."

Louis—"I am not acquainted with the written character or the signature."

President—"The seal bears the arms of France."

Louis—"I know it: but several persons made use of that seal."

25. "A

25. "A memorandum of payments made for the king's guard, signed Desnès, commissary."

Louis—"I have no knowledge of it."

26. "An account of sums paid to Gilles for a company of sixty men."

Louis—"I do not acknowledge it."

27. "A paper relating to certain pensions, and a letter of Dufresne Saint Leon."

Louis—"I have no knowledge of it."

28. "A printed paper against the Jacobins."

Louis—"The same reply."

President. "Louis, the national convention permit you to retire."

The king immediately withdrew.

A very violent debate now ensued in the convention; wherein, to use the president's expression, the assembly assumed the appearance of gladiators, rather than that of lawgivers: it was, however, decreed, after a most tumultuous sitting, that Louis should be indulged with a counsel for his defence. When he was informed of this decree, the king named Targot and Tronchet, the former of whom declined the office, while several persons of distinguished talents and character, eagerly pressed forward to be employed in the service of their degraded sovereign, on the trying and dangerous occasion. Of these he chose M. de Lamoignon Malesherbes, who, at the age of seventy-two, possessed the virtuous courage to plead his cause. In his letter to the president of the convention, expressing this humane and noble desire, he says, "I was once called to the

councils of him who was then my master, and at a time when such a function was an universal object of ambition; I now owe him the same service, when it is an office that, in the opinion of many, is attended with risque and peril."

This excellent man had distinguished himself as president of the court of Aids, in the reign of Louis XV. and was called to be the minister of his unfortunate successor. He was universally beloved and respected; and his conduct on this occasion proves, that he could not be loved and respected more than he deserved. Even the enemies of Louis admired the zeal of his advocate; and the *poissardes* of Paris, who drove the unfeeling, unmanly Targot from his house, by the menace of their contemptuous fury, hung garlands on the mansion of Malesherbes, and tumultuously vociferated their admiration of his superior virtue.

Such was the multiplicity of papers to be examined in order to frame the king's defence, that his counsel found it impossible to proceed with that dispatch which the convention expected of them; they accordingly applied for permission to demand the assistance of M. de Seze; and a third counsel was immediately granted. In the interval between the 12th of December, when the privilege of having counsel was announced to the king, and the 26th of the same month, when they were to perform their last faithful services for him, he was very much employed in consulting with them, or, as he was now allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, in preparing instructions for them. But it was impossible for the convention to allow even this poor

Art. 7. 'If the king, having left the kingdom, shall not return immediately after an invitation made to him by the legislative body, then he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty.'—
 "The constitution therefore pronounces the same presumption respecting the breach of this article, as of those which have preceded it."

Art. 8. Declares, 'That after an abdication, either express or implied, the king shall then be tried in the same manner as all other citizens for such crimes as he may commit after his abdication.'—
 "Louis is accused of sundry offences: he is accused in the name of the nation. Now, either these offences have been foreseen by the constitutional act, and then the correspondent punishment is to be applied to them, or they have not; and if so, it follows that no punishment can follow from their commission. But I say, that the most atrocious of all offences hath been foreseen—that of a cruel war against the nation; and this surely includes all inferior crimes, and consequently points out the extent of all constitutional punishment. I know that royalty being now abolished, deprivation cannot at present be applied. But has not Louis a right to exclaim, 'What, because you have abolished royalty, will you inflict a punishment on me not mentioned in the constitutional code? Because no existing law can punish me, will you create one expressly and on purpose? You possess, it is true, every degree of power; but there is one species which you dare not execute, that of being unjust.'"

"It has been said, that Louis

ought to be condemned as an enemy; but is he a greater enemy than if he had put himself at the head of an army in order to act against the nation? And you all know, that in such a case he could not have incurred more than a forfeiture of the crown! But if you take away from Louis the prerogative of being inviolable as a king, you cannot deprive him of the right of being tried as a citizen. And here I beseech you where are those propitiatory forms of justice? Where are those juries which are so many hostages, as it were, for the lives and honour of citizens? Where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely required? Where is that silent scrutiny which in the same urn incloses the opinion, and the conscience of the judge? I now speak with the freedom becoming a free man; it is in vain that I look around and search among you for judges. I can see none but accusers. You wish to pronounce upon the fate of Louis, and yet you have accused him! Will you decide his doom, who even previous to his trial have openly declared your sentiments of his conduct?

"I take up the charges exhibited by you; and I find that Louis is accused of having surrounded the constituent assembly with an armed force in June 1789, and that he had formed a design to dissolve it. But do you not recollect, that it was he who convoked that assembly; that by the immemorial custom of the monarchy the king's will was then the law; and he had but to will the dissolution of the assembly, and it would, like the states general in preceding reigns, be dissolved of course? The truth,

truth, therefore, is, that to his neither wishing nor willing the dissolution of the assembly, you owe your seats as legislators; and that you are at this moment deliberating on his fate. Do you not know, that being authorised by law to order any part of the army to march where he pleased, he had but to speak, and the assembly would have been immediately dislodged from its hall, and its functions would have ceased. But though the deputies had violated the oath imposed on them by their constituents, he refused, from the mildness of his character, and the benevolence of his nature, to permit such a measure to be adopted, urged as it was by some of his best friends and most experienced counsellors. Had he been the stern, cruel, vindictive tyrant, which so many have denominated him, he would have nipped democracy in the bud, and blasted every blossom of freedom in its spring. But being gentle, generous, and beneficent, he cherished the growing hopes of his subjects, and encouraged every measure that promised to remove their burdens, or to relieve their distresses. You have reproached him with the troubles that took place in the month of July, in the same year, but his only object, as was afterwards proved on the trial of the commandant, with whose defence I was charged, was to protect Paris from factious incendiaries; and you all recollect, that on the 4th of August the purity of his intentions was fully recognised, as, on that day, he was proclaimed with great solemnity the restorer of French liberty; and a medal was ordered to be struck in memory of

VOL. XXXV.

the happy event. He is next accused of ordering the regiment of Flanders to march to Versailles; but at that epoch he possessed the right as head of the army, though he did not exercise it, till expressly requested by the municipal officers, who declared, that without it they could not answer for the tranquillity of that city.

“Louis is also accused of corrupting the public mind by paying for publications against liberty, and for libels against the patriots. But let me ask, against what liberty and what patriots? Not against the liberty established by the constitution, nor against the patriots, by whom it was supported. Whatever publications were then patronised by government were prepared for the support of the constitution: for the plans now calumniated, but never executed, were addressed to Mirabeau and Fayette, the most popular characters at that time in the nation. But after all, even if these papers were criminal, by what evidence are they brought home to Louis? Is the handwriting and signature proved? No! It is well known that the king's bureaux and desks were forced open and ransacked; but where is the proof that these papers were found in them? Why did you vote the previous question upon the motion made for the appearance of Roland, and the locksmith to substantiate them? Have you no suspicion of fraud? and has it not occurred to you that ambitious and unprincipled spirits may have imposed upon the convention by forgeries, by fabricating some papers, and withholding others? Garbled as this evidence appears to be, who can trust it?

[P]

The

poor semblance of justice, without associating the most poignant mortifications; and it was accordingly decreed, that Louis should not be permitted to have any communication with the queen, or his sister, during the course of his process: but that he might be indulged with the society of his children, provided they were excluded from their aunt and their mother. In this cruel alternative, the king, who during his adverse state, did every thing he ought to do, forgot nothing he ought to remember, and patiently submitted to all he was doomed to suffer, made another sacrifice to the noble and benevolent sentiments of his heart.

From the conduct of the king, during his imprisonment, it appears that he entertained but little, if any, expectation that his enemies would permit him to live; and, after the commencement of his trial, he seems to have been in more continual preparation for the awful hour, which, in his mind, appeared to approach him. The offices of the church he had never neglected; and that sense of religion, which had operated on his whole life, now served to support him in one of the most trying situations that our miserable nature had ever experienced. Among other acts of preparation, he employed himself on Christmas day in writing that last will and testament, which is so replete with piety, benevolence, and understanding, as to have excited the admiration, and awakened the sympathy of every intelligent and feeling mind, that has contemplated this extraordinary effort of suffering humanity.

On the following day, being Wednesday, the 26th of December, the

king was conducted a second time to the bar of the convention, where he appeared with the same unembarrassed air as he manifested on his first examination. And when the president informed him, that the national convention had appointed this day for hearing his defence, he replied with a firm voice and undaunted aspect.—My counsel (pointing to M. de Seze) is to speak for me.—The king then sat down: M. Malesherbes and M. Tronchet took their seats on each side of their august client; and M. De Seze began the defence, which had been prepared by the united labour, skill, and talents, of those able advocates.

Representatives of the nation!

“The moment is at length arrived, when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, appears before you, attended by his counsel. Emboldened by conscious innocence, and supported by the testimony of his whole life, this distinguished personage presents himself and his whole conduct to the view of mankind. A celebrated republican has said, that the calamities of kings always inspire the minds of those with sympathy and tenderness, who have lived under a monarchy; and if this be true, who can apply with more power for commiseration than Louis, whose misfortunes cannot be described, whose calamities defy calculation, and who is fallen from the most splendid throne in Europe. You have called him to your bar, and he appears before you with calmness and with dignity, fortified in the consciousness of his innocence, and the purity of his intentions. These are testimonies which must console,

sole, these are testimonies of which no power on earth can bereave him. He can only declare his innocence; but I appear before you to prove that he is innocent, and I have no apprehension that I shall fail in that important office.

"Louis knows that Europe waits with anxiety for the sentence which you are to pass; and that it will descend to the times which are to come: but though anxious for his future character, as you also ought to be for yours, he is more solicitous for his own immediate descendants, whose fate will be involved in your decision. Like him we must not think on posterity, and look only to the existing generation. If I were only addressing myself at this moment to his judges, I should say, royalty is abolished, and you cannot now pronounce any other sentence against him: but I am speaking to the people. I shall, therefore, examine the situation of Louis previous to the abolition of royalty, and his situation at the abolition of it.

"Nations are sovereigns: they are at liberty to assume any form of government that appears best to themselves: after having recognised and discovered the imperfection of their ancient form, they may enact a new one. This is a position which one of the counsel of Louis procured to be inserted in the constitutional code. But the whole nation cannot exercise the sovereignty; it is necessary therefore that it shall delegate the administration of it.

"In 1789 the people of France demanded a monarchical form of government: a monarchical government requires the inviolability of a chief; and this inviolability was established, not in behalf of the

king, but of the nation. Much has been said on this subject; but to every objection made to it, I open the volume of the constitution, and in the second chapter, which is entitled "Royalty," I read that the king is inviolable. There is not an exception to or modification of this article: but certain circumstances may occur when, the first public functionary may cease to enjoy this character of inviolability." The following is the first example:

Art. 5. 'If the king shall not take the oath, or after having taken it he retracts, he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty.'

"The nation here hath foreseen a crime, and enacted a forfeiture; but there is not a single word to be found concerning either trial or judgment. However, as a king, without retracting an oath, might betray and favour criminal and hostile principles against the state; the nation hath been aware of this, and the constitution hath provided against it."

Art. 6. 'If the king places himself at the head of an army, and directs the forces against the nation; or if he does not oppose himself by a formal act, to any enterprise of this kind made in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty.'—"I beseech you to reflect on the heinous nature of this offence: there cannot be one of a more criminal nature. It supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the treasons, all the horrors, all the calamities of bloody civil war; and yet what does the constitution pronounce? It pronounces no more than the presumption of having abdicated the royalty."

Art.

Art. 7. 'If the king, having left the kingdom, shall not return immediately after an invitation made to him by the legislative body, then he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty.'—
 "The constitution therefore pronounces the same presumption respecting the breach of this article, as of those which have preceded it."

Art. 8. Declares, 'That after an abdication, either express or implied, the king shall then be tried in the same manner as all other citizens for such crimes as he may commit after his abdication.'—
 "Louis is accused of sundry offences: he is accused in the name of the nation. Now, either these offences have been foreseen by the constitutional act, and then the correspondent punishment is to be applied to them, or they have not; and if so, it follows that no punishment can follow from their commission. But I say, that the most atrocious of all offences hath been foreseen—that of a cruel war against the nation; and this surely includes all inferior crimes, and consequently points out the extent of all constitutional punishment. I know that royalty being now abolished, deprivation cannot at present be applied. But has not Louis a right to exclaim, 'What, because you have abolished royalty, will you inflict a punishment on me not mentioned in the constitutional code? Because no existing law can punish me, will you create one expressly and on purpose? You possess, it is true, every degree of power; but there is one species which you dare not execute, that of being unjust.'"

"It has been said, that Louis

ought to be condemned as an enemy; but is he a greater enemy than if he had put himself at the head of an army in order to act against the nation? And you all know, that in such a case he could not have incurred more than a forfeiture of the crown! But if you take away from Louis the prerogative of being inviolable as a king, you cannot deprive him of the right of being tried as a citizen. And here I beseech you where are those propitiatory forms of justice? Where are those juries which are so many hostages, as it were, for the lives and honour of citizens? Where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely required? Where is that silent scrutiny which in the same urn incloses the opinion, and the conscience of the judge? I now speak with the freedom becoming a free man; it is in vain that I look around and search among you for judges. I can see none but accusers. You wish to pronounce upon the fate of Louis, and yet you have accused him! Will you decide his doom, who even previous to his trial have openly declared your sentiments of his conduct?

"I take up the charges exhibited by you; and I find that Louis is accused of having surrounded the constituent assembly with an armed force in June 1789, and that he had formed a design to dissolve it. But do you not recollect, that it was he who convoked that assembly; that by the immemorial custom of the monarchy the king's will was then the law; and he had but to will the dissolution of the assembly, and it would, like the states general in preceding reigns, be dissolved of course? The truth,

truth, therefore, is, that to his neither wishing nor willing the dissolution of the assembly, you owe your seats as legislators; and that you are at this moment deliberating on his fate. Do you not know, that being authorised by law to order any part of the army to march where he pleased, he had but to speak, and the assembly would have been immediately dislodged from its hall, and its functions would have ceased. But though the deputies had violated the oath imposed on them by their constituents, he refused, from the mildness of his character, and the benevolence of his nature, to permit such a measure to be adopted, urged as it was by some of his best friends and most experienced counsellors. Had he been the stern, cruel, vindictive tyrant, which so many have denominated him, he would have nipped democracy in the bud, and blasted every blossom of freedom in its spring. But being gentle, generous, and beneficent, he cherished the growing hopes of his subjects, and encouraged every measure that promised to remove their burdens, or to relieve their distresses. You have reproached him with the troubles that took place in the month of July, in the same year; but his only object, as was afterwards proved on the trial of the commandant, with whose defence I was charged, was to protect Paris from factious incendiaries; and you all recollect, that on the 4th of August the purity of his intentions was fully recognised, as, on that day, he was proclaimed with great solemnity the restorer of French liberty; and a medal was ordered to be struck in memory of

VOL. XXXV.

the happy event. He is next accused of ordering the regiment of Flanders to march to Versailles; but at that epoch he possessed the right as head of the army, though he did not exercise it, till expressly requested by the municipal officers, who declared, that without it they could not answer for the tranquillity of that city.

“Louis is also accused of corrupting the public mind by paying for publications against liberty, and for libels against the patriots. But let me ask, against what liberty and what patriots? Not against the liberty established by the constitution, nor against the patriots, by whom it was supported. Whatever publications were then patronised by government were prepared for the support of the constitution: for the plans now calumniated, but never executed, were addressed to Mirabeau and Fayette, the most popular characters at that time in the nation. But after all, even if these papers were criminal, by what evidence are they brought home to Louis? Is the handwriting and signature proved? No! It is well known that the king's bureaux and desks were forced open and ransacked; but where is the proof that these papers were found in them? Why did you vote the previous question upon the motion made for the appearance of Roland, and the locksmith to substantiate them? Have you no suspicion of fraud? and has it not occurred to you that ambitious and unprincipled spirits may have imposed upon the convention by forgeries, by fabricating some papers, and withholding others? Garbled as this evidence appears to be, who can trust it?

[P]

The

"The letter of approbation sent to Bouillé needs no defence, as his conduct was applauded by the assembly: nor could the journey to Varennes be, under all its circumstances, imputed as a crime. Its object was the safety of Louis and his family, and the discovery of the nation's real sentiments. Can it be criminal in a man, imprisoned by a part of his subjects, to attempt the recovery of his liberty, that he may know the opinion of the whole? Louis was then apprehensive, and there was too much reason for such apprehension, of being massacred, together with his family. For the truth of this fact you have his and the queen's testimony, in the moment of distress and agony, when nature speaks undisguised, and pours forth the genuine language of the heart. Would you deny him the right of self-preservation, the first law of nature? Even that right he did not exercise in its full extent; for when he might have proceeded on his journey by force, he chose rather to return at every hazard, than to shed the blood of a single subject. And yet this is the man who has been represented to you as a sanguinary tyrant. Let us hear no more of the age of reason: call it rather the age of barbarism and of blood, or wherefore could he be charged with having caused the tumult in the month of February, and with the murders in the field of Mars; when, on the former occasion, he ordered the multitude to lay down their arms; and at the time of the latter was imprisoned by the nation, never suffered to move from the sight of the guards, and was excluded from all external communication?

"These arguments (continued M. De Seze) will be considered, I trust, as complete refutations to the respective charges which have already been considered. But were there no other, one circumstance alone is sufficient to answer and confound them all. Posterior to the date of these transactions the nation demanded, and Louis granted, his sanction to the constitution; and this mutual compact implied a general oblivion of the past. On the 14th of September the king accepted the constitution in form, took the oath in presence of the assembly, and was crowned by the president with a constitutional crown.

"Having discussed those charges, which relate to the period prior to the acceptance of the constitution, I now proceed to those which were subsequent to it; and I must first attend to those in which he must have acted by ministers generally forced upon him by the other branch of the legislature. But even, if it was decreed by the constitution, which however is not the fact, that he was equally responsible with his ministers, still I shall prove that no crime can be imputed to him. He is accused of concealing from the assembly the convention of Pilnitz;—but it appears, that as soon as he knew it himself, he communicated it to the assembly: he might indeed have had his previous suspicions of the emperor, and the king of Prussia; but suspicion cannot become the subject of public communication without incurring the danger of giving offence, or of exciting war.

"Whatever the delay might be which attended the transmission of the decree for the re-union of Avignon

Avignon to France, it did not originate with the king, but with his ministers, as authentic documents incontrovertibly prove: and that Louis was not concerned in the commotions of the south is evident, from the trifling sums borrowed in his brother's name to excite them. What but the most rash and unreflecting spirit of accusation could induce the framers of the arraignment to assert, that he prevented the army from being recruited in the ministry of Narbonne, and disorganised the navy in that of Bertrand; when the assembly declared, that the former on his resignation, carried with him the regret and confidence of the nation; and the latter, after resisting every general accusation, retired unassailed by any specific charge.

"On foundations equally weak and unsolid, he is charged with the disasters in the colonies, with the surrender of Longuy and Verdun, and with retaining the Swiss guards in his pay. The convulsions of the colonies arose from the dissemination of those principles of liberty and equality to which you contend, and every one will believe that the king was adverse. The dastardly and avaricious spirit of the citizens compelled the troops to surrender Longuy; but did Louis inspire them with fear and with avarice? And let me ask if it was not the king who appointed the commandant of Verdun, whose honour and bravery determined him to prefer death to the infamy of a surrender? Let me also demand the cause, why the Swiss guards received their pay some time after the assembly had thought their departure necessary? The fact was, that a final

adjustment had not taken place between the Swiss cantons, and the ministers: but as soon as that business was settled, the Swiss battalions quitted France."

M. de Seze now proceeded to examine those charges by which the king was personally affected: the first related to his refusal to ratify the decrees against the priests.—"Without enforcing," continued he, "the sacred rights of conscience, without insisting on the constitutional right Louis possessed of refusing his sanction to the decrees of the assembly, it will be sufficient, I trust, for me to observe, that the majority of the people were adverse to those decrees, and that their desolating consequences have justified his opposition to them.—He certainly prevented a camp from being formed near Paris, but it was to frustrate the use which the Jacobins intended to make of it against the assembly and himself. He; therefore, substituted a camp at Soissons, which fed our armies on the frontiers with subsidiary troops, and saved France in the hour of invasion.

"The charge arising from the supposed letter to the bishop of Clermont requires no answer. For even allowing it to be real, it contains little more than the wish of a devout person anxious for the advancement of religion.—'If I recover my power,' says Louis, according to the language of the letter, 'I mean to restore the Christian religion.'—The abolition of Christianity made no part of the constitution, and with what reason can it be considered as criminal in the king to wish for the restoration of that public worship, to which he had been habituated from

"The letter of approbation sent to Bouillé needs no defence, as his conduct was applauded by the assembly: nor could the journey to Varennes be, under all its circumstances, imputed as a crime. Its object was the safety of Louis and his family, and the discovery of the nation's real sentiments. Can it be criminal in a man, imprisoned by a part of his subjects, to attempt the recovery of his liberty, that he may know the opinion of the whole? Louis was then apprehensive, and there was too much reason for such apprehension, of being massacred, together with his family. For the truth of this fact you have his and the queen's testimony, in the moment of distress and agony, when nature speaks undisguised, and pours forth the genuine language of the heart. Would you deny him the right of self-preservation, the first law of nature? Even that right he did not exercise in its full extent; for when he might have proceeded on his journey by force, he chose rather to return at every hazard, than to shed the blood of a single subject. And yet this is the man who has been represented to you as a sanguinary tyrant. Let us hear no more of the age of reason: call it rather the age of barbarism and of blood, or wherefore could he be charged with having caused the tumult in the month of February, and with the murders in the field of Mars; when, on the former occasion, he ordered the multitude to lay down their arms; and at the time of the latter was imprisoned by the nation, never suffered to move from the sight of the guards, and was excluded from all external communication?

"These arguments (continued M. De Seze) will be considered, I trust, as complete refutations to the respective charges which have already been considered. But were there no other, one circumstance alone is sufficient to answer and confound them all. Posterior to the date of these transactions the nation demanded, and Louis granted, his sanction to the constitution; and this mutual compact implied a general oblivion of the past. On the 14th of September the king accepted the constitution in form, took the oath in presence of the assembly, and was crowned by the president with a constitutional crown.

"Having discussed those charges, which relate to the period prior to the acceptance of the constitution, I now proceed to those which were subsequent to it; and I must first attend to those in which he must have acted by ministers generally forced upon him by the other branch of the legislature. But even, if it was decreed by the constitution, which however is not the fact, that he was equally responsible with his ministers, still I shall prove that no crime can be imputed to him. He is accused of concealing from the assembly the convention of Pilnitz;—but it appears, that as soon as he knew it himself, he communicated it to the assembly: he might indeed have had his previous suspicions of the emperor, and the king of Prussia; but suspicion cannot become the subject of public communication without incurring the danger of giving offence, or of exciting war.

"Whatever the delay might be which attended the transmission of the decree for the re-union of Avignon

accusation. This paper, however, has at length been procured, and plainly proves that every individual who was to receive pay, was under the necessity of giving a particular receipt and certificate of actual residence within the kingdom. The guilt, therefore, that was charged on Louis must be imputed to them, who, by the suppression of evidence, seek to shed innocent blood.

"That Louis should be arraigned for the horrid massacre of the 10th of August, does, I must own, astonish me, as it is an event, for the glory of which many even in this assembly have contended: an event which was premeditated, arranged and matured, which had its agents and directors, and its articles signed and sealed. These are facts, which no one can be found to deny. But Louis had no share in the glory, or the disgrace of that day. I am ready to acknowledge that he reviewed the troops in the palace, but he did it as one of the constituted authorities; and if that was criminal, the mayor and municipal officers who accompanied him on the occasion must have shared the crime. You well know that the populace marched against the troops in the palace; and you are equally acquainted with the object of their military array.—Who began the contest no man can tell, but the king had nought to do with it, as he was in the bosom of the national assembly an hour before a musquet was discharged, or a match lighted.—How then can Louis be involved in the guilt of this bloody massacre? Louis, who never gave a sanguinary order, who at Varennes preferred captivity to the loss of a single life; who, on the 20th of

June, refused all aid, and alone repressed the audacity of the multitude; who abolished servitude in his own dominions, and gave to all his people the blessing of liberty.

"Thus have I, to my own entire conviction, disproved every charge brought to criminate the late king of France; and I trust, that my arguments have convinced every impartial man that Louis is innocent. Nor can I imagine, for a moment, that, though you have assumed the united offices of accusers, of jurors, and of judges, you will in this despotic capacity, which sets you above all controul, think yourselves above all justice. Nor can it be necessary for me to add, that justice requires of you to pronounce sentence according to the constitutional laws established, when the crimes charged in the indictment are said to have been perpetrated. Louis was, by the will of the nation, their representative, as well as the national assembly, and therefore had his peculiar rights. Inviolability was common to them both. By the commission of certain crimes Louis would cease to be king, and the assembly to be re-elected. When Louis is thus raised by law to an extraordinary eminence, will you force him from thence to place him on a level with ordinary men? Try him by known laws, and not by statutes made for him alone, and you will find that he is blameless. Since the adoption of that system, which has reduced all Frenchmen to an equality, Louis cannot be accused of any misdemeanor; and it is only since that change in the government of France, that he is become the legal object of judicial power. While I, in a perfect union of sentiment

his cradle, and to which the greater part of his people looked forward with pious solicitude. The continuance of pay to his guards was an act of justice and humanity. By a decree of the assembly the guards were to be re-organised, and he only continued their subsistence till that event was completed.

"Of aid granted to the emigrants there is no proof.—Roche-fort, the only example mentioned, neither was nor is an emigrant: while maintenance granted by Louis to his two nephews, of whom the elder was only fourteen, and the younger eleven years of age, should be considered as a meritorious transaction: besides, there was then no law that ascertained the age, at which emigration became criminal, and the assembly has since settled it at a more advanced period of life than eleven and fourteen years. The two young princes were entirely without support; and it would have ill become Louis, because he was a king, to have forgotten the duties of a kinsman. And what just reason can be assigned, why he should not relieve the wants of suffering relatives, or assign rewards to faithful servants out of the civil list, of which he had the sole disposal? That Louis constantly opposed the efforts of the emigrants in general might be proved by a variety of facts; but I shall only mention one of them. Being informed by his resident at Francfort, that the emigrants, who attempted to procure arms and ammunition in that city, were prevented by the magistrates, Louis directed the resident to return them thanks, and to request them to persevere in their refusal. The money for which Bouillé had an order

never came from the king. The order was from his brother, to whom he never administered any pecuniary aid. He had indeed, from motives of humanity, in 1789, become his security for a sum that did not amount to twenty thousand pounds, and that was all.

"Of his supposed intrigues at foreign courts, two examples are all that can be produced, and his ministers are said to have been Dumonstier and Gouffier: but it is now in proof, that Dumonstier was not the agent of Louis, but of his brother; and that Gouffier had received his letters of recall three days before he began his intrigues against his successor, and the new order of things. Of the strange charge of carrying on an iniquitous traffic in corn, he is entirely cleared by the oath, and the letters of Septeuil, which were the only evidence brought to prove it. The project which is supposed to justify the accusation of suborning and corrupting several members of the legislative assembly, relieved the national treasury to the amount of ten millions of livres, and charged the civil list with the interest.—But let me ask if corruption ever applied before to an act of self-denial?—Must Louis be exposed to shame and odium for replenishing your exchequer out of his own pocket? This is a species of corruption, of which generous and disinterested princes, like Louis, are alone capable.—That he paid his guards at Coblenz would, if true, be a grave and heavy charge, and his accusers seem to have been sensible of its weight; for they suppressed the paper which would have rendered it a nullity, and prevented its appearance in the act of accusation.

accusation. This paper, however, has at length been procured, and plainly proves that every individual who was to receive pay, was under the necessity of giving a particular receipt and certificate of actual residence within the kingdom. The guilt, therefore, that was charged on Louis must be imputed to them, who, by the suppression of evidence, seek to shed innocent blood.

"That Louis should be arraigned for the horrid massacre of the 10th of August, does, I must own, astonish me, as it is an event, for the glory of which many even in this assembly have contended: an event which was premeditated, arranged and matured, which had its agents and directors, and its articles signed and sealed. These are facts, which no one can be found to deny. But Louis had no share in the glory, or the disgrace of that day. I am ready to acknowledge that he reviewed the troops in the palace, but he did it as one of the constituted authorities; and if that was criminal, the mayor and municipal officers who accompanied him on the occasion must have shared the crime. You well know that the populace marched against the troops in the palace; and you are equally acquainted with the object of their military array.—Who began the contest no man can tell, but the king had nought to do with it, as he was in the bosom of the national assembly an hour before a musquet was discharged, or a match lighted.—How then can Louis be involved in the guilt of this bloody massacre? Louis, who never gave a sanguinary order, who at Varennes preferred captivity to the loss of a single life; who, on the 20th of

June, refused all aid, and alone repressed the audacity of the multitude; who abolished servitude in his own dominions, and gave to all his people the blessing of liberty.

"Thus have I, to my own entire conviction, disproved every charge brought to criminate the late king of France; and I trust, that my arguments have convinced every impartial man that Louis is innocent. Nor can I imagine, for a moment, that, though you have assumed the united offices of accusers, of jurors, and of judges, you will in this despotic capacity, which sets you above all controul, think yourselves above all justice. Nor can it be necessary for me to add, that justice requires of you to pronounce sentence according to the constitutional laws established, when the crimes charged in the indictment are said to have been perpetrated. Louis was, by the will of the nation, their representative, as well as the national assembly, and therefore had his peculiar rights. Inviolability was common to them both. By the commission of certain crimes Louis would cease to be king, and the assembly to be re-elected. When Louis is thus raised by law to an extraordinary eminence, will you force him from thence to place him on a level with ordinary men? Try him by known laws, and not by statutes made for him alone, and you will find that he is blameless. Since the adoption of that system, which has reduced all Frenchmen to an equality, Louis cannot be accused of any misdemeanor; and it is only since that change in the government of France, that he is become the legal object of judicial power. While I, in a perfect union of sentiment

timent and opinion with my colleagues, thus anxiously strive to convince you that his cause is just; while I am exerting every faculty of my understanding to fill your hearts with those sentiments, which are so deeply impressed on my own; mark, I beseech you, the composure which Louis displays. No appearance of agitation is to be discovered in him. His eye is steady, his aspect serene, and his countenance undaunted. What power but conscious innocence could impart such fortitude? While I, who have nothing to fear but for him, feel myself agitated and trembling, he remains unmoved by the scowls of the mountain, and the clamours of the gallery. And will you, in defiance of law, of justice, and the constitution, condemn such superior virtue? Is it possible that you can reject, I will not say, such a king, but such a citizen? If so much worth is thought unfit to breathe the air of France, what good man would not wish to abjure his country, and to fly from the society of human beings who have renounced humanity? but I hope better things from you. Though a ferocious rabble may be cruel, you will not surely deny justice to superior innocence, and pity to fallen majesty. You will, I trust, this day, by a great act of justice, stem the torrent of obloquy, and prove to Europe, and to the world, that you are not, as foreigners are pleased to assert, at once brutalized; but that you are still Frenchmen, that is, the most civilized and the most loyal people on the face of the globe. Consider what history will tell hereafter: consider that your judgment will be judged by posterity. But what can the sanctions of history, or

the judgment of posterity be to you, if you are unmoved by such an example of human mutability, as is now before you, if you are not affected by the tremendous fall of this royal and innocent victim; if you suffer him to become the sacrifice of an unrelenting and tyrannic injustice?"

When M. de Seze had finished, the president demanded of Louis, if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counsel, when he rose, and, with a firm voice, addressed the assembly in the following manner:

"Citizens, my defence has been laid before you, and I shall not repeat the particulars of it. In speaking to you, perhaps, for the last time, I declare that my conscience makes me no reproach, and that my defenders have told you nothing but the truth. I never dreaded a public examination of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find, in the act of accusation, that I am charged with a desire to shed the blood of the people; and, above all, that the misfortunes of the 10th of August are imputed to me. I thought that the many proofs I have given, on all occasions, of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have always conducted myself, would have proved, that I did not fear to expose my own person to spare their blood, and have preserved me from such an imputation for ever."

The president now ordered the keys of closets, in which some of the criminating papers were said to have been found, to be shewn to the king, and asked if he remembered them. The king answered, that he had given some keys to Clery, but it was so long since he had

had seen them, that he could not positively pronounce whether they were the same. The president then demanded, if he wished to add any thing to what had been said, and being answered in the negative, the king, attended by his counsel, withdrew into the chamber of conferences; and was soon conducted, amid the outcries of the rabble, which were more frequent than on the former day, to his prison in the temple.

When the king had withdrawn from the assembly, Manuel proposed, that his defence should be printed, and sent to the eighty-four departments; and that all discussion concerning it should be adjourned for three days. This proposition excited the most violent commotions in the assembly. By some, it was declared, that Louis had been heard; that there was no pretext for delay; and that the convention should instantly proceed to judgment. Such opinions were received with loud applause, and particularly from the galleries, which had been carefully filled with persons of the Jacobin party, and who had crowded there for the purpose of confounding, by their outrage, any disposition favourable to the king; and to support, by their clamorous approbation, any opinions that tended to accelerate the hour of his fate. M. Lanjuinais was not however deterred from declaring his sentiments.—“ I trust,” said he, “ that the days of domestic slaughter are passed and gone; and that we shall not be hurried into any decree that dishonours us. We cannot decide, without having maturely considered the defence which has been deposited on your table. Legislators,” he

exclaimed, “ you cannot, at the same time, bring forward accusations, and apply the law to them; and I trust, that the majority of us would rather die, than condemn the most flagitious tyrant to death, by rules that did not apply to every citizen.” The president then proposed the question of adjournment; and there instantly ensued a scene of disorder and disgrace, that baffles all description. The galleries vociferated their abhorrence of such a measure, while several members of the assembly, not contented with exclaiming, “ the death of the tyrant,” reviled the president in the most opprobrious terms, and threatened him with personal violence. When, however, it appeared, that the majority of the convention were not to be forced into immediate judgment, that object was renounced; and it was decreed, that every member had a privilege to pronounce his opinion on the whole cause from the tribune, before the day for the nominal appeal was appointed. During several succeeding days, the convention were principally occupied in hearing the opinions of its members, all of whom introduced their discourses with a declaration of the king's guilt: nor is such a circumstance to be accounted for by any other conjecture, than that such a preliminary was necessary to secure them an hearing. They, however, differed as to the penalty he had incurred; many of them being of opinion, that both justice and policy forbade the punishment of death. All the Rolandists, the Brissotins, and Girondists, were of that number. The party of Danton and Robespierre argued for immediate death; and became so impatient at the delay,

lay, from hearing so many discourses, that they procured a repeal of the decree which had passed a few days before; and instead of hearing every member from the tribune, it was resolved, that the discourses should be printed, and laid on the table, to be read by all who chose it. At the same time, the 14th of January was appointed for the final judgment of Louis XVI. It was not, however, till the following day, that the first appeal was made; which delay arose from the tedious and violent discussions that took place in the convention, previous to its being decided in what order the questions should be stated, on which judgment was to be given. At length, it was decreed, that the following questions should be put to all the members, and be determined by nominal appeal, or public vote.

1. Is Louis Capet, late king of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the state? Yes or no.

2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Louis, be submitted to the ratification of the people in the primary assemblies? Yes or no.

3. What punishment has he incurred?

The arrangement of these questions was contrived with no common art, in order to prevent if possible the king's life from being preserved. Several deputies, who, by no means approved of an appeal to the primary assemblies, would not, however, have voted against it, if they had suspected that the king would have been condemned to die. But if the question that determined the punishment had been proposed in the second place,

which was its proper situation; they would then have perceived, that the appeal to the people afforded the only means of preserving the life of the king, and would then have voted for that measure. Hence we may account for the prolixity and violence of the debates on a question which was apparently of little importance, as the order in which the propositions were to be voted: for several of those who were anxious for the preservation of the king's life, saw the fatal consequence which would result from such an arrangement of the questions as was proposed, and exerted themselves, with all their powers, to have them differently placed. But the jacobin party prevailed.

On the first question, several members expressed themselves in the affirmative, on the grounds which had been assigned; others modified their opinions, and many of them observed, that they pronounced as legislators and citizens, but not as judges; because they neither thought themselves qualified for that office, nor authorised by their constituents to assume it. But there was not one voice that absolutely acquitted Louis of the charges brought against him.

The second question, as we have already observed, would, in all probability, have saved the king's life, if it had followed the sentence of death; but this measure, which, in itself, was of a popular nature, became the contrary, by the unwearied exertions of those who feared, that if it was carried, it would reverse the sentence of death. Many of the deputies who voted for the appeal to the people, mentioned the danger to which they exposed themselves on the occasion; but being

being convinced, that their constituents had elected them as legislators, and not as judges; and as it was repugnant to their consciences, to unite the characters of jury and accusers, they were resolved to meet every peril rather than infringe the rights of the nation. Manuel, previous to his voting for the appeal, declared, with great animation, "I see here a legislative assembly, but not an assembly of judges; for judges do not murmur at the opinions of their brethren, though different from their own; they do not openly calumniate each other; they are cold as the law of which they are the organs. If the convention had been a tribunal of law, a near relation to the king, who has not been restrained, either by a sense of shame, or by his conscience, would not have been permitted to vote on this occasion." It was not till midnight, that the result of the scrutiny was proclaimed, when there appeared for the appeal, 283, against it 424.

On the 16th, the convention met to determine the punishment that Louis was to suffer. The fatal ceremony employed the whole day, and ended in the sentence of death. The president announced to the assembly, that, of 721 votes, 366 were for death, 319 for imprisonment; two for perpetual imprisonment; eight for a suspension of death, till after the expulsion of the Bourbon family; twenty-three were not for putting him to death, unless the French were invaded by some foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment; so that, if those who voted for death with certain restrictions, are subtracted from

the majority, it does not appear, that the sentence was carried by more than five votes.

After every member had voted, but previous to the scrutiny, the president informed the convention, that he had received a letter from the Spanish minister, which was known to contain the most earnest solicitations of the court of Madrid, to avert the fate of the devoted monarch; but it was refused an hearing, with indignity and clamour. When the president had declared the state of the scrutiny, and that Louis XVI. was sentenced to suffer death, his counsels were admitted to the bar, and M. de Seze immediately spoke as follows:

"Citizens representatives. The law and your own decree have entrusted to us the sacred office of defending Louis; and we now approach you with sorrow, to perform the last duty of our function. Louis has expressly charged us to read a letter signed by his own hand, and these are the contents of it."—"I owe to my own honour, I owe to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence that declares me guilty of a crime which my conscience disdains. I therefore appeal to the nation at large, from the sentence of its representatives; and, by these presents, I empower my counsel, and charge them on their fidelity, to make this appeal known to the national convention, by all means in their power, and to demand that mention be made of it, in the minutes of their sittings."

"Signed Louis."

M. de Seze then implored the national convention to consider by what a small majority the punishment of death was pronounced against Louis. "Do not afflict France
(added

(added this respectable advocate) by a judgment that will appear to her to be terrible, when it was carried by no more than five votes." He invoked eternal justice and sacred humanity, to determine the convention to refer their judgment to the tribunal of the people. It is not to be conceived, said M. Tronchet, that so large a number of those who voted for death should have invoked the penal code to justify their judgment; and have, at the same time, forgotten the humanity of the law in favour of the accused; which requires two thirds of the voices for such a decision. A decree of the convention, passed only that morning, had pronounced, that the majority of a single voice was sufficient; and when an objection was made, they had immediately passed to the order of the day; but in a question of such unparalleled importance, the nominal appeal was absolutely requisite to the purposes of justice, and he accordingly demanded the repeal of that decree. M. de Malesherbes represented to the convention, that he had formerly considered, with great attention, the manner in which votes ought to be taken in criminal cases; and that, as so many ideas crowded upon his mind upon the important subject, and as he was not in the habit of extemporaneous speaking, he most earnestly entreated the delay of a day to give him an opportunity of arranging those opinions which he anxiously wished to submit to their consideration. By the previous question, however, the convention rejected the appeal to the people, as well as the observations proposed to be made by M. de Malesherbes, but adjourned to the following day,

the consideration of the question, whether the national interest did, or did not, require a delay in the execution of the sentence pronounced against Louis.

Two remarkable incidents, says Dr. Moore, in his journal of the revolution, occurred during this debate, which shew the excess of wanton barbarity, and persevering rancour of which some men are capable, on the most solemn and affecting occasions. Tallien, with diabolical irony, argued, for the king's immediate execution, on, what he called, motives of humanity. "He knows, said the wretch, that he is condemned, and that a respite is demanded: to keep him in suspense, is prolonging his agony. Let us, then, in tenderness for his sufferings, decree his immediate execution, and put an end to his anguish." Even the ears of Danton were offended on the occasion, and he loudly disapproved the words that his friend had uttered.

The other incident occurred, when Thomas Paine, who had already given his opinion against the death of the king, ascended the tribune: as he was not capable of pronouncing French, one of the secretaries read his discourse, as it had been translated from the original English. His reasonings against the execution of the sentence appear to have been considered as very persuasive, since those who had heard the discourses of Buzot, Condorcet, and Brissot, to the same purport, without interruption, broke out into murmurs, while the opinion of Paine was reading; and Marat, at length, losing all patience, exclaimed, that Paine was a quaker; and that, from the narrow principles of his religion,

gion, his mind was so contracted as to be incapable of the liberality requisite for condemning men to death. This strange argument failing of its effects, the secretary continued to read, "That the execution of the sentence, instead of an act of justice, would appear to all the world, and particularly to their allies, the American states, an act of vengeance; and that if he were sufficiently master of the French language, he would, in the name of his brethren of America, present a petition at the bar against the execution of the sentence." The convention then proceeded to the fourth nominal appeal, which was not terminated till midnight, on the 19th of January, 1793, when 310 voices were declared to be for a respite of the sentence, and 380 against it. Thus, after thirty-six hours, ended the sitting, which will be remembered and execrated to the latest posterity.

It may indeed be argued, with some degree of plausibility, that, from the issue of this question, the appeal to the primary assemblies, whenever it had been made, would have been equally rejected: but it may be observed, in reply, that there is a considerable difference as to its popular effect, between voting for a reference of the sentence to the people, and voting for the respite of sentence already pronounced. Many who would willingly have given their suffrage for the former, might be deterred by various considerations, from giving their vote against the latter.

A melancholy gloom and awful silence (says an anonymous historian of the revolution of France) superseded the native gaiety of the French capital, during the last days

of the king's life, as if some horrid calamity was presaged by its inhabitants: while bodies of armed men patrolled the metropolis, the suppressed sighs and the restrained lamentations that were every where observed, encouraged the belief that a fair appeal to the people would, at least, have saved the devoted king from the horrid and unmerited fate which he so soon suffered.

The executive council were ordered to acquaint the king, on the following day, of the final determination of the national convention, and that his execution was to take place within twenty-four hours, from the time of the notification. It was, however, decreed, that he should be allowed a free communication with his family; and that any ecclesiastical person, most agreeable to himself, should be permitted to attend him.

While the convention were employed on the various questions that were connected with the final sentence of the king, the devoted Louis was employed in preparing his mind, by the superior aids of religion, to meet the fate, whatever it might be, that his savage and unrelenting enemies should prepare for him.

On Thursday, the 17th of January, M. de Malesherbes arrived about nine in the morning; and as Clery, the king's faithful valet de chambre, hastened to meet him, "All is over, he exclaimed, your royal master is condemned to die." As the king rose to receive him, M. de Malesherbes threw himself at his feet, and remained for some moments dumb with sorrow. At length he announced the decree, that condemned his late sovereign and master to die. While this excellent old man

man could scarce sustain the weight of grief that oppressed him, the king discovered not the least sign of surprise or emotion. He appeared to be affected only with the painful state of his venerable advocate, and a tender anxiety to sooth and console him. At length, M. de Malesherbes recovered sufficient resolution to relate to him the particulars of what had passed in the convention; the malignity of his enemies, and the cruel, illegal, unjust, and violent means, that were employed for his destruction. When he had performed this dreadful office, the king most earnestly entreated him to repeat his visits, and not to abandon him in his last moments. This request M. de Malesherbes most faithfully promised to obey, and retired in an overwhelming state of poignant affliction. But he was not suffered to return to the Temple; this so much desired consolation to the few hours of life that yet remained to him, was denied the persecuted and insulted king—was denied by the murderous spirit of the wretches that condemned him, and he saw his faithful friend and counsellor no more.

On examining the state of the votes, on the various questions respecting his sentence, the only circumstance that seemed to affect him, was the conduct of M. D'Orleans. "I am without hope," said he, respecting any change of my fate; but I cannot reflect, that so near a relation as the duke of Orleans should give his voice for my death, without suffering very painful sensations." On Friday, the 18th, the king frequently expressed his solicitude at the absence of M. de Malesherbes; and, in the interval

of his devotions, read the account of the death of Charles the First, as related by Hume.

On the following day, the tranquillity so necessary to his situation was disturbed, by the entrance of persons belonging to the municipality into his apartments, to discover if any weapons or instruments were secreted there with which he might attempt his life. For this purpose the king was obliged to open his bureau, expose all his drawers and unfold his papers, in order to satisfy the minute search which was ordered to be made. To this and the other insults which were this day shewn him, he submitted with a patience that would have melted any hearts but such as hardened in the bosoms of those who persecuted him. It was, however, well known by those, who probably wished otherwise, that the firmness with which he had hitherto supported all his sufferings was derived from a source which would support him to the end of his career, whatever might be the pains and horrors of it. These treacherous precautions were therefore taken, either to gratify diabolic malignity, or to impress the public with a notion that Louis had attempted, or would attempt, his life: a circumstance which his enemies, in the executive government, may be supposed to have desired, as it would have saved the trouble and danger of a public execution, have disgraced the character of the king, strengthened the opinion entertained of his guilt, and prevented him from exhibiting that conduct in the last scenes of his life which has sanctified his name for ever. Of this continual disturbance, and the absence of his counsel, he com-

plained, in very affecting terms, wrote to the commune to request how necessary it was, in his situation, that an instant action should be paid to his restraint.

On Sunday, January 20, he was informed, that M. de Malesherbes presented himself several times at the gate of the Temple, and had refused entrance. The morning of that day he employed in reading and writing; and, about one o'clock, he received the fatal order of the executive counsel. Gallet, the minister of justice; Leclercq, the minister of foreign affairs; Grouvelle, secretary to the council; and several officers of the revolutionary and criminal tribunal, were introduced by Santerre, with his usual insolence. The king presented himself to them with all the dignity of his former state, and his innocent innocence; when Gallet, with his hat on his head, and assuming an importance (which he since declared he knew not how to sustain, in the awful presence of the sacred virtue, and fallen majesty), informed the king, that the national convention had commanded the executive counsel to signify the decrees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th of January; and that the secretary was prepared to perform them: which duty he performed, with a feeble voice and tremulous accent. Louis then heard, that the convention had declared guilty of conspiring against the liberty of the nation, and the general safety of the state; that he should suffer the punishment of death, and that his execution should take place within twenty-four hours after its notification." During the ceremony, which troubled even

those who were employed to perform it, the countenance of the king suffered no change, that denoted alarm. But when the word conspiracy was named, a smile of indignation just appeared on his countenance; and, on hearing that part of the sentence which doomed him to die, the look which he cast on those who surrounded him was so characteristic of beneficence and submission, as to prove, that death is without terror to the virtuous man. The king now took a paper from his pocket-book, and delivered it to the minister of justice, to present to the convention. It contained his last requests, "that his sentence might be delayed for three days, in order that he might be better prepared to appear in the presence of God: that he might be freely visited by a person whom he should name, who would be qualified to assist him in the solemn act of preparation: that such person should be protected from all insult and danger, in performing such an office of charity and religion: that he might no longer be subject to the close inspection he had hitherto suffered, during the very short time he had to live: that he might have a free communication with his family, and without witness: that the national convention would allow his family to withdraw from France, or to any other country which they might prefer;" and he finally recommended to the generosity of the nation many of his old servants, who had no other support but the pensions which he had allowed them. He then named M. Edgeworth de Fermont, as the ecclesiastic whom he wished to see, if that privilege should be granted to him. At six in the afternoon, Garet

Garet returned to inform the king, that the convention had decreed him the permission to receive the person whom he named, and who now accompanied him: that he might freely see his family, without any witness: that the nation, always noble and always just, would take the future allotment of his family and his pensioners into their consideration; but that the delay was refused. Mr. Edgeworth was now introduced, and the king immediately retired with him into his closet. This gentleman, whom the king had selected to attend him in his last moments, was, from the piety of his life, the strength of his mind, and the gentleness of his manners, in a pre-eminent degree qualified to fulfil this important and affecting duty. His family is from Ireland; but he had been bred in France, and, from the excellence of his character, had been chosen by the princess Elizabeth, as her confessor; in which situation he became known to the king, and was highly regarded by him; as very forcibly appears from the application made to him in this most awful exigence of his life. At eight o'clock the king prepared to see his family; and, after some little preparation, the queen, princess Elizabeth, with the prince and princess royal, were conducted to him. When the first agony had, in some degree, subsided, the king informed them of the sentence which condemned him to die, and in how short a time it was to be executed. He maintained his fortitude on this most trying occasion; while the piety and calmness with which he consoled them rendered them more inconsolable. It is a scene whose history will appal mankind,

while there is a sense of honour, justice, and virtue, in the world, and will awaken sensibility in the human breast, while there are hearts to feel, or tears to shed. After an interview of near two hours, and having promised to see his family again on the following morning, he returned to his chamber in a state of emotion that cannot be described. When he had recovered some degree of composure, he expressed his wish to think no more of this world, with which he had so little concern, and to turn his whole thoughts to that state which he was approaching. He then began to converse on the great truths of religion, and astonished his confessor, by the knowledge he displayed on the subject, as he edified him by the piety which accompanied it. Nothing now remained for his consolation, but to perform the rites, and receive the communion of his church; and Mr. Edgeworth, after some opposition from the commissaries, lest poison might be introduced in the wafer that forms the Roman sacrament, obtained the solicited indulgence. The commissaries themselves provided the host, and the necessary ornaments for performing mass were procured from a neighbouring church. The king was no sooner informed that he could be permitted the consolations which he would derive from the solemn offices of his religion, than he expressed the most heartfelt satisfaction, and immediately entered upon his confession. When that solemn duty was passed, Mr. Edgeworth perceiving his royal penitent to be almost exhausted, with the fatigue and anguish he had suffered during the day, entreated him

him to go to bed and endeavour to obtain a little rest. The king complied with his request, and enjoyed a calm, undisturbed repose, till five the next morning, when he was awakened according to his order. He then rose, was dressed, and retired to his closet, till an altar was prepared, and the necessary arrangements made for the act of devotion he was about to perform, for the last time. At seven he heard mass, and received the sacrament with the most profound devotion. It was then suggested to him, that he had promised another interview to his family; but the king determined to spare himself and them the agony of repeating such a scene; and therefore contented himself with desiring, that his most affectionate adieus and final recommendation to Heaven's protection, might be delivered to them.

All Paris had been under arms since five o'clock, while the sound of drums, the noise of arms, the clatter of horses, and the passage of cannon were distinctly heard in the Tower. At nine the bustle increased, when the doors were thrown open with violence, and Santerre appeared, attended by ten *gend'armes*, who disposed themselves in two lines. On his informing the king, who came from his closet, on hearing the noise, that he was come to conduct him to the scaffold, his majesty asked only a few minutes, when he re-entered the closet, and falling on his knees before his confessor, received his last benediction. He then threw open the door, and, with a firm voice, said to Santerre, let us be gone. M. Edgeworth, who determined not to abandon the king

in his last moments, followed him. In the second court of the Temple stood the carriage which was provided for the occasion, and two men, of a very savage and ferocious appearance, stood at the door. One of them entered it as the guard approached, the king followed with M. Edgeworth, and the other *gend'arme* placed himself by his comrade. From the troubled and fierce aspect of these men M. Edgeworth suspected, and as it afterwards appeared, with some foundation, that they were placed there to assassinate the king in the coach, if there had been any attempt to rescue him. During the passage from the Temple to the place of the revolution, formerly called the place of Louis XV. where he was to be murdered, he read, with the utmost devotion, such prayers and psalms as were best suited to his situation. When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the king immediately descended from it; and having thrown off his coat, was about to ascend the scaffold, when the executioners seized his hands, in order to tie them behind him. As he was not prepared for this last insult, he appeared disposed to repel it, and his countenance already beamed with indignation; but M. Edgeworth, sensible that resistance would be vain, and might expose the royal sufferer to outrages more violent, said to him, "Sire, this added humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings resemble those of that Saviour who will soon be your recompence." These words softened him at once, and he presented his hands to the murderous attendants; and they tied them with so much force, as to call forth another

other remonstrance from the king. He now mounted the scaffold, and, as M. Edgeworth followed him, he boldly exclaimed, with the fervent animation of his holy zeal, "Offspring of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." The king, bound and disfigured as he was, now advanced with a firm step to that part of the scaffold which faced the palace, and, requesting the drums to cease, was instantly obeyed. He then addressed the people in a tone of voice loud enough to be heard in the garden of the Thuilleries, "Frenchmen, I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies; I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed." He was proceeding, when Santerre, who was on horseback near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, when the ministers seized their victim, and the horrid murder was completed. When the king's head was severed from the body, one of the executioners held it up by the hair, dancing at the same time round the scaffold, with the most savage exultation, and the shouts of *vive la nation, vive la republique*, seemed to applaud the execrable deed. The body was conveyed in a cart to the church-yard of Saint Madelaine, and thrown into a grave, which was instantly filled with quick lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. Thus did the French nation, who had endured the cruelties of Louis XI. the treachery of Charles IX. and the tyranny of Louis XIV. condemn and execute for the pretended crimes of cruelty, trea-

chery, and tyranny, the most mild, just, and humane prince, that ever sat on the throne of France. As long as the world remains, or, at least, so long as men read the history of what has happened in it, the convention will be severely reproached for the injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy of putting their king to death. None of the charges which, for the sake of form, were brought against him, had any foundation, either in law or in fact. The king had acted as he had a right to do, previous to the acceptance of the constitution; and after that, he was the only man in the kingdom who had remained faithful to it.

It is not only a circumstance formed to inspire us with admiration of Louis XVI. but it is a phenomenon, which must excite astonishment, that, among the great number of his servants and of his friends, as well as thousands of people, who had the opportunities of being acquainted with his conduct from his earliest youth; there were none to produce one arbitrary act or accusation against him. Even when the extravagance of the court was considered and examined by the constituent assembly, the waste of public money fell infinitely short of what had been asserted by the enemies of the court. In fact, it never appeared, that Louis XVI. was, from inclination or temper, a dissipator of his treasures: but the same goodness of heart which had made him sacrifice every thing to the fear of shedding blood, in his latter days, had led him in other parts of his reign into the unfortunate and ruinous habit of paying the debts of princes and other persons of his court. At the

same time the sentiment that justified this application of public eye and the good intentions which accompanied it, will, in some degree, exculpate him in every age and humane mind. What would have been refused to support a nation, was granted to pay creditors, or to relieve from inconvenience and distress those whom he affectionately loved. Had the princes of the house of Bourbon been guided by the same principles with their illustrious chief, he could not have lost his life in a situation which their conduct had merited; or had the strength and energy of his mind been equal to his benevolence, he would have foreseen and controuled the causes which produced the fatal catastrophe.

Those who tried Louis XVI. for reasons were themselves traitors for they had betrayed the nation.

They accused him of tyranny and despotism, when they and their coadjutors alone were the tyrants and despots of the people: they accused him of shedding innocent blood; when, in a few hours, he was immolated to their own ambition and revenge more victims than they had fallen criminals under the severity of the law, during the reign of the king. Respecting the cruel treatment of Louis, his confinement, as well as the mock trial by which he was brought to the scaffold, there is but one opinion among all ranks of men in every part of Europe: that it is not in general so well known, by what methods his enemies contrived to lull all France; particularly the inhabitants of Paris into a kind of stupor, till it was too late to prevent the execution.

L. XXXV.

tion of this sanguinary project. The ruling party in the assembly, in the clubs, and at the Hotel de Ville, were not without their apprehensions. The majority of France, it was well known, not only deprecated any violence being committed against the king, but disapproved of the 10th of August, and all the machinations which followed. The murder of the king therefore might have served as a signal for the majority to break forth, who, by uniting in one single point, might have crushed their adversaries. To prevent, therefore, so dangerous a point of re-union, the assembly discussed the question in a way which made the generality of people believe, that imprisonment or exile would be the utmost extent of their vengeance. The king had long been a prisoner, and the formality, by a pretended process of law, of confirming his imprisonment did not appear to be a subject for alarm, as it respected his life; and as for exile, as the state of things then was, even royalists themselves might consider it as an advantage. The trial of Louis, therefore, was so conducted, as by presenting these two kinds of punishment to the public attention, the sentence of death did not appear to be an object of apprehension, till the trial drew near to its conclusion, and then the precipitate execution of the sentence prevented the possibility of an effort on the part of the departments of France.

The next object of the Jacobins was to calm the fears, and lull the suspicions of the people of Paris, respecting the fate of the king: and both these purposes were affected by the usual mode of employing

playing their arts to inspire hope, and instructing their emissaries to propagate the idea, that more was to be dreaded from opposing them, than for suffering them to proceed in their own way, and without obstruction. At the same time we are by no means confident that the people of Paris would have rescued their king, even if they had been certain at the commencement of his trial that he would have been sentenced to die. For there could not surely be any reason to apprehend resistance from those who had been perfectly passive in the tyrannic proceedings of August, and the massacres of September; and were daily submitting to unparalleled oppressions. Yet Petion, and the conductors of this horrid transaction, were anxious to make assurance doubly sure; and it was circulated with no common art throughout Paris, that it was intended to conduct the king to the scaffold, merely to impress the monarchs of Europe with a proper awe for the sovereignty of the French people. Besides, the savage conductors of this atrocious proceeding had given orders, that, on the least attempt in favour of fallen majesty, the king should be instantly sacrificed; so that from the absolute certainty that this commission would be executed on the one hand, and the hopes which the friends of the king had been artfully induced to entertain on the other, they were secure of attaining the consummation of their bloody wishes.—The people of Paris may offer some excuse for their calm endurance, as it appears, of such a crime. But the moment succeeded, when they would have been aroused from their stupor, and

have awakened into vengeance: nor will all the refinement of Jacobin cunning wipe away the eternal stain of cowardice, which their subsequent and tame submission to the murderers of Louis has fixed upon them. It has indeed been asserted with some degree of confidence, and the opinion has had its supporters, that the king himself had been persuaded that he should not be put to death. There is, however, no reason, at least that we have been able to discover, to induce us to believe that he received any such intimation. But be that as it may, he does not appear to have cherished any delusive hope, even for an instant; while the calm and resigned spirit which he manifested, to the last moment of his life, incontrovertibly prove, that he was not influenced by the alternate operations of hope and fear; and that he was not agitated by those doubts and emotions which never fail to accompany a state of doubt and suspense. This devoted monarch considered himself from the earliest period of his imprisonment as beyond any redemption, but that which was purchased for him in common with the rest of mankind, by the saviour of the world.

The injustice of his sentence has never been doubted for a moment, by any reflecting mind. It is impossible to deceive mankind by denominating Louis a traitor and a tyrant: it is impossible to prove, that there were any grounds for his condemnation: it is impossible to prevent the whole civilized world from perceiving the contrast between the magnanimous resignation of an innocent victim, and the ferocious ambition of his accusers
and

and assassins. This action alone proves that kings can be virtuous and republicans unjust. It was impossible to impute the crime of the king's death to the mad effervescence, or rage of the moment : it could not be assigned to the frenzy of patriotism : the authors of it therefore were forced, as it were, to avow it as their voluntary act, and to hold forth to the disgust and execration of all Europe the measure of their iniquity.

Louis has been blamed by some, whose zeal has outrun their reflection, for humiliating himself as he did before the national convention. When he found himself at the bar of that assembly, he should, in their opinion, have declared that he had nothing to answer to revolted subjects ; and that he acknowledged no judge but God alone. But, what would such a declaration have availed him before a tribunal, composed of the most wicked, and savage men in the world. Nor can we suppose for a moment that it would have saved him from the fate to which the Jacobins had, in some way or other, devoted him ; while it would have stifled those proofs of his innocence, and for ever veiled that real greatness of mind, which his trial, such as it was, presented to the view of lamenting and admiring Europe. If he had possessed sufficient energy and activity of mind, even to have made such a resistance, and presented himself in such a manner to his enemies, he would have repressed by vigorous exertion the early attempts against his government, and would never have been reduced to the fatal extremity of being criminally accused and condemned by any court in the world.

It was his want of this spirit that rendered fruitless his flight from Paris, which his enemies have made a principal ground of attack on the character of this unhappy monarch. That he disapproved of the constitution, in its then existing state, there can be little doubt, in the minds of those who are acquainted with it. That he was a prisoner in his own palace is well known : that he was anxious to obtain a free constitution for himself and his people, was a natural, as there is every reason to believe it was the sincere wish of his heart ; and no means appeared so probable to produce success in such an important object, as removing himself to a situation where he could act without fear, and be informed of the real wishes of the French nation. But whatever advantage might be afforded to his enemies, by this natural though unsuccessful effort to free himself from such a degrading and servile state, it remained with them but for a moment, and could form no future charge against him. For even if it should be allowed that his departure from Paris were a crime, it was completely done away by the subsequent offer of the crown on the part of the people, and the acceptance of the constitution on the part of the king. This compact between them must either be considered as a mutual act of oblivion, which blotted out every charge of former offence ; or the people spontaneously placed a sceptre in the hands of a detected traitor and approved tyrant. But their future conduct decides the question : for in the month of July, in the following year, the nation continued to acknowledge that Louis was the

monarch of their free choice and deliberate will, by a renewal of their oath of fidelity to him. Empowered as they were, to observe and watch his conduct, the people gave him this added testimony of their loyalty and attachment. It must, however, be observed, that in a very short space of time the populace had been so artfully tutored into disaffection, that, without alledging one specific charge of infringing the laws, or counteracting the effects of the constitution, the mayor of Paris was deputed to carry to the bar of the convention the arrogant and perfidious resolutions of the sections, no longer to recognise Louis XVI. for their king. The arrival of an armed banditti from the south still more practised in murder, and inured to blood than even the rabble of the metropolis, and invited as pioneers to hew their way to the throne, through every obstacle that justice, humanity, or religion, could oppose to them, brings us onward to those scenes of horror that blacken the history of a former year, and which there can be no temptation to repeat.

It has been asserted, by those whose assertions will always receive attention, though they do not always carry conviction; that if the powers of Europe, but especially those who remained neutral, had interposed with calmness and moderation in favour of Louis XVI. that he would have been saved at least from death. To this opinion we cannot assent. On the contrary, every circumstance connected with that event—the views of the predominant party in the convention at the time: their spirit, character, and conduct, all too clearly prove,

that they would have treated the interference of other powers, as they did that of Spain: they would have passed from their applications to the order of the day.—But let them speak for themselves. “The government of England (said they) is arming; and the king of Spain, encouraged by that circumstance, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us; but no—a people who has made itself free: a people who has driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians; the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant.”

That Louis possessed considerable talents, and that he had cultivated them with attention, cannot now be denied. His demeanour during his trial, and on the scaffold, and the paper he left behind him as his will, have raised his character since his death beyond the reach of his enemies, and given it a much higher estimation, than it possessed amid the splendour of his early fortune. It must nevertheless be owned, though we know not how to impute it to him as a reproach, that nature had lavished upon him in benevolence, what she had withheld from him in energy. His education was not altogether well conducted, and he came, at a very early period of life, into the possession of one of the most splendid and powerful thrones in the world. His understanding was sufficient to discern the corruptions around him, and his virtue

virtue disdained and lamented them : but he was too indolent, too good-natured, that is, too fearful of giving pain, to exert himself in the controul and correction of them. The gentleness of his nature, and the amiable pliancy of his temper, which, when accompanied with piety, enabled him to support the evils that befell him, disqualified him, in a great measure, for that power and promptitude of exertion which would have prevented their approach. To use the emphatic words of M. de Malesherbes, " he was as pious as Louis IX. just as Louis XII. and humane as Henry IV. ; and his only fault was that of conducting himself too much as the father of his people, and not enough as their king." His fate was deplored by the surrounding nations, who considered it as an act of assassination ; and their respective courts put on mourning as is usual on the death of kings. Indeed, we most readily adopt the opinion of Mr. Fox, in his address to the electors of Westminster, that there is not a person

in Europe out of France, who does not consider this sad catastrophe, as a most revolting act of cruelty and injustice.

Louis XVI. king of France, was born the 23d of August, 1754, ascended the throne on the 10th of May, 1774, and reigned eighteen years and three months.

Some of the members of the convention, who had been most zealous in their endeavours to preserve the king's life, immediately after his death resigned their seats in that assembly ; particularly Kersaint and Manuel. The minister Roland was also impelled by the same motives to declare his resignation. Pâché, the minister for the war department, was soon after dismissed ; and Bournonville was appointed to succeed him. In a very short time after the condemnation of the king, M. Peltier de Saint Fargeau, a deputy of the convention, who had voted for his death, was assassinated ; and public honours were decreed to his memory.

CHAP. VI.

Events which followed from the decapitation of Louis XVI. Correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin. The Departure of M. Chauvelin. M. Maret's Return to England. Conference proposed between Lord Auckland and General Dumourier. France declares War against England and Holland. Reflections on that Event. The Convention threatens to address the People of England. Dumourier proposes to take possession of Maestricht. His Return to the Army. Plan for attacking Holland. Breda besieged and taken. Klundert and Guertruydenberg, besieged and taken. Williamstadt besieged. The French Army evacuates Klundert, and retreats to Antwerp. Maestricht besieged. New Constitution of France. Cagliari attacked by the French Fleet, which is repulsed. Advantages obtained over the French by the Imperial Army. France declares War against Spain. The Siege of Maestricht raised. The Battle of Neerwinden. Negotiation between the Austrian General and Dumourier. The latter retreats to Tournay, &c. Jacobin Deputies sent from Paris to Dumourier. Commissioners sent from the Convention to arrest that General. They are conveyed, by his Orders, as Prisoners to the Austrians. He quits France, and is received by the Austrians. Reflections. The French Army re-organized under General Dampierre. Action near St. Amand. Battle of Famars. Condé and Valenciennes surrender to the Imperial Arms. Mentz surrenders to the King of Prussia. Rebellion in La Vendé. Paoli denounced by the Citizens of Toulon.

IT could not be supposed, that such an event as the decapitation of Louis XVI. could take place, without producing various consequences which must very much affect the state and condition of the country where it happened.—A war with England was the first of them.

When the dreadful transactions of the 10th of August, and the 2d and 3d of September, at Paris, had overturned the French constitution, to which the people had so lately sworn allegiance, and the regal power was tyrannically dissolved, his Britannic majesty thought it right to recall his ambassador, lord Gower, from Paris, as there was no power legally constituted with

whom he could communicate. M. Chauvelin, the accredited minister of his most Christian majesty, still remained in London, by his own intrigues and contrivance, though his functions ceased on the dethronement of the sovereign from whom he derived them; the English government not chusing to order his departure, as that would have been a virtual acknowledgment of the deposition of Louis XVI. though all official communication with him was immediately suspended. But when the French convention had passed from depositions to assassination, and their former sovereign had expired on the scaffold, the commission of M. Chauvelin was altogether annihilated, and he received

received orders from government to quit the kingdom. This person, who was very generally suspected, and not without sufficient reason, of intriguing with the discontented party in this country; who had long renounced the king, who sent him hither, and had sworn fidelity to his new masters, when they had dethroned his kind and early benefactor; was not only permitted to remain here unmolested, but was at length suffered to hold a correspondence with the king's ministers, who hoped that, without recognizing the new French government, a friendly intercourse might be maintained, which, if France was influenced by pacific intentions, would ultimately tend to the accomplishment of pacific objects. In this unofficial correspondence, M. Chauvelin contended, that the decree of the French convention, dated the 19th November, 1792, which had encouraged all nations to rebel against their sovereigns, related only to a decided majority of the people struggling for freedom; as if a decided majority stood in need of foreign assistance. He declared, that the French would not attack Holland, as long as it remained neutral, as if it had not observed the most rigid neutrality, and nevertheless had been already attacked; and represented the question of opening the Scheldt as too unimportant to England, or Holland, to be the cause of a war. It was also suggested, that, in the course of this correspondence, the French were more friendly to the English nation than its own government; and something of a menace was also held forth, that an appeal would be

made, on that principle, from France to the English people.

In answer to these assertions, it was observed, that the obnoxious decree still remained in force, and could not be explained away: that if the question of the Scheldt was of so little importance, it proved, in how small a degree of estimation the convention held the friendship or neutrality of Great Britain, by violating a treaty which she had guaranteed, and by encroaching on the territories and rights of her allies: that, instead of retracting, they continued their usurpation, though they knew that the utmost importance had been attached, by Great Britain, to the independence of the Netherlands; and that she would never, with indifference, see France aiming, directly or indirectly, at the sovereignty of those countries, or assuming to arbitrate on the rights and liberties of Europe. That though England had carefully abstained from all interference in the internal affairs of France, the latter, by encouraging republican addresses from republican clubs and associations in England, had made a very unsuitable return: that France had revoked the decree by which she renounced all ideas of conquest, and had acted on a principle of universal aggrandizement; a principle, that set at defiance the power, as it menaced the tranquillity of every country in Europe: in short, it was declared by lord Grenville, that if France desired to maintain peace with the British empire, she must atone for her acts of aggression, abandon the places she had conquered, and retire within her ancient limits. Here then the.

the business rested between lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin, and M. Chauvelin was ordered to leave this country.

So much has been said respecting M. Maret, and his mission, and the refusal of ministers to enter into any negotiation with him, has been a topic so repeatedly urged by those who impute the war to the rashness and folly of ministers, that we think it necessary to state what we conceive to be the truth, respecting that gentleman's residence in England. It is well known, that, the party in opposition, both in and out of parliament, have been in the habit of asserting, that M. Maret came to this country expressly to treat with ministers, and that they refused to treat with him. But these assertions are ill-founded, and must have been the effect of misrepresentation on the part of those to whom the leaders of opposition were in the habits of applying for information respecting the conduct and designs of France. The first visit of M. Maret to England related solely to the domestic concerns of the duke of Orleans; and he never pretended to have any other business. His interview with Mr. Pitt was wholly unofficial, and was admitted by the minister, because he was anxious to do any thing, and every thing consistent with the honour of the nation, that might prevent a war with France. Of this interview, M. Maret always spoke in terms of great satisfaction; and never failed to consider Mr. Pitt's conduct in the course of it with great respect, both as to his general demeanour and his pacific dispositions. In fact, from the favourable account he transmitted to Pa-

ris, of his reception by Mr. Pitt, he fully expected that, on the return of the courier, he should be authorised to treat, as a confidential minister, with the British government. But M. Chauvelin, to whom he had unfortunately communicated his interview with Mr. Pitt, and who was jealous of every Frenchman that arrived in London, contrived to counteract the projects of a man whom he considered as a rival; so that the answer transmitted from the executive counsel contained a very severe reprimand; and while it forbid Maret, in rather angry terms, to enter into any explanation whatever, or even to speak to Mr. Pitt on the subject of public affairs, ordered him to refer the English minister to M. Chauvelin, who was furnished with the proper explanations, and to return immediately to Paris. In January, 1793, however, M. Maret, was ordered to revisit England, preparatory to the projected embassy of Dumourier, who was to have been invested with full powers, to arrange every subsisting difference, between his own and this country. This will not be denied; but that all intercourse was refused him by the king's ministers, is a most egregious mistake; for the fact is, that he never solicited a moment's audience of them. As M. Chauvelin left London at the time that Maret quitted Paris, the latter apprehended, that the sudden appearance of M. Chauvelin, in the convention, already aggravated by inflammatory misrepresentations, would render it necessary for the executive counsel to make some alteration in his instructions. Impressed with this idea, M. Maret, on his arrival at Dover, wrote to M. Le Brun,

Brun, the secretary for foreign affairs, at Paris, that he should not desire an interview with the English minister until fresh instructions arrived. He remained, however, in London, for the space of eight days, and never received a line from the French ministry, during that time. He wrote an official notice to lord Grenville, on his arrival, merely to inform his lordship, that he had come over to take charge of the diplomatic papers in the house of the French envoy. This note, and a letter to the same minister, on his departure, formed the whole intercourse between him and the English government. What the particular grounds of his mission were, is not known, but there is good reason to believe, that they were not sufficient to have acted upon, without the concurrence of other circumstances, which intermediate events might have checked or controuled. M. Maret, therefore, returned to France, and learned on his arrival there, that war had been declared against England. Indeed, from every circumstance connected with M. Chauvelin, and M. Maret, as well as from the sentiments of M. Le Brun, it appears, that the French, while they were claiming the diplomatic recognition of M. Chauvelin, sending over M. Maret to England, and suggesting an ambassador of far greater importance in the person of general Dumas, had already determined to declare war against England. M. Chauvelin is known to have communicated his official instructions, and they positively stated that the freedom of the Scheldt, and the acknowledgment of himself as ambassador from the French republic,

must precede all communication between the two countries: and he made no secret of declaring, that if he was not received at St. James's, according to the tenor of his credentials, it would be the height of his ambition to leave this country, with a declaration of war.

The leaders, as well as the emissaries of opposition, were in the habit of seeing and communicating freely with M. Chauvelin, who, in addition to his other indiscretions, stated it as a proof of merit to his employers that he was in confidential intercourse with those who were in direct hostility to the measures of the sovereign to whom he was accredited; and with whose ministers alone he ought to have communed on the public affairs and interests of the two nations. But the folly and impropriety of this conduct, in the French envoy, would not have had any importance annexed to it, if it had not been countenanced by the French executive counsel. If M. Le Brun, and his associates, had really wished to have prevented hostilities with this country, they would carefully have avoided whatever might have given umbrage, or excited the jealousy of government; nor would they have hesitated a moment to reprimand their envoy, if their dispositions towards Great Britain had been sincere and pacific, when he made a proud boast, and urged it as an argument for his being continued after he had been recalled; that though he was ill with ministers, he was well with opposition: but they did no such thing;—on the contrary, they admitted the plea, and allowed him to remain. There is every reason

to believe, that M. Chauvelin, and others deceived their friends here respecting the real dispositions of the French government, as the French government was misinformed by them, in return, concerning the internal state of this country. For it was most firmly believed in France, that, if a war should take place with England, there would be an instant and universal revolt throughout this country. Hence it was, that M. Le Brun, in his discourse to the convention, assured them, that the English people, dissatisfied and oppressed, only waited for the signal to form a general insurrection.—Such were the opinions which M. Chauvelin communicated; and they were well received, because they were such as the French government wished to receive: on the contrary, when M. Noel, who had been sent here on official business, a man of character, talents, and discernment, endeavoured to undeceive M. Le Brun respecting the real state of Great Britain; when he informed him, that the opposition which had never been very formidable, were sinking every day in numbers, as well as in the public opinion; and that the people were ready to defend their king, their country, and its laws, with their lives and fortunes, he incurred the displeasure of the minister. In short, it appears that Great Britain let no occasion pass consistent with her dignity to avert the miseries of war; and that the failure of her pacific designs proceeded not from herself, but the mad ambition of France: nay, at the moment when lord Auckland was preparing, with the permission of his court, to engage in the inter-

view proposed by Dumourier, war was declared with the most outrageous insult by the French convention; and no alternative was left but the sword. As the question of aggression, and to whom it is imputable, in the war wherein we are unhappily engaged, is a topic that has called the talents of our leading parties into repeated exertion, we shall endeavour to examine it with that attention which the subject requires; and that cannot, we presume, be better done than by considering, in their order, the various grounds on which the French government founded their declaration of war against England, and the United Provinces of Holland. The decree began in the following manner:

“The national convention having heard the report of its committee of general defence, on the conduct of the English government towards France, consider that the king of England has persisted, especially since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being ill-disposed to the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads.”—And here we shall beg leave to remark, that this was the first time of its being stated by France, that England had, in the smallest degree, departed, before the date of the armaments then preparing, from the strict line of neutrality, which the king had resolved to pursue respecting the affairs of France: and that the convention were not justified in bringing such a charge must appear from this very striking circumstance: that the very first paper which M. Chauvelin delivered to his majesty's ministers on his arrival

rival in this country, contained the grateful acknowledgements of the French government, for the strict neutrality which the king had observed between France, and the other powers at war with her.

The next charge was "that the king of England had ordered his ambassador to withdraw himself from France and refused to acknowledge the provisional executive council created by the legislative assembly.

In answer to this, it must be remembered, that, on the 10th of August, a scene of massacre had taken place at Paris, which had been regularly planned and executed with circumstances so shocking, as to fill every mind that contemplates it with horror. The murders and savage cruelty of that day threw into the hands of the perpetrators the whole power of France: would it therefore have become the character of Great Britain to make her minister treat one day with the king of France, and the very next day with those who had dethroned him; and by a succession of actions which must appeal every feeling mind that reflects on them. On such an occasion Lord Gower was ordered to do what was best suited to the dignified and humane character of the British nation. It is not indeed to be contended, that, because a country has changed its government, other nations have right to interfere in its concerns: but it may surely be maintained, that every surrounding nation has a right to expect the establishment of such a government, as will give security to the people at home, and tranquillity to the neighbouring states; and that until such go-

vernment should be established, they are not bound to enter upon the question of recognition; but are justified in waiting to see the effects of any institution, which might be set up for the moment, by those who for the time possessed the power of the country. It was possible that a faction might for a time obtain that power; and it cannot surely be contended, that a foreign nation is bound to recognize the government of such a faction, until it should appear to have had the sanction of the people at large. This principle, applied to the situation of France, at and before the 10th of August, would decide the question, and incontrovertibly shew that our ambassador ought not to have been authorized to declare an immediate recognition of the new government. It is well known, that the constituent assembly had, with the almost unanimous concurrence of the nation, established a limited monarchy in France. It is equally notorious that a republican party existed in that kingdom, which, though small in its beginning, had, by the talents, the audacity, the art, and the wickedness of its leaders, acquired a formidable influence. In the second assembly its power encreased, and it began to entertain hopes of overturning the monarchy, and establishing a republic on its ruins. With this view the persons who composed it began to agitate plans for carrying their design into execution; but they were no sooner suspected by the people at large, than addresses were sent up from the various departments, declaring their determination to maintain the constitution with a limited monarchy at its head, and oppose at all hazards, a republican

republican establishment. The legislative assembly also devoted to execration all those who should attempt to alter the constitution, or attack the throne. The republican party however prevailed; its horrid schemes of revolution were executed on the 10th of August, and the legislative assembly, being surrounded by a military force, and, with the daggers of murderers and conspirators pointed at their breasts, were compelled to rescind their own decree; to abolish the constitution, which each of them, and the whole nation had sworn to maintain, and, by suspending the king, to establish a republican government. Had the British ambassador been ordered to acknowledge the new order of things at this moment, in how distressing and disgraceful a situation he would have been placed. Had the departments done what, from their unanimous addresses, might have been expected; had they marched their troops to Paris to release the captive king, to chastise an audacious faction, and restore a constitution which had so lately been received by the nation at large; in what a degrading light must Lord Gower have appeared; one day recognizing the king, the next acknowledging the conspirators who had dethroned him, and then accompanying the departments to address him once more on his throne. The only way to avoid such a scandalous scene was, to recall the ambassador; by which measure his majesty's ministers were more likely to know what was the sense of the people of France, and to discover what would be the government of their adoption. The recall of Lord Gower appears, therefore, to have been a

measure of great prudence and wisdom, and could form no rational ground for a declaration of war on the part of France.

The next charge brought against England by the national convention is, "that the cabinet of Saint James's has ceased since the same period to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of Louis XVI.; and that since the opening of the national convention, it has refused to assume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the powers of that assembly; that it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, though provided with letters of credit in its name."

This charge has been in a great measure answered. For it cannot surely be denied, that it was absolutely necessary to know what degree of stability the new government of France was likely to acquire, before any country should deem it proper or safe to recognize it. Besides, it is not true that all correspondence had ceased between France and Great Britain, as the ministers of the latter had treated in an unofficial way with M. Chauvelin; by which mode of proceeding the question of recognition would not be prejudiced, and every good effect produced that could arise from the most regular correspondence.

The succeeding charge accused the British government of "endeavouring" to impede the different purchases of corn, arms, and other commodities ordered in England, either by French citizens or the agents of the republic; and that it had caused several boats and ships laden with

with grain for France to be stopped, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other foreign countries was free."—This charge must be admitted to be founded in truth, but it certainly contains no fair or rational ground for war. In the first place, the crown is generally allowed to possess the prerogative of prohibiting the exportation of arms and military stores; but such were the existing circumstances, that it was thought right, at this time, to strengthen the prerogative by an act of Parliament. With respect to stopping the exportation of corn, it was a measure that the circumstances of the period demanded, as well as that of naval and military stores. England had an incontrovertible right to judge what quantity of corn could be spared from her own consumption, and she had accordingly prohibited generally the exportation of English corn. It must, however, be admitted that the prohibition had another object, and extended to foreign grain intended for France: and if it was the opinion of our government, as we presume it was, that France was meditating a rupture with us, and was making preparations for that purpose, it would have been a most unpardonable negligence, to say no worse, in our ministers, to have permitted her to have drawn supplies from hence for those fleets and armies, which were intended to be employed against the British empire. At the same time, it appears that the prohibition was merely confined to English corn and English vessels: the former was not allowed to be exported in any vessels, and the latter were not allowed to carry any corn to the ports of France.

The charge that follows, which, without much impropriety, might be passed by unnoticed, accuses the British cabinet of "having endeavoured to obstruct the commercial operations of the republic in England, by obtaining an act of parliament for prohibiting the circulation of assignats."—This was, indeed a most atrocious offence on our part, who most certainly deserved to be punished with the calamity of a war, for having endeavoured to prevent the paper of the bank of England from coming in contact with the assignats of France; who, after having forced them on the point of the bayonet into currency among her own people, was, without doubt, entitled to complain and threaten, when she found them resisted in any other country.

The decree now proceeds as follows: "That in violation of the 4th article of the treaty of 1786, the British government had obtained another act, by which all French citizens, residing in or coming to England, are subjected to the most inquisitorial, vexatious, and dangerous formalities."—In the first place, it appears that these regulations were necessarily adopted for our own safety; and it is rather extraordinary that they should be considered as infractions of a treaty, which, if that opinion were allowed, had been broken every day in France during the last four years, as is well known by every one who has passed through any part of that country during that period. Were not the English in France obliged to procure passports? But this is not all, they were obliged also to exhibit them, not as the French in England are bound to do, to civil magistrates, but to every officer and

and soldier of the regular army, of the national guards, and the national gendarmerie, who should think proper to demand them. The English were also liable to visits from persons sent to look for arms, and to various other very troublesome and mortifying formalities. On comparing then the regulations of the alien act, with those practised in France, they cannot be considered as vexatious or inquisitorial: dangerous indeed they may be, but to such Frenchmen only as should come into this country, for the purpose of exciting discontents and sedition.

The next charge declares, "That, at the same time, and contrary to the treaty of the first article of the peace of 1783, England granted protection and pecuniary aid, not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs of the rebels, who have already fought against France: that it has maintained with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution; and that it has also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West India colonies."—The only part of this charge that can be answered, because it is the only one that is specifically mentioned, relates to the humanity with which a large number of unfortunate persons who fled from the savage barbarities of their inhuman and infidel persecutors, have been received in England. But instead of considering this charge as an act of hostility, we should rather glory in it, as a proof of that noble and disinterested benevolence which distinguishes the British character. At the same time we cannot dismiss the subject without observing, that while the French rulers com-

plained of our receiving their emigrants, they actually encouraged emigrants from Holland, formed them into a corps, called them the Batavian Legion, and posted them on the frontiers of Holland, to encourage a revolution party in that country. Thus it appears as if France expected to enjoy an exclusive privilege of doing that without guilt, which, if done by another nation, would draw down upon it French vengeance and French arms.

The declaration next proceeds to state, "That with the same spirit, without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's has ordered a considerable naval armament, and an augmentation of the land forces: that this armament was ordered at a moment, when the English minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French constitution in England, and was employing all possible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English nation, and of all Europe; and that the object of this armament intended against France was not even disguised in the English parliament."—To this long article of accusation it may be answered—that the armament did not take place in England, until France had sent a considerable squadron into the Mediterranean, till she had occupied with her armies the Austrian Netherlands, till she had violated the rights of our allies, and refused to give any satisfactory explanations of her conduct. As to the accusation against the English minister, for persecuting with bitter-
ness

ness all those who supported the principles of the French revolution, it may be readily answered, by observing, that no persons were prosecuted but such as had endeavoured to excite sedition. If, therefore, this charge were true, it must necessarily follow, that the principles of the French revolution leave a natural tendency to make men seditious. It cannot surely be said, with the least degree of justice, that the English minister had drawn down on the French republic the execration of the English people, and of all Europe. Alas! the republic itself, or rather its convention, had completely produced that effect, by its unexampled acts of barbarity, oppression, and injustice; by its cruel imprisonment, lawless trial, and atrocious murder of the king. It is most true, that the object of the armament was not disguised in England; on the contrary, it was avowed to be fitted out for the purpose of fulfilling our engagements with our allies, and raising a barrier to check the aggrandising spirit of France.

The succeeding charges declares, "That although the provisional executive council of France has employed every measure for preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation, and has replied to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of freemen, the English minister has persevered in his system of malevolence and hostility, continued the armaments, and sent a squadron to the Scheldt, to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium."—It would be a needless waste of argument to insist on the possibility

of fitting out a fleet with a view to preserve peace, rather than to engage in war; that circumstances will arrive, when it is necessary, without any design of immediate hostility, to prepare for it. This was the situation of Great Britain at this time; and it cannot surely be considered, with any appearance of justice, that she had not a right to send a squadron to the Scheldt, to disturb the operations of the French in the Netherlands. The conquest of those provinces was their object; but as they never could expect to retain them, whilst Holland remained a distinct and independent state, the possession of the United Provinces became a necessary part of their plan: it was the duty, therefore, as well as the interest of Great Britain, from her alliance with Holland, her political character in Europe, and her relative position to the countries in question, to exert all the means in her power to defeat it.

The next charge includes an event, the recollection of whose enormity must be attended with sorrow and execration, while a sense of justice and humanity continues to influence the human mind. "That on the news of the execution of Louis the English minister carried his outrages to the French republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the British territory within eight days: and that the king of England had manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his design of supporting it, by different resolutions adopted at the moment of his death, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to parliament, for a considerable addition

of

of land and sea-forces, and putting ships of war in commission."—"The murder of Louis XVI. has been already so often deplored and execrated by us, that we shall not repeat our feelings or opinions on that savage and lamentable event. Europe heard it with horror: at such a moment, therefore, to have received M. Chauvelin as a minister, from a body of men so branded with infamy as the rulers of France then were, and who, instead of giving satisfactory explanations of their conduct, absolutely presumed to hold out menaces against us, would have betrayed a pusillanimity which no state of our affairs could justify or excuse. Besides, if M. Chauvelin had been admitted as minister to an audience of our king, after the murder of his own, he must, if he had possessed the common feelings of our nature, have been covered with confusion at seeing the sovereign and his court clad in mourning: and though he would not have shared their internal feelings, he must have adopted, for the ceremonial, the inky suit of black. But this is not all, he must have passed through the streets of a city, where almost every one wore the garb of sorrow, and execrated the deed which had given occasion to put it on. It was not impossible but the public indignation might have been aroused against a man who represented the murderers of their king, and the sacred laws of nations might have been unhappily violated by the insults offered to his person. To send him away, therefore, was a wise and just proceeding. It is certainly true, that, after the murder of Louis XVI. the armaments were increased; not, how-

ever, on account of that melancholy event, but from that general conduct of France, which evidently manifested its determination to declare war with Great Britain and Holland. It may also be observed, that the non-residence of an ambassador at a court is not in itself a ground for war; as there are countries, which from etiquette or punctilio are not in the habit of interchanging diplomatic ministers; and yet those nations are in perfect amity with each other. The last charge is as follows:

"That his secret coalition with the enemies of France, and particularly with the Emperor and Prussia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with the first in the month of January: that he has drawn into the same coalition the Stadtholder of Holland: that this Prince, whose servile obsequiousness to the orders of the Courts of St. James's and Berlin is but too well known, has in the course of the French revolution, and notwithstanding the neutrality which he professed, treated with disdain the agents of France, received the emigrants, harassed the French patriots, counteracted their operations, released, in opposition to established usage, and notwithstanding the demand of the French minister, persons who had been guilty of forging assignats: that, in the mean time, with a view to concur in the hostile designs of the court of London, he gave orders for a naval armament; named an admiral, appointed Dutch ships to join the English fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a stop to exportations to France, while he favoured the sending supplies of provisions to the Prussian and Austrian magazines.

"Considering,

"Considering, in fine, that all these circumstances no longer leave to the French Republic any hope of obtaining, by means of amicable negotiation, the redress of these grievances, and that all the acts of the British Court, and of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, are acts of hostility, equivalent to a declaration of war, the national convention decrees as follows :

"Article I. The national convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that considering the multiplied acts of hostility and aggression of the above-mentioned powers, the French nation is at war with the king of England, and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces."

With respect to the assertion, that England had formed a coalition with Austria and Prussia, and that a treaty had been entered into by them, for the purpose of giving effect to what has been called the concert of Princes, a very simple answer may be given : it has no foundation in truth : no such treaty or coalition having been formed. At the same time, when ministers perceived that war was inevitable, it was not only reasonable, but their absolute duty to advise their sovereign to confer with those powers who had a common cause with him ; for the purpose of concerting such operations as might be necessary to promote their common interest, in opposing the pernicious principles and insatiate ambition of the French government.

Such were the charges which formed the justification of the French convention in declaring war against England ; and such are the answers which we have select-

ed to satisfy every reasonable, reflecting, and loyal Britain, that, on the principles of honour, justice, and policy, we could not maintain peace with France ; that the war in which this country is unhappily engaged, is a war of dire necessity, and that it must be continued with all its consequences, be they what they may, till we have obtained security for ourselves, and for Europe.

In order, however, to render this declaration of war more satisfactory to the people of France, and to inspire them with ardor in fulfilling its objects, the diplomatic committee, and the committee of general defence made two reports ; in which they represented Great Britain and Ireland, as well as our colonies and settlements in the East and West Indies, as an easy prey, and a wealthy booty to the brave and free spirit of Frenchmen ; while there was nothing to be seen on the side of France, but strength, wisdom, and unanimity ; and every thing on the part of England announced weakness, incapacity, and discord.

Having thus examined at large the alleged and real causes of this most mischievous and fatal war, we must now proceed to an history of the war itself, and change the combat of words for that of the sword. It may, however, be previously observed, that the English government had just concluded a treaty of commerce with Russia, and taken a large body of German troops into its service, and engaged the king of Sardinia, for a yearly subsidy of 200,000*l.* to join the Austrians in Italy, with a very considerable military force. Alliances were also formed with Austria,

[R] Prussia,

Prussia, Spain, Holland, Portugal, and Russia, all of whom agreed, with more or less reservation, to shut their ports against the vessels of France. But Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, refused to join the confederacy. The king of the two Sicilies agreed to furnish 6000 men, and four ships of the line, to the common cause. The Empire also furnished its contingent to the Austrian and Prussian armies, and British troops were sent to Holland, for its defence and protection, under the command of his royal highness the duke of York.

It had been proposed by general Dumourier, in the month of Nov. 1792, to the executive power of France, to take Maestricht; the possession of which place was essential to the defence of the Meuse, and the country of Liege, and to engage, by an authentic manifesto, to restore it at the end of the war: a measure, which, though in appearance hostile to Holland, was not without examples in former wars. Situated as he then was, and commanding an army so furnished and so victorious, he did not entertain the least doubt of speedy success; more particularly as Maestricht was by no means in a condition to sustain the force with which it was in his power to attack it. The executive council, however, rejected these propositions, and forbade him to transgress the neutrality of Holland.

In the mean time Dumourier had thought it necessary to return to Paris; and his visit to that capital was at that distressful period when Louis XVI. was tried and executed. No one appears to have execrated the conduct of the convention more than himself; and

he mentions, in his memoirs, that he exerted himself in every way in his power to save the life of his sovereign, but in vain. After that dreadful catastrophe, he returned to Flanders, and as war was in a short time declared by France against Great Britain and Holland, he determined to attack the latter. He accordingly assembled an army at Antwerp, where several emigrant Hollanders, of character and consequence in their own country, formed a revolutionary association to assist the general by intelligence relative to the interior parts of the United Provinces, and to maintain a correspondence with the dissaffected parties in them. The plan proposed by this Batavian committee was an irruption into Zealand; but M. Dumourier was determined, if possible, to effect a passage across an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate into the very heart of Holland. It was an adventurous design, which marked the character of the man who formed it; and as that country was at this time almost as ill-provided for defence as Savoy and Nice had been, there is every reason to believe that it would have yielded to the rapid movements of the French army, if the English forces had not arrived in time to check its progress. The army, which Dumourier commanded on this occasion, consisted of twenty-one battalions, which, including cavalry and light troops, amounted to about 13,000 men. He was accompanied by the skilful engineer D'Arcon, who had invented the floating batteries at the siege of Gibraltar, a considerable number of Dutch emigrants, and a very violent proclamation, reviling both the king of England, as well

as the Stadtholder, and calling upon the Dutch to assist him in destroying the power of their aristocratic tyrant.

The French army entered the Dutch territories on the 17th of February, and attacked Breda, which surrendered by capitulation, and the garrison marched out with their arms and field-pieces, under an explicit condition to continue to serve their country during the war. On the 26th Klundert surrendered, and on the 4th of March Gertruydenburg submitted after a bombardment of three days, on the same terms as those of Breda. These towns were certainly in a state to have resisted with more effect, and in the opinion of many to have defied their besiegers. It has therefore been suspected, that Dumourier owed the rapidity of his successes rather to the treachery of the Dutch commanders, than to the power of the French arms. Here, however, the career of his glory was terminated. The fortress of Williamstadt, whose garrison had been strengthened by a detachment from the brigade of English guards just arrived in Holland, and defended by some English and Dutch gun-boats, resisted every attack. The place was commanded by the brave old general count Botzlaer, and the French were forced at length to raise the siege with great loss. At the same time they evacuated Klundert, and retreated towards Antwerp, after setting fire to the village of Maerdick, as well as to their own batteries, and leaving several pieces of artillery behind them.

While these operations were proceeding in Holland, general Miranda had invested Maestricht with

20,000 men. On the 23d of Feb. his works were entirely completed, and on the following day he summoned the town to surrender, with a proclamation full of sanguinary menace; but the prince of Hesse, who commanded this fortress, declared his determination to defend it. To say that Maestricht was bombarded is saying nothing extraordinary, for it is one of the dreadful rights of war; but we cannot avoid remarking how vehemently the French inveighed against duke Albert for bombarding Lisle; and how little they have shewn themselves disposed to alleviate the rigour of martial law.

While these transactions were in agitation, the constitutional committee, appointed by the French convention to form a new plan of government, were assiduously employed on that important object. On the 15th of February M. Condorcet presented it to the convention: it was, however, never confirmed, and at length met the fate which it deserved, of being consigned to oblivion. It was one of those theoretic systems which the philosopher may form in his closet, but the politician can never apply to the purposes of social life. As it was never adopted, it would be superfluous in us to enlarge upon it.

As if France had not a sufficient number of enemies, its rulers determined to add another to them. The contemptuous manner in which the benevolent application of the king of Spain to the convention in behalf of Louis was treated has been already mentioned; and it could not but have given offence to the court of Madrid: some dis-

[R 2] position

position to hostilities might therefore have appeared in its general conduct. But be that as it may, on the 4th of March the convention declared war against the king of Spain; and one of the articles of accusation was particularly pointed at his zeal in behalf of their former sovereign. Fortune, that had so powerfully favoured the arms of France, now appeared to suspend its protection; and it was not in Holland alone that she had ceased to be propitious to them. In Italy the French power had received a check in an attack, which had been made with the most sanguine expectation of success on the island of Sardinia. A French fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, commanded by admiral Truguet, had sailed from Toulon, and on the 24th of January anchored in the harbour of Cagliari. The admiral immediately sent a detachment of twenty men, and an officer on shore, with the national flag, to demand the surrender of the place, which was instantly refused. The fleet then bombarded the city of Cagliari, and were answered by a brisk firing of red-hot balls. This attack was continued during three days, when the ships retired out of the reach of the batteries, but without quitting the Gulph. Several of the ships were damaged in their masts and rigging, and one was set on fire. The bombs of the enemy did no mischief, but in the suburbs below the city, and only five of its defenders were slain. During the bombardment, the French attempted to land in different places, but they were every where repulsed by the militia, and lost upwards of 600 men. The Sardinian mountaineers

displayed an astonishing intrepidity, and very few, if any of the French troops attempted to land, who were not killed or wounded. Admiral Truguet had been certain of success in his attack on Sardinia; and transports were actually in waiting to carry off the contents of the granaries, which were abundantly filled on that island.

General Miranda continued his investment of Maestricht: but on the 28th of February general Clairfayt passed the Roer in the night, repulsed the French army, as well on the side of Duren as that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat beyond Aldenhaven, with the loss on the side of the French of two thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, 12 pieces of cannon, 13 ammunition wagons, and the military chest; and, on the following day, his royal highness the archduke attacked several French batteries, and took nine pieces of artillery. On the 8th instant the prince of Saxe-Cobourg obtained a most complete victory over the French, chasing them out of Aix-la-Chapelle, as far as Liege, with a loss on their part of 4000 men killed, 1000 prisoners, and upwards of 20 pieces of cannon. On the same day prince Frederick of Brunswick took some batteries at Zwaone, killed 1300 of the French at Bruges, took 700 prisoners, and marched towards Ruremonde.

The victory obtained by the prince of Saxe-Cobourg forced general Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht, and to retire with precipitation, leaving some artillery and baggage behind him. Six thousand bombs had, during the siege, been
thrown

thrown into that town. He retreated without interruption to St. Trond, where general Valence formed a junction with him. Dumourier, who had left the command of the army in Holland to general Deflers, returned to sustain the character of the French army and his own in the Low Countries. On the 15th of March the advanced parts of the Imperial army had been beat back from Tirlemont, which was retaken by the enemy. On the 16th Dumourier attempted to pass the left wing of the Imperial army. On the 17th there was a change of position, and a brisk cannonade; and on the 18th a general engagement commenced at seven in the morning at Neerwinden; the French army being covered on the left by Dermael, and on the right by Landen. It was contended with great obstinacy till five in the evening. General Dumourier attacked the centre of the Imperial army with great vigour, but suffered a repulse; and he yielded to the same superior efforts from the Imperial right wing. In the afternoon, however, the French right wing gained some advantages; but the corps de reserve, commanded by general Clairfait, decided the day. The army of Dumourier retreated for some time in good order, but were at length entirely routed by the Austrian cavalry. The carnage was very great, and the French lost 4000 men, with several pieces of cannon: but the most unfortunate circumstance of the battle to the French army was the desertion of six thousand men. Such was the battle of Neerwinden, which, according to Dumourier himself, decided the fate of the campaign,

and the loss of which he imputes in his memoirs to the conduct of general Miranda. The latter, however, intimated a suspicion of treachery in the commander in chief: but wherever the fault lay, the battle was lost, and the Low Countries with it.

On the 19th there was no change in the principal position of either army: and on the 20th Dumourier posted himself behind Tirlemont, from whence he withdrew his magazines. It appears however that he did not think his present situation secure, or that it afforded protection either to Louvain or Brussels. On the 21st, therefore, he passed the Welpé, and encamped near Banterem, having his right at Op and Neerwelpé, and his left on the heights, and in the woods of Zuelenberg. Here he was attacked by a party of Austrians who were repulsed; and while the general was occupied in giving directions concerning it, La Croix and Danton arrived in the camp as commissioners from the national convention: from thence they went to Louvain; and, after the discussion of some parts of Dumourier's conduct, they returned to Paris. On the 22d he thought it prudent to approach nearer to Louvain, and accordingly posted himself between Tirlemont and that city: and on the following day he was attacked by the Austrians, when an obstinate engagement ensued, in which no particular advantage seems to have been gained. Dumourier calls it brilliant day, though it does appear to have produced any brilliant effects in favour of the French cause. On the 23d after this action the general ordered colonel Mountjoye to the

quarters of the prince de Cobourg, to make some arrangement relative to the wounded and prisoners. He there saw colonel Mack, and, in consequence of an interview with that officer, it was agreed, between him and Dumourier, to observe the following articles: First, That the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor general Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperial army. Secondly, That, on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels, slowly, and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, That general Dumourier and colonel Mack should have another interview, after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that then might be deemed necessary by both parties." Such was the verbal agreement between the two generals, which was become more and more necessary to Dumourier, as his army was diminishing every hour, and his store of ammunition almost exhausted; nor was he without a very alarming suspicion, that if he should be attacked in force by the enemy, he should be abandoned by a great part of his army. The reality of his apprehensions appeared on the following day, when general Clairfait, who had not been informed of the stipulations already recited, attacked an advanced guard of general Miranda, posted at Pellenback, which compelled the latter to abandon Louvain; while Dumourier, execrating the conduct of his generals, was forced to retreat, during the night, towards Brussels. He then formed a camp near Vilvorde, where he re-

mained some days, without being harrassed, or even interrupted, by the prince de Cobourg.

On the 25th, he passed through Brussels with his army; and on the 27th, he arrived at Ath, where he received orders to arrest the colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry and general Miranda.

While he remained in this situation, he received such an unfavourable account of the state and condition of the citadel of Namur, from general D'Harville, who commanded it, that he gave orders for its evacuation, and that the garrison should retire to Givet and Maubeuge.

On the same day, colonel Mack arrived at Ath, and a further agreement was entered into between them. It was settled, that the French army should remain, for some time, at Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being disturbed by the Imperial army; that general Dumourier, who had communicated his design of marching to Paris, should direct, as occasion might require, the motions of the Imperial troops, who should act merely as auxiliaries; and if he should not want their assistance, they were to remain on the frontiers. The total evacuation of Belgium was to be the price of this condescension. If, however, general Dumourier should find it impracticable to effect a counter-revolution without the aid of the Austrians, then he should indicate the number and kind of troops of which he should stand in need to exceed his design, and that they should be entirely subject to his command. After various other regulations had been settled with the Austrian officer, which were

were necessary to promote the design then in contemplation, Dumouriez departed for Tournay. On the following day, the 29th, several Jacobin deputies arrived at the same place, who came with dispatches from the minister Le Brun, and pretended to have certain communications to make relative to the affairs of Belgium. What their real views were, may be readily conjectured, by the following extract from the conversation which Dumourier has himself given in his Memoirs.—“They agreed with the general in the incapacity and disorderly state of the national convention, as well as on the absolute necessity of its annihilation, and the establishment of another legislature. But when it came to be considered how such a void should be filled up, one of these men ventured to observe, that the jacobins had already a president, registers, tribunes, and orators, and were in the habit of deliberating on the most important subjects: so that there would be no difficulty whatever in immediately forming a new government for France. On hearing these suggestions, Dumourier expressed, in the most pointed terms, his abhorrence of that society, and attributed to it, without the least reserve, all the dire misfortunes and indelible infamy of the French nation.” It may be supposed, that a conversation, which took this colour, must proceed in discontent and terminate in separation: these deputies, therefore, returned instantly to Paris, to repeat aloud all that had passed at Tournay, and to inflame the public against Dumourier. The general had already been the subject of censure and menace, in the national conven-

tion; and it was now determined, by the executive government, to dismiss him from his military command, and to appoint Bournonville, the minister of the war department, as his successor. Accordingly that officer, and four commissioners, were sent to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all military officers of every rank, whom they had reason to suspect, and bring them to the bar of the convention. When these commissioners were arrived at Lisle, they dispatched an order to the general to repair to that place, in order to answer to certain charges which had been brought against him. To this extraordinary summons, he replied, that the army required his presence, and he could not, for a moment, abandon it; but that, if the commissioners would proceed to him, he would answer them with his usual frankness, on the various subjects of their requisition: at the same time, if they did not chuse to continue their route to him, he would, in a few days, present himself to them, as soon as he had secured his retreat into the French territory, and had leisure to attend to any thing that was personal to himself. At the same time, he assured them, that he would not enter Lisle, but with his army, in order to punish the poltroons, who, forgetful of their own cowardice, employed themselves in calumniating the brave defenders of their country.

While the French troops were in a state of active service, and gathering the laurels of victory, they do not seem, at any time, to have disdained that spirit of subordination, which is essential to military service: but they are no sooner removed

moved from the objects of their enthusiasm, and inclosed in the walls of a garrison, than they become discontented, and throw off all subjection to their commanders. On the 29th of March, general Dumourier was informed from Antwerp, that the troops which he had stationed in that city, consisting of twenty thousand men, had entirely abandoned it, and effected a passage, in separate bodies, to the French territory. In consequence of this dispersion of his troops, which had taken place at Mons, as well as at Antwerp, Dumourier thought it advisable to quit the camp of Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. He had also dispatched orders, by means of colonel Mack, for the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on the condition of being allowed to return to France. He also sent general Miaczinsky with a large body of troops to occupy Orchies, and maintain a communication with Lisle, while he fixed his head-quarters at St. Amand, where his confidential cavalry were stationed. He, at the same time, ordered Miaczinsky to march with his division, in order to arrest the commissioners sent by the convention; but that officer having imprudently divulged his errand, was betrayed. Having been persuaded to enter Lisle, with a very slender escort, the gates were instantly shut upon him, when he was immediately arrested, and sent to Paris, where he found a very short passage to the guillotine. The plan which Dumourier had formed, to render himself master of Condé and Valenciennes, proved also fruitless.

It seems to have been a very daring conduct in Bournonville, and

the commissioners who accompanied him, to venture to St. Amand, in order to execute the dangerous commission of arresting a general officer of high military character, in the midst of his camp. The determined spirit of the man whom they were to suspend and seize, that he might be removed to Paris, and sentenced to the guillotine; his popularity in the army; and consequently not only the danger of the design, but the improbability of executing it, would have alarmed men of less courage and more wisdom. Nevertheless, these commissioners arrived at St. Amand on the 2d of April; and, being admitted to the presence of the general, unfolded the object of their mission. The conversation which followed sometimes approached to violence; and Camus, that Camus who went post from Liege to vote for the death of his sovereign, at length, ventured to pronounce the suspension of the general. At that moment a signal was given, and a body of Hussars entered, who were ordered to convey Bournonville, with the commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, to the head-quarters of general Clairfait at Tournay, to be considered as hostages, who should answer for any excesses employed against the royal prisoners in the Temple. This remarkable event was immediately communicated to colonel Mack, and a place proposed where a conference might take place for the purpose of completing the treaty that had been for some time in agitation.

On the morning of the 3d of April, the general repaired to the camp, which appeared to approve with enthusiasm the measures he had

had adopted. The corps of artillery at St. Amand bestowed on him the same marks of approbation and attachment. He slept at that place, in order to manifest his confidence in them. Here it was notified to him, that on the morning of the 4th of April, the prince de Cobourg, the archduke Charles, and colonel Mack, would meet him between Brumi and Condé, to regulate the movements of the two armies. But this interview was very unexpectedly interrupted, by an account, that the garrison of the latter place were in such a state of fermentation, as to render it dangerous for him to enter it; while a body of French volunteers, whom he overtook in his way, attempted to seize him; and it was with difficulty, and by the aid of a very swift horse, that he escaped from the fire of their musquetry. The general being persuaded that it was not practicable for him to return immediately to the camp, proceeded along the banks of the Scheldt, which he passed at a ferry, and gained the Imperial territory. He then continued his route on foot to Bury, where a division of Austrian dragoons were quartered. Here he passed a part of the night with colonel Mack, in preparing a proclamation for the prince de Cobourg: it was dated the 5th of April, and was written to accompany his own, which may be seen at large among the state papers collected in this volume. The imperial commander in chief declared, in this proclamation, that he acted only as an auxiliary to general Dumourier, that the intention of his sovereign was not to attempt any conquest, but to restore peace and good order in France,

and to co-operate with that officer, the principles of whose proclamation he had himself adopted. On the 5th of April, at day-break, Dumourier proceeded with an escort of fifty Imperial dragoons, passed the advanced post of his camp at Maulde, and was received with very decided marks of regard. He harangued the different corps, who answered him with affection. At the same time, he could not but observe some symptoms of discontent and faction among them. He then proceeded towards St. Amand, to make some alteration in his camp, and to hasten those movements to Orchies, which the event of the preceding evening had retarded: but, at the entrance of the town, one of his aides-de-camp arrived in great haste to inform him, that, during the night, the corps of artillery, instigated by some emissaries from Valenciennes, who had spread a report, that their general was drowned in the Scheldt, had sent commissaries to that city; and, on their return, had risen against their commanders, and were marching thither. The military chest, and the equipages of the officers, which remained without a guard, he ordered to be removed to Rumegies, a village on the road to Orchies, about a league from the camp, and which was protected by a part of his advanced guard.

It was no sooner known in the army, that the corps of artillery were departed for Valenciennes, than confusion and disorder appeared in every part of it. Several general officers repaired with their entire divisions to that city, and the spirit of defection seemed to be general throughout the camp. Dumourier

was

was at Rumigies, when he was informed of this disorganized state of the army: what therefore remained for him to do, but to consult his own safety? He accordingly mounted his horse, and, accompanied by general and colonel Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, colonel Mountjoye, colonel Barrois, some officers of his staff, and his aides-de-camp, but without any escort, retreated to Tournay, where he met with general Clairfait. He was soon followed by some corps of his late army, and the whole regiment of Berchiny, amounting altogether to about 700 horse and 800 infantry. The military chest, which contained two millions of livres, and had been removed to Furnes, was, after some contest, borne away to Valenciennes.

In reviewing this strange reverse of fortune, we cannot but express our astonishment, that general Dumourier should be so entirely deceived respecting the temper and state of his army. Success, which may, in some degree, be said to give equal fame to the wise and to the fool, had raised him, in a very short time, to an elevated pinnacle of military fame. But the hero of Gemappe, and the conqueror of Belgium, had been driven back with great loss and discomfiture to the frontiers of France: his vaunted conquest of Holland had ended in defeat, and as his laurels faded, the enthusiasm of his army for their general may be supposed to have diminished: and it was by enthusiasm alone, that his designs on France could have been crowned with success, as we cannot suppose him to have been unacquainted with the emotions of the human heart, and the charac-

ter of his countrymen, we must conclude, that he was the dupe of his vain-glory and ambition. He has been branded by some with the title of traitor; he has also been accused of receiving bribes from the Imperial court, and of having formed a design to betray his country. It does not, however, appear to us, that there is sufficient testimony to justify such a suspicion, unless the sentiments of his declaration, his hatred of the Jacobins, and his wish to restore the son of Louis XVI. to the throne of his fathers. The convention had denounced him as a public enemy, and threatened him with its vengeance: he had, therefore, no other means of serving his country, but by promoting the views of the combined powers, and endeavouring to persuade the army, which he commanded, to co-operate with them, in restoring order and good government to France.

After a short conference with general Clairfait, Dumourier left Tournay for Mons, in order to settle a plan with the commander of the Austrian advanced posts, to cover the retreat of those of his late army who might be disposed to follow him. It was now determined, by the prince de Cobourg, to form the blockade of Condé, and it was agreed that Dumourier should hold the rank of general of artillery in the Imperial army. In the mean time, a congress of the ministers and general officers of the combined powers was held at Antwerp, when it was determined to enter France. A second proclamation was published by the prince de Cobourg, which annulled the first, and particularly specified the design of keeping whatever places
he

he should take, by way of indemnity to his sovereign. Dumourier, when he was informed of this change in the Imperial system of military operations, declared to the prince de Cobourg, that he could not with honour, serve against France; and, having obtained assurances of protection for his unhappy followers, he demanded and received a passport for his safe retreat into Germany.

It has been the opinion of some men, whose opinions cannot be treated with disregard or inattention, that this was the propitious moment, when the combined powers might have proposed such terms of peace to France, as would have been accepted with equal readiness and gratitude. They do not hesitate to declare their belief, that the following declaration might have been made to the convention with the happiest effects. "Arrange your interior government as you please, we do not wish to intermeddle with it. We only desire you to establish the ancient boundaries of the Netherlands, to restore your other conquests; to liberate the queen and the royal family; and to allow the emigrants a moiety of their property: we will then withdraw our forces, and be your friends."—Had such propositions as these been made, there can be little doubt, say these politicians, but that a stop would have been immediately put to the effusion of blood; France would, at this time, have been under a regular and established government, and Europe would have been at peace. In reply to these sentiments, we can only express our astonishment, that men, who know what has been done, and what is

still doing in France, can adopt them. Is it possible that any one who has examined the state of those factions which agitate that devoted country; is it possible that he can seriously declare such sentiments as these? Read the language of the convention; consider the spirit of their decrees; look to the conduct of the clubs; enquire into the character of their leaders; survey the disorganized state of the country; reflect on the horrors of their tribunals; reflect on the ferment of the public mind; and then let us ask, whether this was a moment for a foreign power to request of regicides, to exercise justice and compassion to the remaining persons of the royal family; to ask of military plunderers to restore the territories they had seized from the unoffending and neutral possessors, or public robbers to give back the property that terrified loyalty had deserted? Neither Brissot nor Robespierre had a wish for peace; and if they had possessed the wish, they had not the power to maintain it. Was not the government of France, if government it may be called, at this moment rioting in plunder and confiscation? Was not the convention ruling the people by terror and bloodshed? Did not the spirit of requisition stalk abroad throughout the land? and was not the executive power actually strengthened by the fidelity of the northern army, who had just deserted a favourite commander, to support the ruling power, whoever or whatever it might be? It must, however, be acknowledged, that Dumourier, and the principal emigrants of every party, have blamed the prince de Cobourg for with-
drawing

drawing the proclamation, published at the moment when the French general hoped to have induced his army to attack the convention; and to have published another, which annulled all the pacific declarations of the former. Nay, it has been asserted, that, on the publication of the first of these proclamations, the interior parts of France had begun to move, and that this spirit of revolt immediately subsided on the appearance of the second. But to prove the exaggeration of this statement, it will be sufficient to observe, that the first proclamation was signed on the 5th of April; and the next at so short a distance as the ninth; and that, in so short an interval as four days, all that could possibly have reached the ears of the allies, was the total failure of Dumourier's influence over his army, and the horror with which the attempt to march against the convention was, to all appearance, received in France. Since the proclamation seemed to have no effect on the minds of Frenchmen, it could not be expected that the allies should continue to be bound by it, and renounce the power of acting as circumstances might require.

When the national convention was informed, that the commissioners whom they had sent to seize Dumourier, and conduct him to Paris, had been arrested, and sent to the Austrian army, they decreed a permanent sitting, and proclaimed a large reward for taking him alive or dead. They then made every arrangement necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the capital, as well as to defend the frontiers against the armies that threatened them. By the activity of the com-

missioners sent from Paris, the northern army was in some degree re-organized; and general Dampiere was appointed the provisional commander in chief; nor did he wait many days before he had an opportunity of displaying his military talents. He had already re-occupied the camp of Famars; and on the 8th of May, made an attack on the Austrian and Prussian posts, which brought on a very serious engagement, that ended in favour of the allies. Their loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 800 men, and that of the French to 4000. The duke of York took a very decided part in this action; and the success of it was very much promoted, by the bravery of the English troops. In this battle, general Dampiere finished his short career; and thus escaped the disgraceful exit of the guillotine, to which so many brave men, whose success did not answer to the wild demand of the convention, were devoted. He lost his thigh by a cannon ball, and died of his wound on the following day, leaving the command of the army to general La Marche.

On the 23d, it was determined by the allies, to make an attack upon the fortified camp at Famars, in order to dislodge the French from a situation which commanded the city of Valenciennes; and, after a severe contest, this important object was obtained. The enemy were obliged to abandon a position on which they placed great reliance, as it was fortified with great care, and to leave Valenciennes and Condé to their fate. The loss sustained by the English was very trifling, and that of the Austrians and Prussians by no means

means considerable. The allied army was accordingly encouraged to proceed to the siege of Valenciennes, and the conduct of it was committed to the care of his royal highness the duke of York. In the mean time, the town of Condé had been in a state of siege since the beginning of April, and being ill-stored with provisions, was obliged to capitulate on the 10th of July, to prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-general in the Imperial army.

Valenciennes was now closely invested, and though general Custine was arrived from the Rhine to take the command of the army of the north, he could not afford it any effectual relief. The siege, therefore, continued with great vigour, and a considerable part of the town was reduced to ashes. The garrison does not appear to have been sufficient for its defence; and after repeated summons, general Fermand surrendered the city to the duke of York on the 26th of July, who took possession of it, in the name of the emperor of Germany.

With this important event, we shall, for the present, leave the affairs of Flanders, and just glance at those of the armies on the Rhine. Of skirmishes, slight engagements, and advantages mutually obtained, some account might be given, if such details were either interesting or instructive. The most important circumstance of the campaign was the surrender of Mentz, which, after a very tedious siege, capitulated on the 22d of July, to the king of Prussia.

In no point of view did the affairs of France wear, at this time, a promising aspect. The government was distracted by parties, and Paris in a frequent state of disorder

and uproar. The army on the Rhine had not been able to prevent the capture of Mentz; and that of the north had beheld, in a compelled state of inactivity, the capture of Condé and Valenciennes. But it was not only an invading enemy, which the convention had to fear, but internal foes: very formidable insurrections reared their heads in different parts of France, and very considerable bodies of loyalists were assembled, particularly in Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of *La Vendee* and *Le Loire*. The convention considered these commotions, in their early state, as arising merely from an indisposition in the people to submit to the arrangements of the new government; which were so different from their former customs, and so contrary to their ancient prepossessions. But their numbers, and their conduct, plainly evinced, that these insurrections did not proceed from any sudden impulse, or temporary grievance; but were the result of preconcerted design. They were distinguished with counter revolutionary symbols, assumed the name of the Christian army, professed to act under the authority of Monsieur, as regent of France; and, excited to action by the harangues of their priests, and the symbols of their religion, they were successful in several encounters with the national guards. On the 20th of March, the commissioners, who had been sent to examine the nature and conditions of these insurrections, stated to the convention; that the insurgents, in the department of the Lower Loire, had attacked general Marceé, with some advantage, that the city of Nantz was besieged by them; and

and that their numbers were greatly increased. In the beginning of April, general Berruyere was appointed to command against the insurgent army: nevertheless, the royalists had contrived to possess themselves of a large extent of country, and had defeated the republican army in two general engagements. But it was not within the actual territories of France alone, that discontents prevailed against the existing rulers. The popular society of Toulon denounced the Corsican general Paoli, as a supporter of despotism. They alleged that, in concert with the administrators of the departments, he not only persecuted the patriots,

but favoured the emigrants and refractory priests: they even went so far as to demand, that his head should pay the forfeit of his contumacy. The convention, therefore, decreed, that general Paoli and the procureur-general Syndic of the department of Corsica, should be ordered to the bar of the nation, to give an account of his conduct. The general, as may be supposed, refused to obey this citation; and the persons who were sent to arrest him, represented the commission as too dangerous to risque the execution of it. The conduct and character of that venerable man, and gallant soldier, will heighten the interest of a future period.

C H A P. VII.

Leading Parties in France. Proceedings of the National Convention. Establishment of a Revolutionary Tribunal for trying Offences against the State. Decree for the Protection of Property. Decree for inflicting Punishment on Publications in Favour of Monarchy. The Sentence of Outlawry decreed against all Persons attempting a Counter-Revolution. A Committee of Public Safety appointed. Its Powers specified. The Bourbon Family arrested. Decree respecting the Paper-Currency of France. Violent Contests between the Gironde and Jacobin Parties. Petition presented by one of the Sections of Paris against certain Deputies. The Commons of the forty-eight Sections of Paris demand, that certain Deputies should be impeached and expelled the Convention. Various Accusations brought against the Convention by a Deputation of the Faubourg of St. Antoine. Marat sent to the Abbey Prison: is tried, and acquitted. The Convention enter upon a Consideration of the new Constitution. A Commission of twelve Members of the Convention appointed for inspecting the Commonalty of Paris. Distracted State of the Convention. Forced Loan proposed. The Proceedings of the Commission of Twelve irritate the People. Its Dissolution decreed. Decrees respecting Public Instruction, and the Regulations of the Army. Paris in a State of Insurrection. A Deputation from the revolutionary Committees appear at the Bar of the Convention. New Commotions in Paris. The Convention compelled to arrest certain Deputies. The New Constitution. Declaration of the Rights of Man. Observations. Report respecting the imprisoned Deputies. The Southern Provinces in a State of Revolt. Marat assassinated. Decree against Foreigners. Decree for rising in a Mass. Occurrences in the West Indies. Capture of Pondicherry.

WE now turn aside from the contests of domestic parties, scenes of war to consider and describe the effects of those com-

commotions which agitated the convention of France. The leaders of this self-created body of rulers were certain literary men, whose talents in political discussion, whether as orators or writers, had, at this turbulent period, raised them to the distinction of legislators, and who employed, as subordinate ministers, a few individuals that had acted as clerks under the regal government. Of these Brissot is well known, and from his name the party with which he was connected has been frequently called the Brissotin faction. At the head of the opposite party stood Robespierre and Marat, the former a stern unrelenting tyrant, and the latter a furious and determined incendiary, whose passions frequently assumed the appearance of insanity. Though zealously opposed by Robespierre, and the jacobins, the Brissotin party predominated in the convention; though the former being more disposed to gratify the rabble of Paris with blood and plunder, possessed a commanding ascendancy in the city. But before we enter on the history of those dissensions, whose violence and brutality it is our office to record, it may be necessary to state certain decrees and resolutions, which were produced by the convention to assist and strengthen the executive government.

In the month of March the revolutionary tribunal for trying offences against the state was established. Its construction and powers are as follow :—

1. The revolutionary tribunal shall take cognizance of every enterprise, plot, and attempt against the liberty and sovereignty of the people, and the unity, indivisi-

bility, and external as well as internal safety of the republic, of every plan tending to establish royalty, and of every crime respecting the fabrication of forged assignats.

2. The tribunal shall consist of six judges, divided into two sections. Three members in each section shall be sufficient to examine facts denounced.

3. The judges shall be chosen by the national convention, by the nominal appeal, and by a relative majority.

4. To this tribunal shall belong a public accuser, and two assistants, named by the convention in the same manner as judges. A commission of the six members shall also be appointed to draw up the decrees of accusation, which may be passed by the convention.

5. The jurors shall be in number twelve, and their substitutes three. They shall be taken from the department of Paris, until the first of May next, an epoch, when the electoral bodies must renew their jurors.

6. Crimes against general safety, assigned heretofore to the cognizance of municipalities, shall in future be judged by the revolutionary tribunal.

7. There shall be no appeal from the sentence.

8. Sentence passed in the absence of the accused shall have the same effect as if they were present.

9. Persons accused, who shall not appear within three months, shall be considered as emigrants, and treated as such.

To flatter the passions, and play on the weakness of those classes of people, who are the general engines of ambition, must be a very leading principle in all revolutions.

This

This was practised with great success in France, and the promise of liberty and equality won the populace to throw aside their prejudices, and to assist in the robbery of wealth in every form, whether ecclesiastical, hereditary, or commercial; as the possessions of religion, the inheritance from ancestors, or the gains of industry. That these deluded people should suppose that liberty signified a state of licentiousness, and that by equality must be understood an equal possession of property was a very natural consequence. Nay, these opinions were actually encouraged by the demagogues of France, till the revolutionary frenzy had done its office. But as this levelling system is equally hostile to power and to property, those who have obtained the possession of them, and have assumed withal the character of rulers, will think it necessary to restrain and regulate those principles, which would now be as destructive to themselves, as it had been to those with whose spoils they are enriched. Hence it was that the convention formed a decree, denouncing punishment of death against any one who should propose an Agrarian law, or should attempt to injure territorial, commercial, or personal property.

On the 29th of March a decree was passed, by which it was declared, that all persons convicted of composing or printing writings for the restoration of monarchy in France, or the dissolution of the national representation, should be punished with death. All persons guilty of attempting a counter-revolution were, at the same time, declared outlaws: and on the first of April a decree was passed to

abolish the inviolability of the deputies of the convention, when accused of crimes against the state.

On the 7th of April a committee of public safety was appointed, with powers adequate to prevent or punish all insurrection and conspiracy: but as the authority delegated to it was of a more extensive nature than had hitherto been granted, its duration was limited to the short period of a month. This decree was the subject of much debate, and contained the following articles:—

1. A committee of public safety, consisting of nine members, taken from the convention, shall be formed by open vote.

2. This committee shall deliberate in secret, and shall be charged to watch over and accelerate the actions of the administration entrusted to the executive council, whose decrees it may suspend, when it thinks them contrary to the public interest, being bound at the same time to give information to the convention.

3. It is authorised to pursue, in urgent circumstances, external and internal measures of general defence, and its decrees signed by the majority of its deliberating members, which shall never be less than two thirds, shall be executed by the provisional executive council; and it cannot in any case issue mandates of arrest but against executive agents, and are bound, at the same time, to give immediate information to the convention.

4. The particular agents, whom the committee shall think proper to employ, shall be paid from the public treasury.

5. The national treasury shall, for this purpose, keep in readiness, at

at the disposal of the committee, the sum of 100,000 livres.

6. It may divide itself into sections to exercise its operations with safety.

7. It shall make a general report of its operations, and of the situation of the republic.

8. It shall keep a journal of its deliberations, which shall be signed by all the members present.

9. This committee shall be established only for one month.

On the 7th of April it was decreed, that all the branches of the Bourbon family, as well as such officers of the Austrian army as had been taken prisoners should be considered as hostages, and be answerable for the safety of the commissioners sent by Dumourier to the Imperial army; and that all the Bourbons should be removed to Marseilles, except those who were confined in the temple: and who is there that will lament; nay, who is there that will not rather rejoice, when they are informed that the duke of Orleans, though a member of the convention, was not excepted in the decree. The paper currency of France being in a very depreciated state, a decree passed on the 9th of the same month, enacting that all bargains and contracts should be paid in assignats, and not in specie.

The contest between the two parties, who had for some time been contending for power, was now approaching to a very serious issue. The Brissotin or Gironde party had seriously wished to save the life of Louis XVI. and had they acted with that firm and determined spirit which such an object required, he would have been preserved, at least from the horrors of the guillotine. The spirit of

VOL. XXXV.

comparative moderation which they had manifested on that occasion, was, however, attributed by their opponents to bribes from foreign powers; and this opinion, with many others, which the jacobins artfully propagated hastened the downfall of Brissot and his adherents. In particular, the report that they had confederated with Dumourier in his counter-revolutionary designs, had made such a strong and general impression on the people, that, on the 9th of April, a petition had been presented to the convention by one of the sections of Paris, accusing Guadet, Vergniaux, Gensonné, and other deputies, as his accomplices, in which it was requested that they might be punished. On the 15th a petition was also presented by the commons of the forty-eight sections of Paris, demanding that Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaux, Gensonné, and several other deputies, should be impeached and expelled the convention. A deputation of the Fauxbourg of Saint Antoine increased the public discontent, by appearing before the convention, to accuse them of neglecting their duty, of betraying their country, and, in no one instance, fulfilling their engagements with the public. Eight thousand persons, but without arms, attended on this occasion. They also declared that their Fauxbourg was in a state of insurrection. The Gironde party, however, who felt the tottering condition of their power did not fail to exert themselves on this very critical occasion. As the inflammatory journal, conducted by Marat, was generally believed to have fomented the spirit of discontent which prevailed, that deputy had been

[S] already

already denounced in the month of February: but the convention, who were apprehensive of the power of the jacobins, hesitated in proceeding against him; he therefore continued his attendance in the convention, where, on the 5th of April, he recriminated the Gironde party, and denounced three hundred of the deputies; at the head of whom were Brissot, Vergniaux, &c. On the 12th he resumed his accusation, which was supported by Robespierre; and so violent was the tumult which ensued, that the deputies drew their swords, and approached each other with hostile menace: but the president, who expected to see the hall a scene of bloodshed, exerted himself with such address and resolution as to restore the appearance of tranquillity and good order. In the evening sitting of the same day, the spirit of accusation changed its object, and Marat was denounced in his turn for putting his signature to a violent blood-thirsty paper, as president of the jacobin club, and was committed to the Abbey prison, by a majority of 233 votes against 82. From this decided and commanding superiority, which the Gironde party were seen to possess in the convention, it might naturally be expected, that there was but a small space between Marat and the scaffold: but the people at large were his friends; and the jury, by whom he was tried, acquitted him without a dissenting voice.

On the 10th of May the national convention took possession of their new hall of assembly in the palace of the Tuilleries; and on that day they laid the first stone of the new Edifice of their constitution. The

transactions of this day very fully explain and unfold the temper and sentiments of the French rulers respecting government. On the one hand, it was proposed, that a social compact should be decreed previous to the constitution. On the contrary, it was determined, that a nation, which had proclaimed the rights of man, could have no other social compact than a constitution. The leaders of the jacobin party contended, that modern legislators ought to act in direct contradiction to former precedent: hitherto, they said, the art of government had been the art of pilaging, and of subjecting the many for the benefit of the few; while legislation had been the art of reducing these crimes into a system. They next observed, that politicians, hitherto less anxious to defend liberty than to modify tyranny, have thought by two modes to limit the power of the magistrate. One has been the equilibrium of power, the other the tribunitian authority. The equilibrium of power was termed a chimera: it was argued, that we must suppose the absolute nullity and suspension of government if the rival powers did not necessarily coalesce against the people; and that the influence of gold, and the influence of the crown utterly destroyed this boasted balance. Such were the positions, says an anonymous writer, on the revolution in France, on which the French republicans founded the new fabric of their constitution, which will shortly become the subject of our consideration. We must, however, give some previous attention to the revolution, as it has been called, of the 31st of May, when the Gironde party

party was precipitated from power by the Jacobin faction.

On the liberation of Marat, he became more bold and daring than he hitherto had been; and the Brissotin or Gironde party, conscious of their declining power, had proposed to convoke a new convention: but such a plan was considered as too hazardous at this critical juncture. Barrere did not think that the existing evils required such violent remedies, and it was, on his proposition, decreed, that a commission of twelve members, chosen from the convention, should be appointed for the purpose of inspecting the resolutions of the commonalty of Paris; which was accused of a design to dissolve or garble the legislative assembly of the nation. So feeble a measure, in such perilous circumstances, exasperated without intimidating the Jacobins, who, at the meeting of the sections, did not withhold their menaces of future massacre.

The convention was now become one continued scene of recrimination and commotion. The proposal of the financier Cambon, for a compulsory loan of a thousand millions of livres, from all those who were indifferent to the cause of French liberty; and who were suspected of taking an interest in the success of their enemies, produced a most disgraceful scene of tumult and uproar. Brissot, and his party, exclaimed against the tyranny of a forced loan, and represented, in the most violent terms, its counter-revolutionary operation. The adherents of the different parties, who occupied the galleries, took a part in the debates, and at length an additional

guard was demanded to protect the convention. The agitation of Paris itself kept pace with the commotions of the assembly, whose duty it was, by their example and exertion, to maintain and enforce the public tranquillity. In the evening sitting of the 27th of May the convention having been informed, that a very large proportion of the sections of Paris were preparing to rise and demand that the commission of twelve should be dissolved, decreed its dissolution; and that those who had been imprisoned by it should be immediately set at liberty. On the following day the subject was renewed for confirmation, amidst such outrage and clamour, that the president, unable to controul the proceedings, resigned his office. The moderate party in the convention, who were greatly influenced by Barrere, endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from these disastrous contests to objects of public utility; and the following decrees were proposed by that deputy in the name of the committee of public safety, to improve the system of public instruction, and to make some necessary change in the regulation of the army.

1. There shall be a primary school in every place, which contains from 400 to 1500 inhabitants. This school may serve for all less populous places within a specified distance.

2. In each of these schools there shall be an instructor, charged with teaching the scholars that elementary knowledge, which is necessary to enable citizens to exercise their rights, and to manage their domestic concerns.

3. The committee of public instruction

struction shall present a proportionable mode for towns, and the more populous communes.

4. The instructors shall be charged to give lectures and instructions once every week to citizens of all ages, and of both sexes.

5. The plan of a decree, presented by the committee of public instruction, shall irrevocably be the order of the day on every Thursday.

The requisition of the public force was ordered in the several following classes :—

“ The first requisition shall extend from the age of 16 to 25—2d, that of 25 to 35—3d, from the age of 35 to 45. The names of all citizens above that age shall be inscribed, in three classes, in registers kept by the municipalities. Every citizen burthened with three children, and who can prove that he is unable to maintain them, except by his labour, shall be ranked in the third class, whatever may be his age. All bachelors, under the age of 45, shall be placed in the first class. The municipalities shall inscribe in the same registers the number of fire-arms which they have at their disposal, and which shall be distributed among the citizens of the first class. The municipal officers shall take care, under pain of being dismissed by the directories of departments, that all citizens of the first class be exercised every Sunday.”

But the public mind was now too much inflamed and agitated to be turned aside from its public views, by any scheme of private regulation, however wise or salutary. Every attempt to restore order and tranquillity was fruitless. The people were in an universal state of dissatisfaction: all confidence in

the government was at an end: they considered themselves as betrayed, and there was no active man, or body of men, that did not appear, from some quarter or other, to be the object of hatred or jealousy. Though the constituted authorities had been invited to assemble and concert measures for the salvation of their country; and though repeated proclamations had exhorted the citizens to tranquillity, nevertheless the city of Paris was, on the morning of the 31st, in such a state of confusion, that the tocsin was sounded, the alarm gun fired, and every other signal of extreme danger was heard. The convention assembled to enquire into the extraordinary and alarming situation of their city: and among other requisitions made at the bar, a deputation from the revolutionary committees attended and demanded.

1. The suppression of the commission of twelve.

2. A revolutionary army of sans culottes.

3. A decree of accusation against twenty-two deputies, and the members of the above-named commission.

4. A diminution of the price of bread.

5. The dispatch of commissioners to the southern provinces, to put an end to the counter-revolutionary spirit which appeared there.

6. The arrest of Claviere, the minister of finance, and Le Brun, the minister of foreign affairs.

The mayor of Paris appeared at the bar, and declared, that the public uneasiness arose from the conduct of the commission of twelve, and that the constituted authorities were employed in restoring public tranquillity.

In

In the evening of the 1st of June the tocsin again proclaimed a state of public commotion, which was attributed to the delay of the convention, in not having complied with the petition of the department on the preceding day. Barrere then proposed, that the committee of public safety should, within three days, present some effectual plan to resist the enemies of the republic, and to produce general tranquillity. On the following day the hall of the convention was surrounded by a very large and tumultuous assembly of people, who vociferated their demand for a decree of agitation. A deputation was immediately ordered to address the multitude, to persuade them to disperse, and leave the convention to a free deliberation; but they were either not heard, or heard with contempt, and were only answered by loud and angry reiterations of their demands. The hall itself was in a state of extreme disorder: that its deliberations were no longer free seemed to be the general sense of the convention; but it was forced to submit. The insurgents maintained their purpose, and the assembly was compelled to pass a decree, which ordered the following deputies to be put in arrest, viz. Gensonné, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gorsas, Petion, Selles, Cambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Bimonteau, Rabaut, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Lesage, Louvet, Valacé, Doucett, Ducos, Lantzenas, Dussaux, all the members of the committee of twelve, except Fonfrede and Saint Martin, and the ministers Claviere and Le Brun. The assembly, with the president at their head, had quitted the hall and attempted to separate; but Henriot, the commander of the

Parisian guards, arranged his troops in military array, and threatened them with a discharge of musquetry, if they did not return.

Robespierre, Marat, and the jacobin party, were now triumphant, and the first object of their power was to complete the constitution. The national convention, therefore, on the 23d of June, issued a declaration of the rights of man, as introductory of their new constitution. A very hasty ill-digested work, but in some respects calculated to flatter and seduce the populace. It was impracticable as a system to guide, correct, and controul the social life of man; but whatever it had been, it would not, we believe, have avoided the fate of being soon lost in that tremendous and sanguinary chaos, in which all the elements of justice, and of mercy, of truth, and of religion, of public honour and private virtue were dissolved. It may, however, gratify curiosity to know its contents, and we shall therefore present it, at large as it appears in the records of the convention, under the title of a declaration of the Rights of Man, and of Citizens.

Art. 1. The end of society is common happiness. Government is instituted to secure to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

2. These rights are equality, liberty, safety, and property.

3. All men are equal by nature, and before the law.

4. The law is the free and solemn expression of the general will. It ought to be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. It cannot order but what is just and useful to society. It cannot forbid but what is hurtful.

5. All citizens are equally admissible

missible to public employments. Free people avow no other motives of preference in their elections than virtue and talents.

6. Liberty is that power which belongs to a man, of doing every thing that does not hurt the rights of another: its principle is nature, its rule justice, its protection the law, and its moral limits are defined by this maxim—Do not to another, what you would not wish done to yourself.

7. The right of manifesting one's thoughts and opinions, either by the press, or in any other manner: the right of assembling peaceably, and the free exercise of religious worship, cannot be forbidden.—The necessity of announcing these rights supposes either the presence, or the recent remembrance of despotism.

8. Whatever is not forbidden by the law cannot be prevented. No one can be forced to do that which it does not order.

9. Safety consists in the protection granted by the society to each citizen for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property.

10. The law avenges public and individual liberty of the abuses committed against them by power.

11. No person can be accused, arrested, or confined, but in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it prescribes. Every citizen summoned or seized by the authority of the law, ought immediately to obey; he renders himself culpable by resistance.

12. Every act exercised against a man to which the cases in the law do not apply, and in which its forms are not observed, is arbitrary

and tyrannical. Respect for the law forbids him to submit to such acts; and if attempts are made to execute them by violence, he has a right to repel force by force.

13. Those who shall solicit, dispatch, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be punished.

14. Every man being supposed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it is judged indispensable to arrest him, all severity, not necessary to secure his person, ought to be strictly repressed by the law.

15. No one ought to be tried and punished until he has been legally summoned, and the virtue of a law published previous to the commission of the crime. A law which should punish crimes committed before it existed would be tyrannical. The retroactive effect given to a law would be a crime.

16. The law ought not to decree any punishments but such as are strictly and evidently necessary: punishment ought to be proportioned to the crime, and useful to society.

17. The right of property is that right which belongs to every citizen to enjoy and dispose of according to his pleasure, his property, revenues, labour, and industry.

18. No kind of labour, culture, or commerce, can be forbidden to the industrious citizen.

19. Every man may engage his services and his time, but he cannot sell himself; his person is not alienable property. The law does not acknowledge servitude; there can exist only an engagement of care and gratitude between the man who labours and the man who employs him.

20. No one can be deprived of the

the smallest portion of his property, without his consent, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, evidently requires it, and on condition of a just and previous indemnification.

21. No contribution can be established but for general utility, and to relieve the public wants. Every citizen has a right to concur in the establishment of contributions, to watch over the use made of them, and to call for a statement of their expenditure.

22. Public aids are a sacred debt. The society is obliged to provide for the subsistence of the unfortunate, either by procuring them work, or by securing the means of existence to those who are unable to labour.

23. Instruction is the want of all, and the society ought to favour, with all its power, the progress of public reason; and to place instruction within the reach of every citizen.

24. The social guarantee consists in the actions of all, to secure to each the enjoyment and preservation of his rights. This guarantee rests on the national sovereignty.

25. The social guarantee cannot exist if the limits of public functions are not clearly determined by the law, and if the responsibility of all public functionaries is not secured.

26. The sovereignty resides in the people: it is one and indivisible, imprescriptible and inalienable.

27. No portion of the people can exercise the power of the whole: but each section of the sovereign assembled ought to enjoy the right of expressing its will in perfect liberty. Every individual who arrogates to himself the sovereignty, or who usurps the exercise of

it, ought to be put to death by free men.

28. A people have always the right of revising, amending, and changing their constitution. One generation cannot subject to its laws future generations.

29. Every citizen has an equal right of concurring in the formation of the law, and in the nomination of his mandatories or agents.

30. Public functions cannot be considered as distinctions or rewards, but as duties.

31. Crimes committed by the mandatories of the people and their agents ought never to remain unpunished. Not one has a right to pretend to be more inviolable than other citizens.

32. The right of presenting petitions to the depositories of public authority belongs to every individual. The exercise of this right cannot, in any case, be forbidden, suspended, or limited.

33. Resistance to oppression is the consequence of the other rights of man.

34. Oppression is exercised against the social body, when even one of its members is oppressed. Oppression is exercised against each member, when the social body is oppressed.

35. When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection becomes to the people, and to every portion of the people, the most sacred and the most indispensable of duties.

Within a few days after this declaration was published, it was announced that the constitution of France was completed, that it had been discussed, article by article, and passed as a constitutional act. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-

thirty-four articles, arranged under the following general heads :—The republic : the division of the people; the state of the citizens; the sovereignty of the people; primary assemblies; the national representation; electoral assemblies; the legislative body; sittings of the legislative body; formation of the law; laws and decrees; the executive council; the connection of the legislative body with the executive council; administrative and municipal bodies; civil justice; criminal justice; the tribunal of appeal; public contributions; the national treasury; accountability; forces of the republic; national convention; correspondence with foreign nations; guarantee of rights. This constitution, though formed in haste, and impracticable in many of its principles, was preferable to that which Condorcet had previously offered to his country. We shall therefore, pass it by, without further attention, and leave it to its fate, which was to be very soon lost in a vortex of despotism and terror.

It is very natural, whether it relates to individuals or large bodies of them, that, in a state of distress and inconvenience, hope should smile on almost any change of situation or circumstance; but the people of France had little reason to rejoice in the discomfiture of the Gironde faction, and the triumph of the Jacobins. Party distraction appeared to diffuse itself far and wide; and the agitations of the city of Paris had reached the departments. Brissot, and several of his associate deputies, who, to avoid the decree of arrest issued against them, had fled into the provinces, exerted themselves to the ut-

most in stirring up the flame of civil discord. The southern departments adhered to the discomfited party; and the city of Lyons, who had always manifested a zeal for the royal cause, and had expressed a decided disapprobation of the king's death, resumed a spirit of insurrection on the publication of the new constitution. It was there determined by a meeting of the departments, not only to resist, but, if possible, to reduce the convention while Marseilles and Toulon were actuated by the same counter-revolutionary zeal, and engaged in that confederacy for dissolving the existing government, which is known by the name of Federalism. The department of the Gironde, warmly engaged in the cause of its deputies; and these discontents had risen at Calvados into open revolt.

On the 8th of July the committee of public safety made their report respecting the accused deputies. It is a curious instrument, and may be considered as an abstract of the prevailing opinions of the jacobin party, or at least of those which they wished to impress on the minds of the people.

"The convention has ever been divided into two parties. Whether it was intended to rebuild the throne of the ancient dynasty, or to facilitate some foreign usurpation cannot be at present determined; but it is most certain, that very dangerous projects have been formed, and that a monster has been sitting among us. Formerly a defender of kings, he now feigned to defend the republic. Too suspicious to have an accomplice, he contrived nevertheless to acquire partisans and adherents. This man
is

is Brissot. Previous to the 10th of August the accused deputies had avowed their attachment to the monarchy; while they acquiesced in the forfeiture of royalty they combated republicanism. They wished to restore the throne, some for the son of Louis Capet, subject to the regency of his mother, and others for the duke of York, who is now in arms against us: but they all wanted to deprive France of a popular government. Petion signed, on the 10th of August, the order to fire upon the people. Vergniaud, assisted by his accomplices, caused the king to be suspended, that he might compound with public indignation. They all temporised, and seemed to promise themselves, that a national convention would be powerful enough to crush the republican party; hence, during the first days of its sittings, Manuel proposed to the assembly to fix the residence of the president in the palace of the Tuilleries, to allow him household troops, and to decree that the people should bare their heads in his presence. Thus, was it designed to preserve, during the inter-regnum, the image of one individual power. The faction did not, indeed, condemn the immortal 10th of August; but they deplored the private accidents which attended it: they flattered the people, in order to disunite them. Buzot and Barbaroux cunningly provoked the quelling of popular commotions, and attempted to oppress the sovereign power in the name of sovereignty. Roland served them by persecuting the republicans: we saw them continually with Roland tracing the bloody picture of the fatal days of Septem-

ber, and we could also accuse Manuel and Petion, then both in magisterial office, who, being urged to stop those massacres, refused to interfere from the apprehension of losing their popularity. We could accuse Brissot of having asked, in the gloom of his curiosity, if the blood of Morande, his enemy, had not been shed. But to proceed to matters of more general interest — when on the evacuation of Champagne the Prussian Kalkreuth made proposals of peace to Kellermann, this general transmitted them to the diplomatic committee and the council; but the accused deputies then governed the helm, and the letters of Kellermann are buried in secrecy: and yet those very men, to save the king, appeared to be alarmed at the menaces of Europe. In despair at their defeat they changed their system. Brissot, who predominated in the council, exerted his influence over the choice of our diplomatic envoys: his friends and accomplices filled those places, and were directed by him. Mean while Barbaroux called a battalion of Marseillois to act against the convention, and rang the alarm of civil war. The traitor Dumourier kept on his mask as long as Louis lived. He wished to favour young Orleans in preference to the young Capet: Buzot therefore proposed the banishment of the Bourbons, in order to attach the soldiers to a youth, who thus appeared to be delivered up to the fury of his enemies. Dumourier endeavoured to possess himself of our strong holds, threatened the national representation, and proposed to march to Paris to second the efforts of his accomplices. By these and others who formed their libticide council,

cil, they contrived to trouble Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Lyons, the north, and Corsica, where Paoli was crying down anarchy, in order to wrest that Island from the republic. Amidst these shocks, the committee of twelve was formed, to discover the conspirators; but being chiefly composed of their partizans or accomplices, it only became their support. It stripped Hubert, the substitute of the commonalty, of his functions, as the despot had done: it betrayed its plan, of subjugating the citizens by terror. Many horrid scenes succeeded, which brought to our remembrance those perplexed movements of the first days of August, where the citizens implored the vengeance of the nation upon a menacing court. Indeed, a just sentiment of anticipation hurried on the people of Paris, since, in one night preceding the 21st of May, the alarm gun was to be spiked, the cannon of the commons, and of the temple, were to be seized, the son of Louis Capet to be proclaimed king, and his mother regent. When this plot had been executed, the individuals who composed the league, were to have been, in their own right, the ~~the~~ guards of the new king, and those who signalled themselves on the occasion, were to have been decorated with a black and white riband, and an appendant medal, representing an eagle in the act of destroying anarchy. This plot was on the eve of being put in execution: but the 31st of May, and the 2d of June, have extinguished it; and, from that period, the people have received a free and protecting government at our hands."

Among the extraordinary cir-

cumstances of the eventful moment which is now before us, is the death of Marat, the friend or rather the tool of Danton and Robespierre, and, at least, a reputed leader of that party which had now obtained the ruling power in France. This furious incendiary, who, from the violence of his character, has been suspected of insanity, was assassinated on the 13th of July, by a young, well-educated and beautiful woman, from Caen, in Normandy, in the department of Calvados, which appears to have been particularly attached to the Gironde party. Charlotte Cordé was the extraordinary person who had conceived the project, as far as it depended upon her single arm, of destroying those men whom she believed to be the leading tyrants of her country. She had been for some time in correspondence with the principal persons of the opposite party; and was probably inflamed by them to that pitch of patriotic enthusiasm, which ended in the death of Marat and her own. After several unsuccessful attempts, the important moment at length arrived, when she found herself in his presence. The conduct of her Brissotin friends became the subject of conversation; and at the moment when Marat declared, that such traitors would find their reward beneath the guillotine, she plunged a dagger in his breast. Having perpetrated the deed which was the object of her visit, she walked, with perfect composure, out of the house, treated the officers who seized her with silent contempt; and suffered death on the scaffold, with the same calm fortitude which accompanied the perpetration of the deed that brought her to it.

The

The remains of the murdered Jacobin was buried with great pomp, and the corpse of this friend to anarchy was exposed in such a manner, and conducted with such accompaniments, as to excite, in its passage to the grave, the savage and cruel spirit which had been the principal feature of his life. Marat was an unfeeling, violent, and cruel character. It was he who, at a very early period of the revolution, uttered the horrid sentiment, that three hundred thousand heads must be struck off, before liberty could be established. He was ever ready to incite others to violence and outrage, but was fearful of acting in his own person. He certainly possessed considerable abilities, and had acquired reputation by his literary productions, which were on the blended subjects of anatomy and metaphysics. Brissot, in his address to his constituents, represents Marat as a man whose soul is kneaded up in blood and dirt, the disgrace of the revolution and of humanity; a wretch, whose crimes, added to the massacres of the 2d of September, have retarded for ages the universal revolution of mankind.

The convention now proceeded to frame various decrees for civil, military, and naval regulations, for the dispatch of criminal causes, a branch of the executive government with which they appear to have been well acquainted, and the encouragement of the arts: among their less humanizing proceedings, the convention decreed, on the 27th of July, 100,000 livres, for the encouragement of artists; but when, or in what manner it was applied, we have no authority to specify. The following decree, pro-

posed by Barrere, on the 1st of August, and adopted by the convention, we shall give at large.

1st. The national convention denounced the British government to Europe, and the English nation.

2. Every Frenchman that shall place his money in the English funds, shall be declared a traitor to his country.

3. Every Frenchman who has money in the English funds, or those of any other power, with whom France is at war, shall be obliged to declare the same.

4. All foreigners, subject of the powers now at war with France, particularly the English, shall be arrested, and seals put upon their papers.

5. The barriers shall be instantly shut.

6. All good citizens shall be considered as under an especial obligation to search for foreigners denounced, as concerned in any plot.

7. Three millions of livres shall be at the disposal of the minister at war, to facilitate the march of the garrison of Mentz to La Vendée.

8. The minister at war shall send to the army, on the coast of Rochelle, all the combustible materials to set fire to the forests and woods of La Vendée.

8. The women, the children, and old men, shall be conducted to the interior parts of the country.

10. The property of the rebels shall be confiscated for the benefit of the republic.

11. A camp shall be formed, without delay, between Paris and the northern army.

12. All the family of the Capets shall be banished from the French territory; those excepted, who are under the sword of the law, and the

the offspring of Louis Capet, who are in the Temple.

13. Marie Antoinette shall be delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal, and shall be immediately conducted to the prison Conciergerie: Louise Elizabeth shall remain in the Temple till after the judgment of Marie Antoinette.

14. All the tombs of the kings, which are at St. Denis, and in the departments, shall be destroyed, on the 10th of August, &c.

From this decree, so charged as it is with hostile design, and democratic vengeance, the legislators who adopted it, proceeded to settle and arrange such public diversions and amusements, as were deemed proper to fill up the interval of cruelty; or, as some may think, to incite them to it. On the second of August, therefore, it was decreed, 1. That the theatres appointed by the municipality, should act three times, in every week, the dramatic pieces, called Brutus, Caius Gracchus, and William Tell, with such lesser exhibitions as are most proper to maintain, in the hearts of Frenchmen, the love of liberty and republicanism.

2. One of these pieces shall be acted once in every week, at the expence of the republic.

3. Every theatre, in which any performance, tending to revive royalty, shall be audaciously represented, shall be shut up, and the managers punished with exemplary severity. It was also ordered, that the Marseilles hymn, which was hereafter to be denominated the hymn of liberty, should be sung after the concluding scene of all theatrical spectacles.

We must now mention a very ex-

traordinary project, which marks the daring spirit of the man who conceived it. On the 15th of August, Barrere proposed, that the people of France should declare, by the mouth of their representatives, that they will rise in one body, in defence of their liberty, equality, independence, and the constitution. This proposition

being received with loud bursts of applause, Barrere presented a plan for carrying his design into effect; and it was shortly introduced in its matured state, by the committee of public welfare. Barrere concluded the speech with which he introduced the decree, in the following manner. "How happy will the time be, when, after having driven their enemies from their sacred territories, the people of France shall, on their frontiers, erect majestic columns, on which they will engrave the sublime decree, by which you have declared, in their name, that you renounce every idea of conquest, and the abolition of royalty. Behind and near these columns, shall be impregnable strong holds, arsenals well stored, and freemen. Thus shall you wait in peace, the respect or hatred of the universe." This extraordinary decree contains the following articles.

1. From this present moment, till that when the enemies shall have been driven from the territories of the republic, all Frenchmen shall be in permanent readiness for the service of the armies. The young men shall march to the combat; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothes, and attend in the hospitals; the children shall make lint of old linen; the old men shall

cause

cause themselves to be carried into the public squares, to excite the courage of the warriors, and preach hatred against the enemies of the republic.

2. The national edifices shall be converted into store-houses; the ground of the cellars shall be washed with lie, to obtain salt-petre.

3. The musquets and military fire-arms, shall be immediately delivered to those who are to march against the enemy: the internal service of the republic shall be performed with fowling pieces.

4. All saddle-horses shall be given up to complete the cavalry: the draught horses and others, except those employed for purposes of agriculture, shall convey the artillery and provisions.

5. The committee of public welfare is charged to take all necessary measures to establish, without delay, an extraordinary manufacture of arms of all kinds, suitable to the efforts of the French nation. It is authorised, in consequence, to form all the establishments, manufactories, and working places, which shall be deemed necessary for the execution of those works; and to summon, throughout the republic, all the artists and workmen who can contribute to their success. The sum of thirty millions shall be at the disposal of the minister at war, to be taken out of the four hundred and twenty-eight millions in assignats, which are in reserve in the chest with three keys. The central establishment of this extraordinary manufacture shall be at Paris.

6. The representatives of the people sent into the departments to execute the present law, shall have the same authority, and shall con-

cert measures, with the committee of public welfare: they are invested with the unlimited powers attributed to the representatives of the people with the armies.

7. No Frenchman summoned to serve, shall be suffered to send a substitute. The public functionaries shall remain on their post.

8. The rising or movement shall be general; the unmarried or widowed citizens, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, shall march first: they shall form, without delay, in the chief place of their district: they shall daily be exercised till the day of their departure.

9. The representatives of the people shall regulate the calls and the marches, so that the armed citizens may not reach the place of their rendezvous, before the supplies and ammunition, and all the mechanical parts shall have been brought together in a competent proportion.

10. The general points of rendezvous shall be determined by circumstances, and pointed out by the representatives of the people, sent out to enforce the execution of the present law, by advice of the generals, in concert with the committee of public welfare and the provisory executive counsel.

11. The battalions, which shall be organised in every district, shall be ranged under a banner, with this inscription: *The French nation risen against tyrants.*

12. The battalion shall be organised according to the established laws, and their pay shall be the same as that of the battalions now on the frontiers.

13. In order to collect a sufficient

cient quantity of provisions, the farmers and stewards of the national lands shall pour into the principal rendezvous of every district, a sufficient quantity of corn, the produce of the said lands.

14. The proprietors, farmers, and holders of corn, shall be obliged to pay their arrears of taxes in the produce of the fields, and also two-thirds of the taxes for 1793.

15. The national convention appoints citizens Chabot, Tallien, Carpentier, Renaud, Dartgoytte, La Planche of Vievre, Mallarme, Legendre, Lanot, Roux-Fuzillac, Pagenel, Boisset, Tallifer, Baile, Pignet, Fayan, Lacroix, and Ingrand, as adjuncts to the representatives of the people, who are actually in the armies, and in the departments, in order to execute in concert with them the present decree.

16. The commissioners of the primary assemblies are invited to repair, without delay, into the departments, to fulfil the civic mission entrusted to them by the decree of the 14th of August, and to receive the commissioners to be assigned to them by the representatives of the people.

17. The minister of war is charged to take all the measures necessary for the execution of the present decree. The sum of fifty millions shall be placed at his disposal, to be taken out of the four hundred and fifty-eight millions of assignats in the chest with three keys.

18. The present decree shall be sent into the departments by extraordinary couriers."

That such a decree should be proposed cannot produce the least astonishment in the minds of those who are familiar with the history

of the convention,* which was every hour producing something strange and monstrous; but that it should, in any degree, be received by the people, might not be altogether expected, on the avowed principles even of the French revolution. Jacobins, and the friends of Jacobins will, without doubt, consider the general consent to rise in a mass, as a proof of that ardent love of liberty, which is boasted, at this time, to have inspired every patriot heart in France. It must, indeed, be confessed, that a very active enthusiasm prevailed among the French people; but it was not founded on a knowledge or sense of genuine freedom: it was violent, cruel, and precipitate; it was easily called forth, and set in motion; but not operating on any principle, however it might be employed, its course must be licentious, and its tendency was rather to mischief than to good.

We shall now leave, for a short time, the commotions of Europe, to consider and record the events of the West Indies—a very interesting part of the globe to the nations of Europe.—Admiral Laforey had sailed from Barbadoes, on the 12th of April, accompanied by major-general Cuyler, who commanded the land forces, destined for an attack on the island of Tobago. They arrived there on the 14th, and the troops were disembarked by three in the afternoon. The commandant refused to surrender on the summons, the works were effectually stormed, and carried against a strong resistance, with inconsiderable loss. The number of the enemy that defended the place were equal to the troops who made the attack.

In the beginning of the following

ing month, the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon surrendered at discretion to the British forces, under the command of captain Affleck, of his majesty's ship *Alligator*, and brigadier-general Ogilvie. An attempt was also made on the island of Martinico, by a body of troops, consisting of about 1100 men, under the command of major-general Bruce, in consequence of an invitation from the royalists in that island. The British forces made good their landing on the 16th of June. The plan, which had been concerted was to attack two batteries that defended Saint Pierre; the taking of which would produce an immediate possession of that town. The morning of the 18th was the time fixed for executing this project, and the whole force marched forward, before day-break, in two columns; the one consisting of the British troops, and the other of the French royalists: but the latter, by some mistake, began by firing upon each other, and the whole body of them were so disconcerted by this circumstance, as to retire instantly, and in great confusion, to the post from whence they had advanced. This conduct rendered the expectation of any assistance from them very doubtful; and as the British troops were not equal to the attack of Saint Pierre by themselves, they returned to their former post, from whence they embarked on the 19th. The 20th and 21st were employed in embarking the royalists, who, if they had been left behind, would have fallen a sacrifice to republican vengeance.

A considerable number of the most respectable inhabitants of St.

Domingo, lamenting the situation of France, and groaning beneath the tyranny of the commissioners, Polverel and Santhonax, whom the French convention had sent to regulate the affairs of that colony, had implored the British government to take them, on certain conditions, under its protection till a general peace, when the sovereignty of Saint Domingo would be finally settled. Accordingly major-general Williamson sailed from Jamaica on the 9th of September, with commodore Ford, having on board the 13th regiment, two flank companies of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery, to take possession of the town and forts of Jeremie. This was effected on the nineteenth, the British colours were hoisted on both forts, and the troops were received with loud acclamations by all ranks of people. The commodore sailed from thence to the Mole, where he arrived on the 22d; when a deputation of twenty persons from thence came on board, to beg that he would take possession of it, on the same conditions which had been granted to Jeremie. This proposition was accepted, and Cape Nicholas Mole was also received into the protection of the British crown.

Before we return to the affairs of Europe, it will be necessary to mention the success of the British arms in the East Indies, by the capture of all the French settlements in that part of the globe.

Advice having been received at Fort Saint George, on the 2d, and at Fort William on the 11th of June, from Mr. Baldwin, his majesty's consul at Alexandria, that France had declared war against Great

Great Britain and Holland, all the small factories belonging to the French on the continent of India, as well as the ships of that nation in any of the ports, were immediately seized, while the government of Fort St. George made instant preparations to attack the important fortress of Pondicherry. Marquis Cornwallis also declared his intention to undertake the conduct of the siege; but by the activity of colonel Braithwaite, and the troops

under his command, the place was surrendered before he could arrive. This was a most important conquest, and gave complete security to the oriental possessions of Great Britain. The French settlements on the coast of Malabar, as well as those which were in the vicinity of Bengal surrendered to the British arms: so that the colours of France were no longer seen to wave on the continent of India.

CHAP. VIII.

Occurrences in the Low Countries. Action at Lincelles. Expedition against Dunkirk. Surrender of Quesnoy. The French attack the Frontier Posts of the Allies. Prince de Cobourg is forced to repass the Sambre. The Arrival of Sir Charles Grey, and a British Armament; at Ostend. French Armies augmented. State of the revolted Parts. An Army ordered against Marseilles, which surrenders. Toulon yielded to Lord Hood. Lyons besieged and taken by the Republican Army. Enormities practised on its Inhabitants. Custine recalled and beheaded. Cruelties exercised on the Queen. Her Trial and Murder. The New Calendar. Trial and Execution of Brissot, and several Members of his Party. Execution of the Duke of Orleans and Madame Roland. Bishops and Priests resign their Functions, and disclaim the Christian Religion before the Convention. Lines of Weissemburg forced by General Wurmser. The Allies defeated at Hagenau. Weissembourg retaken. Siege of Landau raised. Toulon given up to the French. The French Fleet, Arsenals, and Store-houses, destroyed. Occurrences on the Side of Spain and Italy. Assistance given to Corsica. Lord Moira's Expedition to the Coast of France.

WE must now return to the affairs of the Low Countries; and the most prominent circumstance to be observed there, is the attempt of the duke of York to restore Dunkirk to the British Empire. On the 18th of August his royal highness marched from Turcoin to a camp near Menin. The Dutch who were stationed there, after some advantages gained over the French, were so pressed by them in their turn, that the here-

ditary prince of Orange requested the assistance of three battalions from the British forces; and they were immediately ordered to march under the command of general Lake. The enemy occupied a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, upon an height adjoining the high road in front of the village of Lincelles. The road itself was defended by other works, which were strongly pallisadoed, while woods and ditches covered their

their flanks. The battalions were instantly formed, and advanced, with order and intrepidity, under a very heavy fire. After firing a few rounds, they rushed on with their bayonets, stormed the redoubts, and drove the enemy through the village: at the end of it, however, the latter attempted to rally under the protection of other troops, but were again defeated and entirely put to the rout. This was a most brilliant action, in which the British soldiery maintained the honour of their name and character.

On the 22d, the duke of York proceeded from Furnes, with the besieging army, in order to attack the camp at Ghivelde, and approach the town of Dunkirk. The enemy abandoned the camp to him, and he was almost immediately enabled to take the ground, which it was his intention to occupy during the siege; leaving field-marshal Freytag with a covering army of twelve thousand Hanoverians, to overawe the garrison of Bergues, and the camp of Mont Cassel. On the 24th, his royal highness attacked the French, and drove them with some loss into the town. In this action, lieutenant-general D'Alton, an officer of merit, in the Imperial army, lost his life. The siege, which began with some prospect of success, soon wore a very dubious appearance. The arrival of the heavy artillery was too long delayed; and the naval force, which was to have co-operated with the army, did not sail in time to do any essential service. During these tardy operations, in which two weeks were consumed, the French government had put in requisition

VOL. XXXV.

every species of vehicle, and collected from all the garrisons in the north, and even from the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, such an enormous mass of soldiery, that the covering army of Freytag was attacked; and, after various repulses of the enemy, was, at length, overpowered by superior numbers. In the retreat, his royal highness prince Adolphus and the field-marshal, were, for a short time, in the possession of the enemy. A patrol of cavalry, which ought to have been in their front, having taken another road, they went to the village of Rexpede, through which one of the columns was to pass, but was then occupied by the enemy. From this situation they were fortunately relieved, by the intrepidity and presence of mind of general Walmoden, who, on discovering that the enemy were in possession of Rexpede, had immediately collected a body of troops, attacked it without hesitation, and defeated them with great slaughter.

The duke of York now felt himself obliged to raise the siege. The military chest was saved, but the heavy artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition, were abandoned. The convention, who had been persuaded, or at least pretended to believe, that Houchard, who commanded Dunkirk, did not take the advantage which he possessed, to drive the besieging army into the sea, summoned him to the revolutionary tribunal, from whence he was shortly transferred to the scaffold. The British ministers have been very much blamed for permitting the duke of York to separate from the prince de Cobourg, after the capture of Valenciennes,

[T]

ciennes,

ciennes, in order to lay siege to Dunkirk, with the English and Hanoverian army; but the possession of that place has ever been considered as so advantageous to the commerce of Great Britain; and the measure was undertaken with so fair a prospect of success, that the attempt, at least, however unsuccessful it has proved, may be fully justified.

The French having made such powerful efforts, were disposed to believe that the frontiers of the Netherlands might be overwhelmed, as it were, by the numerous troops which they could bring against them. They accordingly attacked every post from Nieuport to Maubeuge; but the veterans of the coalesced powers, though diminished, were not yet altogether exhausted, by the victories they had lately obtained; nor did the defeat at Dunkirk discourage them. At Morout, Ypres, Menin, and several other places, where the French attempted to make predatory invasions, they were repulsed. In short, the campaign in the Low Countries, after the duke of York's retreat from Dunkirk, degenerated into a war of posts, except the taking of Quinsey, which place surrendered, on the 11th of September, to general Clairfayt.

The French army had taken a very strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where it was blockaded by the prince of Cobourg; but, on the 15th and 16th of October, he was attacked by so powerful an army, under the command of general Jourdan, as to be forced to repass the Sambre. It was indeed, with difficulty, that the allies could stop the torrent of the French arms, which even

threatened Ostend. Indeed, that town may be said to owe its preservation, at this time, to the arrival of sir Charles Grey, and a considerable armament under his command from England; which, being at that time preparing to sail for the West Indies, its destination was instantly changed for Ostend, where its appearance may be said to have prolonged the period, when the Low Countries were to become once more subject to France.

It had been urged, among other charges, by the Jacobin against the Brissotin party, that the armies of France had been neglected, and that the proper means had not been employed to support and recruit them. Every method, therefore, that Jacobinic invention could suggest, or Jacobinic energy employ, was exerted to augment the military force of the country. Though the army of France consisted of more than five hundred thousand men, under the late administration, it was determined by their successors to double its strength, if possible, by immediate levies. The measures which were employed on this occasion, were at once bold, various, and original. Revolutionary committees, domiciliary visits, the seizure of all gold and silver discoverable in the republic; the coinage of all plate, sacred or profane; the fusion of church-bells into cannon; the requisition of all property for the use of the state; and a decree, ordering the people to rise in a mass, were adopted, to render this extraordinary project effective. But enormous as these armies may appear, the exigencies of the moment seemed to demand them; as, in addition to antecedent

dent pressures, some of the great maritime and commercial cities, were in a state of insurrection. The inhabitants of Poitou and Brittany, as we have already mentioned, had been long in motion, and had frequently defeated the republican troops which had been sent against them. In Normandy, the spirit of revolt had not produced any memorable event, and may be said to have terminated rather in a riotous tumult, than a civil war. But the formidable union which had taken place between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still continued, and alarmed the ruling powers. General Cartaux was accordingly dispatched against them, with a considerable force; and having, on the 24th of August, taken the town of Aix, the populace of Marseilles renounced, at once, the federal compact, opened their gates to receive him, and received the plunder of the wealthy inhabitants, for their reward. At the same time, the inhabitants of Toulon joined with admiral Turgot, in proposing a negociation to the English admiral, lord Hood, who then commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, and he was suffered to take possession of the town and shipping, in the name of Louis XVII. but under an express stipulation, that it should revert to the French monarchy, under the constitution established in 1789; when that should be restored. The Lyonesse did not follow the example of the Marseillois, but sustained, with great bravery, an active siege of two months. General Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, was ordered to besiege that city; but not answering to the impatience of the convention,

he was removed, and general Dopenet appointed to succeed him, to whom the inhabitants, who were not only unused to arms, but very ill-provided with the means of defence, as well as the necessaries of life, were on the 8th of October, obliged to surrender. Considerable losses were sustained by the besiegers, as well as the besieged, in their various actions; a great part of the city was reduced to ashes, by an incessant bombardment; and the victors satiated their rage by barbarities, for which language has not a name. The miserable victims, who were too numerous for the individual operation of the guillotine, were driven in great numbers, with the most savage and blasphemous ceremonies, into the Rhone, or hurried in crowds to the squares, to be massacred by the more painful operation of fire arms and artillery. By a decree of the convention, it was ordered, that the walls and public buildings of this blood-stained city, should be demolished, and that it should lose its former name in that of *la Ville Affranchie*.

The government of France was now become a government of blood, to be sustained by the terrors of the guillotine; the universal engine of the ambitious and sanguinary rulers of that devoted country. It was employed to remove those who were obnoxious, to destroy those who were suspected, and to punish those who, though they deserved good fortune, could not always command it. Success, that sometimes waits upon ignorant audacity, they crowned with laurels; and the misfortune, which neither wisdom, experience, or activity, can always prevent, they con-

consigned to the scaffold. Hence it was, that the unfortunate Custine, one of the most meritorious generals that France could boast, was called from the northern army, after the surrender of Valenciennes, and instantly committed to the prison of the Abbey. He was accused, before the revolutionary tribunal, of having maintained an improper correspondence with the Prussians, while he commanded on the Rhine; and of having neglected various opportunities of throwing reinforcements into Valenciennes. As we have had no opportunity of seeing his trial, if it was ever published, we must not pretend to determine on his guilt, or his innocence; but the testimony of his rivals in arms is in his favour as a man and a soldier. He was, however, suspected by a power, of whose suspicion death was a constant minister; and his transition was but short from the prison to the scaffold.

This act of injustice was soon followed by another of the most affecting nature, which the people had been urged to demand, and the ruling powers were anxious to perform. It was no less than the death of the queen. She had been already separated from her family in the temple. In the night of the first of August, she was suddenly, and in the most cruel and insulting manner, removed to the Conciergerie, a prison destined for the reception of the vilest malefactors. There she was treated with a degree of wanton and savage barbarity, of which we know not how to conceive the motive, unless it was hoped that its severity might save her persecutors the forms of a trial, or that it would

familiarize the people with humiliated royalty. The cell in which she was immured was only eight feet square; her bed an hard mattress of straw, and her food of the meanest kind; while she was never suffered the privilege of being alone, two soldiers being appointed to watch her night and day, without the intermission of a moment. After a confinement of ten weeks in this loathsome dungeon, while preparations were making for her trial, she, at length, appeared before the revolutionary tribunal. The act of accusation was of great length, heavily charged with the most calumniating expressions; and in which the royal object of its horrid criminations, was represented as having been the cause of every real or supposed public calamity, which had happened in France, from the time of her arrival there to that moment. She was charged, among other things, with dissipating the public revenue; with sending to her brother Joseph, two hundred millions of livres, as a relief in his war with the Turks; with holding a correspondence with foreign powers, and inviting them to attack France; with causing a famine, and kindling a civil war in the realm; and, at length, to complete the measure of the folly as well as of the atrocity of her accusers, she was charged with an incestuous commerce, with her own son, a child of eight years of age.

Of these various charges, not one was proved, which must appear to be somewhat extraordinary, when it is considered how easy it was to procure evidence to any charge, and oaths to support any evidence. The trial, however, was conducted with some appearance of formality, but

but the sentence was already prepared; and Marie Antoinette may be said to have been condemned to die, at the moment when she appeared before her judges. On being informed, by the president of the tribunal, that she must prepare to submit to the same fate, which her august husband had already suffered, she did not discover the least emotion; and her aspect lost nothing of that dignity which it displayed in every circumstance of her misfortunes. She had probably anticipated her fate, and therefore met it with calmness and resignation. It is natural to suppose, that she might consider it as the end of her troubles: and what could there be in life for her, which would not make her sigh to change for that state, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. During her trial, amidst the most aggravated mortification, and wanton insult, under accusation of crimes of which she was altogether innocent, or could not commit; she submitted with the patience that became her sad condition, and answered with a spirit that marked her elevated nature. Though she was wholly unprepared to meet, as she was uninformed of, the circumstances of her accusation, she displayed great presence of mind, penetration, and ability, in every part of the proceedings against her; and, rising, as it were, above herself, when the charge of incest was brought against her, she appealed to those around her, who were mothers, as to the possibility of the crime. The advocates assigned to plead her cause were afraid to do their duty; or, knowing how vain their efforts would prove, let her pass undefended to

her fate. She retired from the hall, without uttering a word to the court or the people; and at four o'clock in the morning, was re-conducted to her dungeon.

At five, the drums beat to arms in every part of the city; its whole military force was soon in a state of preparation; cannon were planted in the squares, and at the extremities of the bridges; and at ten, numerous patrols passed through the streets.

At half-past eleven, the queen was brought out of prison, and, like an ordinary malefactor, was conducted, in a common cart, to the place of execution. Her hair was entirely cut off from the back of her head, which was covered with a small white cap; she wore a white undress; her hands were tied behind her, and she sat with her back to the horses. The executioner was seated on her right; and, on the left, was a constitutional priest. The cart was escorted by numerous detachments of horse and foot. Henriot, Rousin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutionary army, preceded by numerous staff-officers, rode before it. An immense mob of people, in which the women appeared to predominate, crowded the streets, insulted the queen, and vociferated, "Long live the republic." She seldom cast her eyes upon the populace, and regarded with indifference, if she at all regarded, the great armed force of 30,000 men, which lined the streets in double ranks. They, who had seen her, in the former part of her life, could not but observe the altered state of her countenance; and what a sad change sorrow had made in that seat of animation and beauty. Her
spirits

spirits appeared to be calm, and she conversed with the priest, who was seated by her, with an air of decent submission, but without the least appearance of anguish or dejection. She ascended the scaffold with much haste, and seeming impatience, and then turned her eyes with apparent emotion towards the garden of the Tuilleries, one of the many scenes of her former greatness.

At half past twelve the guillotine severed her head from her body, which the executioner exhibited all streaming with blood, from the four corners of the scaffold to an inveterate and insatiable multitude.

Thus perished, in the 38th year of her age, Marie Antoinette queen of France, who had enjoyed all the good the world could give, and suffered all the evil it can inflict. Of imperial origin, she was destined to share one of the most splendid thrones on earth: there she continued till she attained her meridian height, when she was plunged to the lowest depth of human misery, to the dungeon and death of the meanest criminal. At such an age, with such native vivacity and fascinating grace, to be a sovereign in such a country, to be surrounded by such a court, and to be uninfected by its follies, is not to be expected from human nature. Her character seems to have been formed for heroism and for virtue, and in those moments, which succeeded her brighter days, she knew how to practise them. Amid all the studied insult, and various cruelties with which she was treated by the villains who presided at her mock trial, she manifested that firmness which was an inherent quality of her nature. We have no doubt that her errors have been greatly

magnified by the tongue of calumny; but even, if amidst the splendor of her life she should have been subject to reproach, the period of her adversity has redeemed it; and every future age will accompany the reflection of her sad fate, with the mingled tear of respect and commiseration,

The corpse of this ill-fated queen was immediately conveyed to a grave filled with quick lime, in the church yard, called de la Madeleine, where the remains of Louis XVI. had been interred with the same privation of pious regard or decent ceremonial.

It has also been said, from an authority which commands a respectful attention, that, when the queen returned from her trial to the dungeon, reason at once abandoned her, and did not resume its powers, to render her sensible of the spectacle she exhibited to a people, who had once followed her with delight and acclamation. The conversation she held with the priest, in her passage to the guillotine, is represented as being foreign to any subject connected with his functions; and it is added, that when she ascended the scaffold, she expressed a disappointment, as she looked towards the Tuilleries, at not seeing her children there. It could be of no consequence to the departed spirit of Marie Antoinette, when she had been consigned to the mansions of rest, what were the final troubles of her life: but existing humanity may feel a satisfaction on reflecting that her murderers were, in some degree, frustrated in this last act of cruelty; and that she suffered the stroke, without feeling the horrors of their vengeance. This relation, if it should

should be correctly true, takes nothing from her character : she had already acted in all her sufferings with a dignity worthy of her name and race.

On a first view it might appear to be a curious and a strange circumstance, that amid such scenes of blood and murder, the government of France should employ itself in such a trifling and unnecessary measure, as the alteration of the calendar. But the design was of a more serious nature, and had a deeper tendency than superficial observers might imagine. It was not a revolutionary frolic, but a part of that system which had been formed by the philosophers of France to abolish christianity in their country; and if possible to drive it out of the world.

According to the new calendar the year retains its division into twelve months; consisting each of thirty days, and distinguished by names expressive of their usual produce, temperature, or appearance; while, to compleat the year, five supplementary days are added, and denominated *sans-calotides*. An intercalary day is to be introduced every fourth year, and to be called the day of the revolution, on which civic games are to be celebrated in honour of the event. The whole space of four years is named an Olympiad, and the last the Olympic year. This new division of time was determined by a decree of the convention passed on the 20th of September.

A principal object of this machinery was to produce a division of each month into three decades, and to fix the day of rest on the tenth, instead of the seventh, that all re-

verence for the institutions contained in the sacred volume might gradually decay. After this prelude the authorities of Paris came in a few days to the convention, attended by the bishop and clergy, decorated with caps of liberty, who, to compleat the ceremonial, renounced the office of Christian priests, and their appointments as Christian pastors, and their character as Christian men. They declared, that the necessity of complying with the prejudices of the people, in order to teach them the moral virtues and social duties, had alone caused their acceptance of the sacerdotal functions; that now, abjuring the trade of superstition, they were resolved, instead of Christians, to become men, to own no temple but the sanctuary of the law, no divinity but liberty, no object of worship but their country, no gospel but the constitution.

These and various other declarations of a similar nature sent from different parts, were dispatched to all the departments and municipalities, to perfect the work of the revolution; and the day of this event was mentioned in the calendar, as the day of reason. The sansculottes, who, in consequence of these proceedings, considered themselves as authorised to plunder every place of worship, public and private, divided with the convention large heaps of shrines, figures, and vessels, hitherto used in the offices of religion, while commissioners from the convention aided the sacrilegious pillage. At Abbeville, and other places, the churches were shut; and many of the priests, who still attempted to officiate at their altars, were arrested and thrown into

into dungeons. Nor can the bishop of Moulins be passed by without receiving the execration he merits. Trampling on the cross and the mitre, he assumed the pike and cap of liberty, and preached the doctrine big with horror to reflecting men, but full of encouragement to diabolic natures, "That death is an eternal sleep."

Robespierre, however, with all his impiety, could not but perceive, that amidst all their enormities the people retained the spirit of their ancient superstition; and that while they were infringing the laws of their religion, every moment of their lives, they saw with disgust the violation of its altars. The various allegorical divinities, such as liberty, equality, &c. which had been established amid the applauses of the convention, the placing a prostitute on the altar of the cathedral church of Paris, to receive adoration as a substitute for the Saviour of the World, and the attempt to restore the rites of Paganism, gave great offence to the people at large; while the decree of the first of December, ordering the churches to be shut up, was received with such public and universal marks of abhorrence and detestation, that it was immediately reversed, and the freedom of religious worship restored. Robespierre, therefore, thought it necessary to stand forth in favour of these religious prepossessions; and it may be, in a great measure, owing to this part of his conduct, that he acquired the predominant popularity which was now seen to attend and support him.

The death of the queen was soon followed by that of the accused

deputies. They were convicted of having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, by exciting a rebellion in the departments of the south, and that of Calvados. On the 30th of October twenty-one of these deputies suffered the stroke of the guillotine. They were, Brissot, Vergniaux, Gensonné, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufriche, Duperret, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze. Of these men, the private lives, even if they could be accurately obtained, is not required in this work; and their public conduct is already known to the world. Among them however there will appear several of those who were active in dethroning Louis XVI. Valazé, who had prepared the charges against the king, is said, and we believe with truth, to have stabbed himself at the moment when the sentence was pronounced against him.

Manuel, who had exerted himself with so much zeal and talent to save the life of his former king, was soon cut off by the vengeance of Robespierre, who could not forget, and was not formed to forgive, the cutting sarcasms of his hostile wit. The generals Houchard and Luckner shared the same fate. Bailly, the first mayor of Paris, after the revolution, was condemned by the same tribunal. M. Barnave also felt the weight of jacobinic resentment or apprehension. He was a man of great eloquence, splendid talents, and high character. When the president, on his trial, demanded why he became a royalist? He answered, "I was the most zealous advocate of freedom, so long as it was

was founded on the principles of philosophy; but I detest it, as a tool of mischief, in the hands of miscreants like you." Rabaut de St. Etienne, whose integrity was his real crime, soon followed to the same scaffold, with many others, who either deserved to live, or were not condemned for the crimes for which they deserved to die.

The decree, which removed the Bourbon family to Marseilles, has been already mentioned; and that the Duke of Orleans, who had assumed the ridiculous and silly title of Philip Egalité, was included in its operation. He was, however, in the beginning of November, brought to Paris, to appear as a criminal before the revolutionary tribunal. He was accused of having aspired to the sovereign power, from the very commencement of the revolution: but whether this charge was proved against him we are not competent to determine: we can only add that he was condemned to die. This odious, execrable man, the dupe of his ambition, and the victim of his crimes, who, equally vicious, and a coward, did not, throughout his life, betray the least tendency to what is good or honourable, actually assumed an air of fortitude at the conclusion of it: a moment, when, indeed, hardened villainy has been sometimes known to wear the semblance of heroic courage. In the evening of the 6th of November, he was conveyed, in a cart, to the place of execution, where the public detestation and abhorrence accompanied the close of his infamous career.

The ignominious catastrophe of this man's life, may be considered

without horror by the most gentle natures: but how shall we express our feelings, when we relate the cruel and unmerited fate of that excellent, accomplished, and lovely woman, madame Roland, who, in two short days, followed such a wretch to such an end. On the 8th of November she suffered with all the dignity that became her character and her virtues. Her rare talents, and acquired knowledge are well known, nor were her domestic qualities inferior to them. Her husband, who was hated by Robespierre, on account of his attachment to the Gironde party, was included in the proscription that followed the decree of the 31st of May. He accordingly quitted Paris; but his wife was apprehended and committed to prison. She was at length brought to trial, and the empty charge of a conspiracy was followed by a sentence of death. At the place of execution she maintained that firm undaunted spirit which had hitherto supported her; and, bowing down before the statue of Liberty, she exclaimed, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

On the Rhine the allies appeared, for some time, to be proceeding in a career of good fortune, which promised the full accomplishment of their objects in that quarter.

The duke of Brunswick having been attacked by the French at Pirmazens, contrived to turn their flank in such a manner as to be able to surround them, when they threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of 3000, with 27 pieces of cannon. He also burned

burned the baggage and tents of another body of French, encamped near Bitche. General Kalkreuth was also attacked in another quarter, and the action concluded by his cutting to pieces the regiment called *Les Sans Culottes*.

On the 14th of October general Wurmser forced the strong lines of the Lautre. The town of Lautrebourg surrendered at discretion, after being evacuated by the enemy. The town of Weissembourg made a longer resistance; part of it, however, was unfortunately burned, and the French, before they retreated, set fire to their magazines within the walls, as well as those at Alstade. In other parts of this complicated operation, in which six different columns had distinct plans to execute, great success attended the Austrian arms. The loss of the French amounted to upwards of three thousand killed, with between five and six hundred prisoners, and twenty-six pieces of cannon, with their ammunition waggons, and horses. The loss sustained by the Austrians did not amount to more than eight hundred men in killed and wounded.

The Austrian army now proceeded to Haguenau, which had already surrendered to the advanced corps under general Mazaros; and on the 18th beat the French with considerable slaughter at Brumpt. The right wing of the French army was also, on the 25th, routed with great loss, when general Wurmser gained the important position of Wanzean. Fort Louis also surrendered on the 15th of November to the Austrian forces, with a garrison of four thousand men, one hundred and twelve

pieces of cannon, stores, live stock, &c.

On the 29th of November the French troops, to the amount of 30,000 men, attacked the duke of Brunswick in the entrenchments of Landau, but were repulsed with great loss. A second attack was made by them on the 30th, when they were again compelled to retreat; and the duke of Brunswick having learned, on the following day, that a body of the French was again formed at Rainstein, his serene highness immediately marched to attack them, and succeeded in driving them beyond Hombourg, after taking from them their baggage, artillery, and ammunition. On the same day, a general attack was made on the whole line of Wurmser's army; and after an engagement, which lasted throughout the day, the French were driven beyond Strasbourg. Here, however, we shall find a termination to the successful career of general Wurmser.

In the latter part of November the French received such numerous re-inforcements, that, as they were now always able to out-flank their antagonists, or advance an army towards their rear; and still maintain their lines in front, the allied army was compelled, except in particular situations, to retreat without a serious contest.

The plan for gaining possession of Strasbourg, by the assistance of its disaffected citizens having failed, Wurmser was compelled to retire towards Haguenau; and tho' the duke of Brunswick repulsed the French in two attacks they made on his post at Lautern, with great loss on their part, no lasting advantage was obtained by this favourable event;

event; for the French armies of the Rhine and Moselle, under the generals Pichegru and Hoche, having made a combined attack on the Austrians at Haguenau, were, after repeated repulses and assaults, enable to carry the lines and redoubts, from which they had been so lately driven. Two engagements, though very dearly bought by the victorious French, obliged the Imperial veteran to cross the Rhine. The Prussians were not alone in a condition to cover the army that besieged Landau. The prince of Hohenloe, therefore, raised the siege, and the duke of Brunswick proceeded to winter quarters in Mentz, and its neighbourhood.

We have already mentioned the surrender of Toulon to the British admiral, lord Hood, and shall proceed to state the principal circumstances of the short period, during which it remained under his protection.

The French general Cartaux had no sooner obtained possession of Marseilles, than he prepared to restore Toulon also to the republic of France: and on the 30th of August he appeared with a small force of eight hundred men, with some cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery, at Senary and Ollouilles, two places at the distance of six miles from Toulon. Captain Elphinstone of the navy, who had the command of the troops, landed from the fleet, marched out against them with three hundred British, and as many Spanish infantry. With this force he attacked them with great vigour, made them abandon their posts on all sides, and took all their cannon, horses, ammunition, two stand of colours, drums, &c. The loss of the English, on

this occasion, amounted only to one killed, and nine wounded; Spaniards, three killed, and as many wounded.

On the sixth of September lord Mulgrave arrived at Toulon, and had been desired by lord Hood to take upon him the command of the troops, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and on all occasions, during his command, he gave distinguished proofs of his great professional qualifications.

On the 30th of September the enemy very unexpectedly got possession of the important post of Faron, but were driven from thence with great courage and spirit, amidst inconceivable difficulties and danger, by the troops under the command of lord Mulgrave.

On the night of the 8th of October the batteries on the Hauteur de Reinier were destroyed, the parties which guarded them driven away with great slaughter, and a considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition destroyed.

On the night of the 9th a very successful sortie was made, under the command of captain Brereton, in which several of the enemy's batteries, recently erected, were destroyed, and the troops that defended them completely defeated.

On the 15th of October the enemy got possession of Cape Le Brun, from which they were afterwards driven with very considerable loss.

On the 15th of the following month, Fort Mulgrave, situated on the heights of Baleguier, one of the most essential posts that cover the town and harbour of Toulon, was vigorously and repeatedly attacked by a large body
of

of the enemy; but were repulsed with the loss of six hundred men. The loss within the fort amounted only to sixty-one.

The French having erected and opened a battery against the post of Malbousquet, from which balls would reach the town and arsenal, governor O'Hara, who had arrived from Gibraltar, to take the command of the forces at Toulon, prepared to destroy it, and bring off the guns. Accordingly, on the 30th of November, this plan was so far executed, as to obtain full possession of the height and battery; but the impetuosity of the successful troops, led them to pursue the flying enemy, in such irregular and scattered manner, that the latter, having, at length, collected in great force, obliged them to retreat, and relinquish the advantages they had obtained. General O'Hara arrived at the redoubt, as it was taken; and perceiving the disorder of the troops, was hastening to order them back, when he received a wound, which bled so much as to render him incapable of avoiding the enemy, by whom he was made prisoner.

At length, though there was no occasion offered to British intrepidity, in which it did not succeed; it was impossible to contend against such a power, which, after the surrender of Lyons, amounted to an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, and was receiving daily reinforcements; while the allied force never exceeded twelve

thousand men bearing firelocks, composed of fire different nations and languages, by no means formed to co-operate with each other. Besides, for the complete defence of the town and harbour, the circumference necessary to be occupied, extended fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with several intermediate dependencies. To support these posts, required nine thousand men, and the rest of the army remained to guard the town. It became, therefore, unavoidably necessary to evacuate a place which was no longer tenable. This was done with great effect. The whole of the troops were brought off, without the loss of a man; and several thousand of the loyal inhabitants of Toulon were sheltered in the British ships. Sir Sydney Smith, to whose active intrepidity was entrusted, the conflagration of the magazines, store-houses, and arsenals, with the ships in the harbour, performed that hazardous and extraordinary duty, in a manner that justified his appointment to it. On this occasion, fifteen ships of the line, with many frigates and smaller vessels, were destroyed, and an immense quantity of naval stores. Three ships of the line, and several frigates, accompanied the British fleet. The French navy, by these operations, received an irretrievable blow; and the loss would have been still greater if four third-rate ships had not been dispatched to Brest, with the hope of effecting a similar revolt in that quarter*.

When

**List of the Ships of the Line, Frigates, and Sloops, of the Department of Toulon.*

IN THE ROAD, WHEN THE ENGLISH FLEET ENTERED TOULON.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.
Now with the English Fleet.

	Guns.
Le Commerce de Marseilles	120
Le Pompé	74
	<i>Burnt</i>

When the administrators of Toulon requested lord Hood to receive their city under his protection there was every reason to believe that his ready compliance with their desire, would have been attended with the most beneficial effects to France, and consequently to Europe: but when Marseilles broke her federal engagements, and Lyons had submitted to the re-

publican arms; that Toulon could be preserved was a vain expectation: but, though great advantages were eventually obtained by the temporary cession of Toulon to the British power; and though, in the possession of it, the British name maintained its honour—the relinquishment of it mortified the pride, and disappointed the hopes of the British nation.

<i>Burnt at Toulon.</i>			<i>Burnt at Toulon.</i>		
Le Tonnant	-	80	La Caroline	-	20
L'Heureux	-	74	L'Auguste	-	20
Le Centaur	-	74	<i>Fitted out by the English.</i>		
Le Commerce de Bourdeaux	-	74	La Bellette	-	26
Le Destin	-	74	La Proselite	-	24
Le Lys	-	74	La Sincere	-	20
Le Heros	-	74	Le Mulet	-	20
Le Themistocles	-	74	La Mozelle	-	20
Le Dugay Yourin	-	74	<i>Fitted out by the Neapolitans.</i>		
<i>Sent into the French Ports in the Atlantic, with French Seamen, &c.</i>			L'Embroye	-	20
Le Patriote	-	74	<i>Fitted out by the Spaniards.</i>		
L'Apollon	-	74	La Petite Aurore	-	19
L'Orion	-	74	<i>Sent to Bourdeaux.</i>		
L'Entreprenant	-	74	Le Pluvier	-	20
<i>Burnt at Leghorn.</i>			FITTING OUT WHEN THE ENGLISH		
Le Scipion	-	74	FLEET ENTERED TOULON.		
<i>Remaining at Toulon.</i>			SHIPS OF THE LINE.		
Le Genereux	-	74	<i>Burnt at Toulon.</i>		
FRIGATES.			Le Triumphant	-	80
<i>Now with the English Fleet.</i>			Le Suffisant	-	74
Le Perle	-	40	<i>Now with the English Fleet.</i>		
L'Aretheuse	-	40	Le Puissant	-	74
<i>Fitted out by the English.</i>			<i>Remaining at Toulon.</i>		
L'Aurore	-	32	Le Dauphin Royal	-	120
<i>Put into commission by order of Lord Hood.</i>			FRIGATE.		
La Topaze	-	32	<i>Burnt at Toulon.</i>		
<i>Remaining in the Power of the Sardinians.</i>			La Serieuse	-	32
L'Alceste	-	32	IN THE HARBOUR, IN WANT OF		
SLOOPS.			REPAIR.		
<i>Now with the English Fleet.</i>			SHIPS.		
La Poulette	-	26	<i>Burnt at Toulon.</i>		
Le Tarlesten	-	14	Le Mercure	-	74
			La Couronne	-	80
			Le Conquerent	-	74
			Le Dictateur	-	74
			<i>Remaining</i>		

On the side of Spain, we have only to mention that several actions took place between the Spanish and republican troops, in which the former were successful. On the 23d of April, the Spanish forces, under the command of Don Ventura Caro, attacked the fort of Andaya, drove the French from it, destroyed the encampment of Biri-atu, and retired to Vera, with very trifling loss.

A few days previous to this action, general Don Ricardos, who commanded the army in Catalonia, forced the town of Goret, which was defended by three thousand men; and, after an engagement of three hours, the enemy were put to flight, with the loss of their artillery. On the 22d of June, the fortress of Bellegarde, with a very considerable garrison, consisting of a thousand men, surrendered to the Spanish troops. On the 22d of September, general Ricardos obtained a complete victory over the French, near Truillas.

On the side of Nice, we have to relate the following advantages over the republican troops, by those of his Sardinian majesty.

On the 12th of June, a body of ten thousand French troops attempted to dislodge the advanced posts of the Sardinian army, at

Raus and Auchion, in the county of Nice, commanded by the generals Baron Calli, and Baron Dellera; and, after an engagement of eight hours, were repulsed, and driven into the vallies with great loss. On the 29th, the French renewed their attempts on the same posts, but were completely defeated.

Italy may be said at this time, to be protected by the fleet of Great Britain, which commanded the Mediterranean sea. Genoa had manifested dispositions to favour the republic of France, and the British minister thought it right to interpose, in favour of that neutrality which it professed. The grand duke of Tuscany, on similar representations from lord Hervey, on the part of the British court, had ordered the French minister and his adherents to quit the Tuscan territories. Several ships had also been sent by lord Hood to Corsica, at the request of general Paoli, but did not produce the effects proposed by their operations.

The British ministers had been long, and very much blamed, because they had not contrived to afford succour to the insurgents in La Vendée; a measure which was considered by those who supported it, as possessing the most probable,

<i>Remaining at Toulon.</i>			L'Alerte - - -	16
Le Languedoc - -	80		<i>Having on Board the Powder Magazines burnt at Toulon.</i>	
Le Censeur - -	74		L'Iris - - -	32
Le Guerrier - -	74		Le Montreal - -	32
Le Souverain - -	74		<i>Fitted out by the English as a Bomb Ketch.</i>	
<i>Unfit for Service.</i>			La Lutine - -	32
L'Alcide - -	74		<i>Remaining at Toulon.</i>	
<i>FRIGATES.</i>			La Bretonne - -	18
<i>Burnt at Toulon.</i>				
Le Courageux - -	32			
L'Iphigénie - -	32			

if

if not the only means, of producing a counter-revolution in France. At length, however, an armament was prepared for that purpose, and the command given to lord Moira, a very gallant soldier, and peculiarly qualified for such a service. He accordingly set sail in December, but was obliged to return, without fulfilling the object of his expedition. When the French royalists requested the assistance of Great Britain, they did not appear to entertain the least doubt that they should gain a sufficient length of sea-coast, to have enabled the British army to effect a landing. But, in this expectation, they were disappointed : for it is since known, that the insurgent leaders were not united among themselves ; and when they did make an attempt in the autumn to reach the sea, the peasants had unfortunately con-

ceived it to be their design to escape, by the assistance of English vessels, and accordingly compelled them to return into the interior parts of the country.

Such is the state of that quarter of the globe which we inhabit ; and for the evils it at present suffers, as well as for those with which it is menaced, its inhabitants are indebted to that tremendous mischief the French revolution. That it has been, in some degree, checked in its destructive career, the world may thank those powers who have combined against it, in behalf of a very large portion of the human race. We must look, therefore, to a continuance of that union, and an active perseverance in its present objects, that order may be restored to France, and peace to Europe.

9 0 0 2 1 1 2

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

ublin **T**HE accounts from the county of , with respect to the proceed- of a banditti, calling them- Defenders, grow daily more ng; near forty houses have attacked belonging to Pros, for the purpose of plunder- of their arms. This ban- e linked together by an oath esy, and they have their re- leaders and captains; they themselves by night in the e of fire-arms, or execute of robbery. Last week these insurgents met in Dunbar, number of 1,500 to 2,000 one armed with guns, some itchforks; but it does not that they had any settled

The army were immedi- dispatched from Dundalk, a their approach the mob al.

ce. There has been in this a considerable inundation en or eight hours, and the was within two inches as in 1783. It was caused by it storm in the Adriatic, ac- cied by a very high wind, drove the water into La- and kept it there at a cer- tlight. Nearly one half of was inundated, and the in- ts went to the square of St.

Numbers of the cisterns .xxxv.

were spoiled, and filled with salt water.

3d. Copenhagen. By a royal edict of the 7th of November, 1792, the trade with the Danish settle- ments upon the coast of Guinea is declared free to all nations without exception, trading in foreign-built ships, and without any restraint respecting the articles of importa- tion or of exportation, including negroes; it being understood, that these shall not be exported till the end of the year 1802, conformably to the decree of March 16, 1792.

Philadelphia. General Washing- ton has been unanimously re-elected president; with not a dissenting voice through all the Continent against him. The vice-president, Mr. Adams, has also been re- elected, but by a majority of a few voices only. The publick had pointed him out as author of Let- ters in answer to Mr. Paine, signed "*Publicola*;" but Mr. Adams, by public advertisement, declared he was not the author of these letters. His friends also reminded the Ame- ricans of his having been perse- cuted by the court of Great Britain. Had it not been for these things, Mr. Clinton would have been vice- president; he was within a few votes of him as it was. Trade is at present very brisk; but, owing to the building of the new capital, and cutting sundry canals, wages of work people are enormously high.

Wrights and masons are not now content with two dollars a day.

8th. The Empress of Russia has assigned portions of land in the Crimea to the French emigrants, and remitted 200,000 roubles to the prince of Condé, at Frankfort, for the expences of his journey.

10th. At a common-council of the City of London, held this day, it was resolved, that the sum of forty shillings for every able seaman, and twenty shillings for every ordinary seaman, over and above the bounty granted by his Majesty, be given, during the pleasure of the court, and not exceeding one month from this day, to every such seaman as shall enter into the service of his Majesty's navy.

By a vessel from the Havanna, accounts are received, that during most part of the last month they experienced almost incessant rains, accompanied by very tempestuous weather, which increased by the 29th to a hurricane, and did considerable mischief. Near 350 houses, on the south side of the town, are said to be unroofed, and several vessels in the Bay lost; seven were driven out to sea, only two of which had returned on the 3d instant. All the plantain-walks are destroyed, and much damage done to the ground provisions. To add to the calamity, several lives, both in town and country, were lost. So much has the city suffered by the late hurricane, there is scarcely one house, of those left standing after the storm, which it is not necessary to support by props. Hundreds of cattle were drowned while grazing in the fields, and there is no inhabitant but what is, in some measure, a sufferer in this dreadful calamity.

Mr. Silva, of Chelsea, and his maid servant, were found murdered in his house; in the morning the maid servant was in a neighbouring shop buying tea, and said her master expected company to breakfast. About noon the errand-man called at the house, and no person coming to answer the bell, he went down the area into the kitchen, where he found the maid lying dead, and her master endeavouring to crawl up stairs, but speechless and insensible. They had both been struck on the head with some heavy pointed instrument. Mr. Silva died next morning, without having been able to give any account of the shocking act. There was no appearance of the house having been robbed. Mr. Silva was reputed a man of wealth, and it is conjectured, that the perpetrators having intimation of money in his possession, introduced themselves into his house on pretence of business, and carried off nothing but his money. A man of the name of Mendez, a nephew of Mr. Silva, was charged before Nicholas Bond, Esq. with these murders, on the testimony of a boy, who simply stated, having seen him in the neighbourhood on the morning in question. After a long examination, it appeared clearly by the evidence of a number of witnesses, that the prisoner was several miles distant from Chelsea at the time the fact was supposed to have been committed. He was consequently discharged.

Edinburgh. An eminent manufacturer in this town has just finished two elegant gown pieces, manufactured from Shetland wool, the one for her Majesty, the other for the Duchess of York. They have

have also just finished a very handsome vest piece for the Prince of Wales, and a beautiful gown piece for the Duchess of Gordon, both from common Scotch worsted; encouraged by such patronage, it may reasonably be hoped soon to see the woollen manufacture attain a degree of perfection hitherto unknown in this country. A gown piece similar in pattern to that of her Majesty, has been ordered for the Empress of Russia.

Hereford. The repairs of the cathedral are advancing: the groinde arches of the nave are in great forwardness, but the new paving, which is to cost 500l. is not yet begun. The south transept has been in a most alarming state: the walls beginning to spread, buttresses have been run up on the outside, but it is by no means secure. The workmen, who proposed taking out the window-frames, took off the old roof and lowered it, to correspond with the nave, and added all the new work, even the windows and a small circular window over the large south one, the frame of which was intended to be taken down; but when this was done, and the workmen were beginning to take out the old frame, and remove the key-stone at the top, so much danger was apprehended, that they were obliged to desist till the surveyor was recalled. Notwithstanding the sum of 4000l. was raised by Act of Parliament, a second subscription is now circulated in the Hereford papers, and proceeds with more spirit than could have been expected.

16th. A court mourning was directed for the French king, which has been almost universal-

ly observed throughout the metropolis.

18th. This day, lord George Gordon, the term of his lordship's imprisonment having expired, was brought into the court of King's Bench, for the purpose of being admitted to bail; he was accompanied by the keeper, two men as his bail, and several Jews. He had a large slouched hat on his head, and an enormous beard. He was ordered to take off his hat, which he refused. The court directed the crier to take it off, which he did accordingly. Lord George desired the court to take notice, that his hat had been taken off by violence. He then deliberately took out of his pocket a white cap, which he put upon his head, and tied a handkerchief over it; after which, he produced a paper, entitled, "The petition of Israel Abraham George Gordon, commonly called Lord George Gordon." He said, the petition was an apology for appearing with his head covered, agreeably to the custom of the Jews. By a conformity to this custom, he meant no disrespect to the court, as it arose purely from the tenderness of his conscience, since he had entered into the "holy covenant of circumcision." The petition was read by the officer of the court, and contained many arguments, drawn from the Jewish writers, in favour of appearing with his head covered before all men. The sentence against him for the libels was, at his request, read, after which, he read a written paper; the substance of which was, that he had been imprisoned for five years among murderers, thieves, &c. and that all the consolation he

had, arose from his trust in God; that he was compelled to find security for his good behaviour for 14 years, himself in 5000*l.* and two sureties in 2,500*l.* each. He said, that lord Kenyon, who had been his counsel when he was tried for high treason, well knew the amount of his income, he had only an annuity of 500*l.* a year, which was not assignable, but granted merely for his aliment. He was obliged to his brother, the Duke of Gordon, for the loan of 500*l.* with which he was then ready to pay the fine amounting to that sum. In order to obtain his enlargement, he had brought two persons into court, who were ready to become his bail; but the Attorney General objecting to the bail proposed, and producing affidavits of their incompetency, his Lordship was remanded to prison.

19th. The sun on this day made the following extraordinary appearance. It having been very clear and frosty, till about 12 o'clock, a fog arose, by which the sun, as is usual, appeared like a red globe. The attention of many people was excited by observing an oblong opake body nearly on its centre. It was so visible as to be seen without the assistance of a telescope, and even when the fog dispersed, and the sun became very luminous, the spot was still visible, although the power of light was so great upon the eye as to dazzle and weaken the sight.

20th. Advices were received at the Sierra Leone house, from that settlement, dated Oct. 20, giving a favourable account of the farther progress of the colony. An amicable meeting had been held with

the Chiefs, on the subject of the distribution of the lots of land, of which a regular survey was begun. The rains had ceased, and the health of the Nova-Scotia blacks was much improved. It appears by the returns, that the mortality among them had not been so very great as was apprehended, only 98 American blacks having died, from the time of their landing to the 20th of October: the number of those remaining alive was 1026. Somewhat more than 60 whites appear in all to have died, the chief of whom were of the lower order living on shore. Information has been received, by the Harpy, of the colony's progress up to the 20th of November. From the report of the physician it appears, that the disease which troubled the settlers most was a remittent fever, and that by administering bark, at as short intervals as the stomach will bear, immediately after the first paroxysm, it changes it into an intermittent fever, which may be then cured with as much certainty as the common ague in England. The doctor attributes most of the mortality to those causes which are common to all new colonies, and says, that the climate, as far as he can judge from his short experience, is very good. Of the 1190 free blacks embarked at Halifax in January, 1792, the following is a return of the deaths up to the 2d of September, 1792, which in the men and women have been principally old and infirm, and many of those who died on shore were landed in a diseased state. On their passage 35 men, 18 women, 7 boys, and 5 girls: total 65. Since their arrival,

rival, 28 men, 28 women, 21 boys, and 22 girls; total 99. General total 164.

22d. At one o'clock a treasury-board was held at Carleton-house, when the reduction of the Prince of Wales's establishment took place. The domestics discharged are to be paid their arrears to the last quarter, and then to be established on a pension of half their salary during their dismissal.

Died, at Colessie, in Fifeshire, aged 108, Thomas Garrick. A few months before he died, he was in the habit of walking a mile a day, and in his 99th year married a third wife.

21st. Decapitated in the 39th year of his age, Louis XVI. king of the French. He began his reign May 10, 1774: was driven from the Thuilleries August 10, 1792; thrown into prison on the 14th, and dethroned Sept. 22, following. He had reigned 18 years and 3 months.

At the premature age of 36, Wm. Austin, M. D. of Cecil-street, in the Strand; one of the physicians of St. Bartholomew's hospital. Of such skill and knowledge was the doctor in his profession, and of manners so urbane and respectability so great in his private character, that when his intention to quit Oxford was known, he received the offer of 1200l. a year if he would relinquish the idea. The doctor, however, declined an offer so creditable to the University and himself, and came to London, where he settled as a practitioner, and succeeded so eminently, that the yearly profits of his professional attendance, are said to have been upwards of 4000l.

23d. At half past five o'clock, at

his house in Bell's court, Moorfields, Mr. Mendez, the nephew of the late Mr. Silva, of Chelsea. He was examined at Bow-street, as stated before, on suspicion, and dismissed on the evidence of witnesses that he was in Moorfields at the time the murder was committed. The following circumstances have since appeared.—A pot-boy had observed a man with a brown great-coat, endeavouring to open the outer gate of the house, with a small bundle in his hand. Mendez, the nephew, received notice of his uncle's death on Thursday night, as he said, and not before, but did not describe who gave him the intelligence. Previous to his examination, he discoursed with the pot-boy, who had observed a man at his uncle's door, questioned him as to the colour and sort of great-coat, and offered him half a crown for his description; but, on friendly expostulation, the gift was recalled. Subsequent to his release, it has been discovered that Mendez had conversed with an acquaintance in Fleet-market, at half past ten on Wednesday morning, with a fowl in his hand, saying, that "it would make a good broil," and he was going to eat it with a friend in the country. He has since been with the same person, and conversed with him about the uncertainty as to the day of their previous conversation respecting the fowl, Mendez supposing it to be Thursday, the other insisting that it was on Wednesday; but there has been no account given as to what afterwards became of that fowl. A child of Mendez was buried on Tuesday; on its going for interment, Mendez observed, that he should not be long after it. On its being mentioned

tioned to him the other day that he would probably be re-apprehended, he said, "Let them come, I am prepared for them." He was, however, seemingly very well on Tuesday evening at five and six o'clock, conversing with his neighbours in Moorfields, without discovering any difference from his usual conduct. He died on Wednesday morning without any symptoms of external or internal violence. He has left a wife and two or three children. His body has since been opened and examined, when nearly half a pint of white arsenic was found in his body; on which the coroner found a verdict, *Felo de se*: and he has been buried in the highway at Chelsea.

Lately, at his seat at Mepkin, in South Carolina, in his 70th year, the Hon. Henry Laurens, formerly president of the Continental Congress of America, and ambassador from thence to the United States of Holland. On his passage thither he was captured by a British ship of war, and brought to England, where he was committed to the Tower as a state prisoner by the British ministry, and remained so for fourteen months, when he was bailed. This was admitted, upon the news of the defeat of earl Cornwallis at York-town, in Virginia, where Mr. Laurens' son, a colonel in the American army, signalized himself in action, and drew up the terms of capitulation of the earl and his army. What made this singular was, that earl Cornwallis was then governor of the Tower of London, where colonel Laurens' father was at the same time confined: colonel Laurens was afterwards killed in action with the British in South Carolina,

just at the close of the war, after having distinguished himself upon various occasions, so as to gain the rank of general by the appointment of Congress, which he declined accepting. Two more disinterested characters than the father and son never appearing during the American war, as neither would receive either pay or profit for their services. At the close of the war, Mr. Laurens, the father, retired, Cincinnatus like, to his country seat, and refused all appointments of profit or honour. Mr. Laurens' body, according to the directions of his will, was burnt to ashes two days after his death, in a fire kindled by eight favourite negroes.

FEBRUARY.

Jan. 26th. Kingstown, St. Vincent's. Tuesday evening his Majesty's ship Providence, Capt. Bligh, with the Assistance brig, Lieut. Portlock, arrived here from Otaheite, with the bread fruit plants. These vessels sailed from England the 2d of August, 1791, arrived at Otaheite the 10th of April following, where they remained till the 19th of July, and having effected the object of their voyage, left that island in perfect health, and arrived at St. Helena on the 17th of December, from whence they had only a short passage of twenty-seven days here. This voyage has been so far completed in the short space of eighteen months; and it must afford no small pleasure and satisfaction to the inhabitants of this part of the world, to learn that no less than 300 bread fruit-plants have been landed here, in excellent order, for the purpose of being distributed among

among the different islands. The remainder of the plants, amounting to an equal number, are intended for the island of Jamaica, whither Capt. Bligh will proceed in a day or two, and from thence return to England. Independent of the bread fruit, a number of other valuable plants are brought by Capt. Bligh, some with the most delicious fruits. Capt. Bligh has on board two men, natives of Otaheite, going to England with him. The Captain went out and returned by the Cape of Good Hope: he also, in his return, called at Timor, and came through the heretofore unexplored strait between New Guinea and New Holland, which we understand has been named Providence Straits. This passage is mentioned to be extremely perilous, and instead of being (as was supposed and laid down) clear and open, was full of shoals, rocks, and small islands. The Providence and Assistance were repeatedly in the most imminent danger of being lost, and, though the distance in good sea-room might be run in a couple of days, so slow was their progress, that it took twenty-one to get through it: at times, they could not run more than five miles a day, and they lost some anchors. Some of the islands in this strait are inhabited, and a communication was had with the natives, who appeared friendly; but on a sudden a number of canoes put off, and, approaching close to the Assistance, threw in a volley of arrows, by which one man was killed, and two desperately wounded; they, however, retired very precipitately, on the Providence firing on them, and striking one of the canoes, by which some were killed. It was

in this Strait that the Pandora frigate was lost; and it is conjectured that M. de la Peyrouse perished there. Only one man died of disease during the voyage: indeed the healthy appearance of every person belonging to the two vessels is remarkable.

6th. The Chinsurah cause so long depending was finally decided. On Wednesday the treasurer of the India Company paid into the court of Admiralty the capital sum of sixty-seven thousand and odd pounds, in consequence of the award of sir James Marriot.

7th. A dreadful fire broke out a little before four o'clock this morning, at lady Dover's, in Hill-street, Berkley-square, which destroyed that house, and damaged the adjoining one. It was with great difficulty that the lives of lady Dover and her niece, the baroness Hompesch, who was in the house, were saved. They were taken out at the windows of the upper rooms by two servants belonging to Mr. Caswel and Mr. Balfour, at the risk of their lives. A maid servant jumped out of a two-pair of stairs window, broke her thigh, and is since dead. No other life was lost, but the young lady is much burnt, as the flames had spread far into the room where she was before she could be taken out.

Lloyd, an attorney, who advertised the Fleet prison to let, "in the first year of English liberty," enjoyed an hour of notoriety on the pillory opposite the Royal Exchange. During the first quarter of an hour the engine was so loosely placed, that he simply looked through it at his comparative ease; an alteration however was made by order of the sheriff, that it should

should be shut close.—The concourse of people was very great; but by the assistance of about two hundred constables, good order was preserved during the whole time.

A question came before the court of King's Bench rather of a curious nature. A private soldier had been committed by a magistrate for want of surety for the maintenance of an illegitimate child, of which he was sworn to be the father. It was contended, on the part of the soldier, that he was not liable to the commitment, for that by the mutiny act it was provided, that no soldier should be imprisoned, except for a crime, or for a debt amounting to 20l. and that the charge of being the father of an illegitimate child was not a crime by the law of England. Lord Kenyon observed, that if incontinence was not a crime, (he hoped, indeed, a venial one) all the proceedings had in the ecclesiastical court, since its institution, were erroneous. The court confirmed the order of commitment.

8th. The recorder of London made his report to the king of nineteen convicts who were condemned to die at the Old Bailey, in December last, when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday next, viz.

William Bateman, Henry Griffin, alias Duke of Ormond, alias Lord Massey, alias George Hubbard, Thomas Healy, Thomas Montague Glover, Edward Egerton, George Rankin, alias Goodall, Abraham Mayham, F. Pope, Isaac More, and ten were respited.

9. A report having been some days prevalent, that the New River was poisoned, the company inserted

the following notice in the newspapers:

*" New River office, London,
Feb. 7th.*

" Whereas some evil-minded persons have, for several days past, propagated a report, that the water in the New River hath been attempted to be poisoned, and application hath been made to the servants of this company, inquiring into the truth of such report; the New River company, respecting the satisfaction of the public, have directed this notice to be given, that the said report, on full inquiry, is void of all foundation. *John Rowe, Sec.*"

Padua. A number of students, followed by a concourse of people, planted the tree of liberty, the 29th of last month, in the square of the university, hoisted the tricoloured flag, danced the Carmagnol, and sung Ca-ira. The government waited till the mob dispersed, and then cut down the tree of liberty, and apprehended the ringleaders.

Barnet. The house of Mr. Adam, the architect, in this neighbourhood, in the absence of the family, was attacked in the early part of last week by a banditti, for the evident purpose of committing depredations. The husbandry bailiff was alarmed, and discovered them; on which he fired amongst them, and killed one of the gang. A few evenings afterwards, a party of thirteen ruffians returned to their charge. The bailiff was again alarmed, fired amongst them, and killed two. A few days after four persons, genteelly dressed, called on horseback at Mr. Adam's house, and addressed the bailiff, who

who was by their conversation drawn to some distance from the house, by answering questions, and making remarks on the grounds. The party then having by their manner unguarded all suspicion, they took an opportunity of shooting him, and left him for dead on the spot at two o'clock in the afternoon. He survived, however, some days, and it was discovered, before his death, that the story was fabricated, and that he was his own assassinator.

12th. *Stafford.* As Mr. Thomas Ward, attorney, was returning home, about two miles from this place, he was stopped by two foot-pads, who first cut his pocket across, and, on his making an exclamation, shot him with a pistol, and robbed him of eighteen guineas and his watch; he was found by two other gentlemen, who had been robbed near the same place by four men, two of whom answered to Mr. Ward's description. He died in a very little time after he was found.

Being the last day of term, the Solicitor General prayed the judgment of the court upon the Rev. Richard Burgh, James Davis, J. Cummins, Thomas Townly, M'Can, and John Bourne, who had been tried and convicted for a conspiracy, to effect their own and the escape of the other persons legally confined for debt, and for that purpose setting fire to, and attempting to destroy the walls of the King's Bench prison; when they were severally sentenced to three years imprisonment, at the expiration of which they are to find security for their good behaviour for three years, Burgh in 200l. and two sureties in 100l. each: and the other

prisoners in 100l. each, and two sureties in 50l. each.

13th. Soon after eight o'clock, Francis Hubbard, alias Griffin, alias Lord Massey, alias the Duke of Ormond, for forgery, and seven other malefactors, were executed opposite the debtor's door of Newgate. Hubbard stabbed himself in the side on Tuesday morning, and is also said to have taken poison, neither of which, however, proved effectual: he appeared very weak from the loss of blood, but behaved with great fortitude and composure previous to his being executed.

16. Lord Kenyon laid down an important rule for the regulation of the conduct of attornies. His Lordship said, he verily believed that the majority of attornies were honourable men, and of service to the community; but there were many others who were the greatest pests to society. He desired attornies to take notice, that they were bound to give their clients the best advice in their power, and to conduct the causes entrusted to them as if they were their own. If an attorney, instead of honestly and fairly advising his clients, advised them to prosecute groundless or frivolous actions, for the sake of the costs, all such attornies would be compelled to pay the expences themselves.

21st. As a party of the Dublin Rangers, volunteer corps, were passing through Capel-street, under arms, they were accosted by the high constable of the Dublin police, attended by one of the inspectors, who, seizing one of them, attempted to apprehend him; this was resented by one of the volunteer's comrades by a stroke with the butt.

butt-end of his firelock. The volunteers then proceeded to a tea-house, at Drumcondra, where they had agreed to breakfast. In the mean time the police officer went to the castle, where a strong guard from the piquet barrack, in the lower yard, and the horse troop, was immediately turned out, and a magistrate being procured to head them, they proceeded to resent the outrage committed on the peace officer; for which purpose they marched to Drumcondra, passing the house where the volunteers were at breakfast: these last, prudently availing themselves of the inattention of the military, marched quietly back to town and dispersed. Thus ended an affair that for three hours filled Dublin with inexpressible anxiety.

25th. At half-past six the three battalions of guards destined for foreign service, were drawn up on the parade, before the horse guards. At seven the King, attended by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and several general and other officers, came down the mall from Buckingham house. His Majesty was mounted on a beautiful white charger, and wore a general's uniform. After his Majesty had been about half an hour on the parade, the battalions passed him by companies, moving to slow time, the officers saluting as they passed. They then went off by Storey's gate, and took the road to Greenwich. When the whole had passed, his Majesty with his suite fell in the rear of the battalions, and accompanied them to the place of embarkation.

The march was honoured with the presence of the Queen, and the three eldest princesses. The Duke

of Clarence, in a coach and six, likewise accompanied the march of the battalions.

27th. The vessel of the late Mr. Ramsey, to sail against wind and tide, has lately been tried, and was found to sail four knots an hour. The following is the principle on which it moves: a pump of two feet diameter, wrought by a steam engine, forces a quantity of water up through the keel. The valve is then shut up by the return of the stroke, which, at the same time, forces the water through a channel, or pipe, of about six inches square, lying above and parallel to the keelson, out at the stern under the rudder, which has a less dip than usual, to permit the exit of the water. The impetus of the water forced through the square channel against the exterior water acts as an impelling power upon the vessel.

The climate of England; in the opinion of many, has, of late years, undergone a considerable change. Formerly we used to have smart frosts in winter; and hot, and sometimes dry summers. For some years back both winters and summers have generally been wet, with so little ice, that luxury, by its agents, has been obliged to procure it from foreign parts. In the course of last year, those who kept a register of the weather tell us, there were but one hundred and three dry days. For the little that is passed of the present year, we have scarcely had six dry days.

DIED, lately at his villa, near Orgelet, in Franche Comté, M. Savary, who had written some very ingenious pieces, particularly "the Dangers of a sedentary Life." He was the descendant of the celebrated

brated Savary, translator of the Koran, author of an Arabic Dictionary, and other works of mental labour.

At Orgon; in Provence, M. Tissot, author of "Sketches of Society, Modern Depravity," &c.

14. Early this morning, in his 68th year, at his house in Chatham place, Brass Crosby, esq. alderman for the ward of Bread-street, president of Bridewell and Bethlem hospitals, governor of the Irish Society, vice-president of the London workhouse, and chairman of the four principal city committees, a trustee for Greenwich hospital, &c. &c.

Mr. Crosby was born at Stockton upon Tees, in 1725, and bred to the profession of the law, but came early in life to London, where he practised several years as an attorney. He laid the foundation of his ample fortune by marrying the rich widow of a taylor and salesman, who had united to his other trades the more profitable employment of a dealer in seaman's tickets. On her death, Mr. Crosby married the widow of Mr. Cooke, who had acquired a handsome competency as a collar-maker to the office of ordinance. In 1758 he was elected one of the common council for Tower ward; in 1760 purchased, for 3600*l.* the office of city remembrancer, which in 1761, he was permitted to sell again; in 1764 he was a volunteer candidate for the office of sheriff, and obtained it; and in February, 1765, was, without opposition, chosen alderman of the ward of Bread-street. In the parliament which met in 1765, he was returned for the borough of Honiton; at the general election for London,

in 1774, he was an unsuccessful candidate, and again, in 1784, when, on the death of alderman Bull, he singly opposed Mr. Watson. He was elected Lord Mayor, September 24, 1770; and in his address of thanks, clapping his hand on his heart, he assured his fellow-citizens, "that, at the risk of his life, he would protect them in their just privileges and liberties." That this his profession was not a mere parade of words was evinced by his conduct in March, 1771, in the case of the proclamation against Wheble and the other printers. Mr. Alderman Oliver was committed to the tower, and Mr. Crosby (then Lord Mayor) was ordered into the custody of the serjeant at arms; but on his spiritedly observing, "that if any offence had been committed, he was the greatest offender, and that he longed to join his brother in office," an order was signed for his commitment to the tower, permitting him, however, to sleep at the Mansion-house that night. The thanks of the court of common council were given to the Lord Mayor, and to aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, "for having supported, on this important occasion, the liberties of the corporation, and for having defended the constitution." During the time of his imprisonment, the Lord Mayor was honoured with the freedom of the city of Worcester, and the town of Bedford; with addresses from the counties Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan; from the towns of Newcastle, Stratford, and Honiton: from the common-council of almost every ward in London; and from many patriotic clubs. The parliament was prorogued July 23, when

when the Lord Mayor being released of course, was carried from the Tower to the Mansion-house with every possible mark of the approbation of his fellow-citizens; and after the expiration of his mayoralty was again rewarded by the thanks of the corporation, and a cup of 10*l.* in value. He received a few days afterwards, a more substantial reward. Mrs. Tattersal, the widow of a late rector of Gatton, lady in her own right of the manor of Chellesfield-court, Kent, and possessed of a jointure of 1000*l.* a year, bestowed on him her hand and fortune, the 9th of February, 1771, and who survives him. Mr. Crosby has left no issue; but two of his sisters are living. To these two sisters, and to the representatives of a deceased brother and sister, the bulk of the alderman's fortune (about 15,000*l.* being given in specific legacies) is bequeathed in four shares, by a will made in 1784. His activity as a magistrate, and his strict attendance on the variety of public stations which he filled are almost proverbial. Possessed of an uncommon degree of patience, integrity, and sagacious penetration, few men have ever been better qualified to preside at a public meeting, and his eminent abilities and independent spirit will long be remembered to his honour. He was buried with great pomp on the 21st, in Chellesfield church, the funeral being attended by all the aldermen, and the common council of Bread street ward. The body lay in state in Chatham-place, and the procession, consisting of ten coaches and six, and the empty carriages of several of the mourners, was preceded by the two city marshals, and by the

city sword-bearer, carrying the black sword of state, used only on solemn occasions, like the present.

M A R C H.

2d. The heavy gale of wind on this day did much damage in various parts of the kingdom; at Sheffield a great part of that venerable remains of antiquity, Sheffield Manor was blown down. In the neighbourhood many stacks were blown down, and several barns, &c. unroofed. At Laughton en le Moorthern, several yards of the lofty elegant spire of the church, which was a pleasing object for many miles in the surrounding country, were blown down, and, falling on the roof, did much damage also to the inside. At York, and in the neighbourhood, it was severely felt; that remarkable large ash-tree at Brunel Ash, which has stood many a violent storm, was torn from its place. At Manchester, one of the spires of the collegiate church fell upon the roof of that noble structure, and did great mischief to the interior part of the building. Another spire fell into the church-yard; a stack of chimneys fell upon a house in Deansgate, and unfortunately killed the servant who slept in the attic story. At Newark, a factory for weaving cotton, belonging to Messrs. Hardcastle and Walker, was entirely thrown down, and, falling upon a great number of looms, totally destroyed them, and greatly injured the unfinished pieces. This accident will be severely felt by the poor weavers, as they will be entirely thrown out of employ. At Foston, near Newark, two barns were blown down, and several trees torn up by the roots.

it

At Nottingham, part of the gable-end of Mr. Flint's house, on Brightmore hill was blown down: and some large stones were blown from the top of the county-hall, and part of the roof of the barracks was entirely stripped off. At Derby, and parts adjacent, many walls, hay-ricks, trees, &c. were laid low. A cotton mill was much damaged near Burton-upon-Trent. Many stacks of chimnies, several roofs, and a wool warehouse, were blown down at Gainsbro', and, falling on the roof, forced a part of it in, and killed Miss Sally Moorsom, who was in bed in the room which it penetrated.

3d. About eight o'clock in the evening, the under-sheriff of Northamptonshire was robbed, near Holloway turnpike by two highwaymen, of a trunk, containing a large quantity of papers; among others, the commission for opening the assizes at Northampton for the trying of criminals, hearing causes of *nisi prius*, and for a general gaol delivery; in consequence of which a new commission was made out next day, and sent express by a special messenger.

At a meeting of the Lords Lieutenants of several counties in England and Wales, at the St. Alban's tavern, on this day, for the purpose of drawing lots to determine the precedence of the militia of the said counties during the continuance of the war, the following numbers were drawn by the respective Lords Lieutenants attending, or by the persons appointed for that purpose, viz.

Bedford	-	42
Berks	-	30
Bucks	-	38
Cambridge	-	11

Chester	-	16
Cornwall	-	34
Cumberland	-	20
Derby	-	26
Devon	-	41
Dorset	-	43
Durham	-	10
Essex	-	21
Gloucester	-	8
Nottingham	-	15
Oxford	-	9
Salop	-	28
Somerset	-	40
Southampton	-	6
Stafford	-	27
Suffolk	-	19
Surrey	-	18
Sussex	-	24
Warwick	-	31
Hereford	-	25
Hertford	-	44
Huntingdon	-	12
Kent	-	1
Lancaster	-	37
Leicester	-	2
Lincoln	-	3
Middlesex	-	22
Monmouth and Brecknock	-	14
Norfolk	-	4
Northampton	-	45
Northumberland	-	23
Westmoreland	-	29
Wilts	-	35
Worcester	-	36
Yorkshire, W. Riding	-	39
———— N. Riding	-	33
———— E. Riding	-	32
Caermarthen	-	17
Denbigh	-	7
Glamorgan	-	5
Montgomery	-	13

(Signed) Amherst.

11. Between seven and eight o'clock a detachment of the guards, commanded by colonel St. Leger, marched from the parade in St. James's Park, to the Tower-wharf, where they embarked, accompanied by

by Brook Watson, Esq. commissary general for Holland. The privates are all artificers of ability; the non-commissioned officers have most of them been upon recruiting parties, and are picked men, returned since the departure of the duke of York. This detachment completes the number of guards originally ordered for service in Holland.

His Majesty's attorney-general has directed an attachment to be laid on a sum of money lying in the bank, to the amount of 100,000*l.* sterling, in the name of Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet, agents for the French Republic.

Reading. Came on at the Assizes, before Sir John Wilson, knight, a trial upon an ejectment by Mrs. Prankard and Mr. Welldale, butcher, as coheirs of the late Sir Francis Knollys, bart. when after a hearing of four hours a verdict was given for the plaintiffs, to the intire satisfaction of the whole court. Their claims were resisted by the earl of Uxbridge, Messrs. Harvey Aston, Clutton, Hinchley, and Robinson. Property to the amount of upwards of 120,000*l.* depended on this trial.

Sweden. A tract of land in Swedish Finland, of the circumference of 391,000 Swedish ells, has suddenly sunk to the depth of 15 fathoms; the greatest part of the inhabitants had the good fortune to save themselves by flight, but they have lost their effects.

Jamaica. By letters from this island, we are informed, that notwithstanding the great number of negroes lately imported, the high price is still maintained; a cargo was sold, last Monday, at the Old Harbour, in Kingston, in the short space of four hours, at an average of 55*l.* sterling per head; and on

Thursday, a gentleman paid 700*l.* for seven women. Another cargo, arrived since, sold at the average price of 58*l.* per head.

19th. The anniversary of the Royal Humane Society was celebrated at the London tavern. The cavalcade of the numerous procession of persons restored to life commenced with a banner, on which the following inscription appeared: "Two lives restored, father and son, now living monuments of the importance of the Humane Society, pour forth their most grateful ejaculations to Heaven and the governors of this institution." The father addressed the vice-president, &c. with a voice full of emotion expressive of his gratitude to the founders and supporters of a charity by which himself and darling child had been rescued from the watery grave, and their lives restored. It is not in the power of words to express the feelings of the numerous and respectable characters that attended this annual festival.

22d. A most barbarous and inhuman murder was committed near Ballymore, in the county of Sligo, attended with such shocking circumstances as are seldom equalled by human depravity: a travelling man and woman were hospitably received in the evening by a man of the name of Derrig, who, with his sister, were the only tenants of an humble roof: in the dead hour of the night, the stranger awoke his unsuspecting host, presented a cocked pistol to his head, and demanded his money. Derrig assured him he had none, and persisted in his declaration, the horrid villain discharged the pistol, the contents of which entered between the eyes, and instantly deprived him of life; he

He then examined the house for money, and on his going away, observed to his companion, that it was imprudent to leave the woman alive: he accordingly returned, and seized the half-dead trembling victim by the hair, kept her down on the floor, by forcibly pressing his foot on her head, when with a spade shaft he repeatedly struck her on the neck, with an intention of breaking it, but, by her writhings under the merciless monster, some of the blows glanced down her jaws, which being broken through and covered with blood made him think her dead. She however had strength and utterance to relate the horrid deed to her neighbours next morning. In consequence of which, the Ballymore weavers set off instantly on all sides in pursuit of these infernal murderers; and the gentleman who has charge of the factory there gave each a sum of money to support them on the road, with the most earnest request not to return until they overtook them.

The prize of 30,000*l.* in the English lottery was this day drawn; it is the sole property of Mr. Martin Lucas, wine-merchant of Northampton.

24th. *Dublin.* One of the most singular robberies, perhaps, that ever was known took place some time ago, in or about his Majesty's stores. Two large cases of plate had been imported by his grace of Tuam, containing about 4000 ounces (the cases were bound with iron and padlocked); having been entered they were lodged in the store until this week, when they were conveyed by porters, accompanied by one of the archbishop's domestics, to his house, in Merrion-street, when, upon being opened,

they were found to contain only a few knives and forks! The value of the plate supposed to be contained in the cases was upwards of 1500*l.*

28th. Martin (the mail robber), condemned at Exeter assizes, was executed on Halldown, near the spot where the robbery was committed. He had been well educated, and had visited most European countries. At the end of the year 1791 he was at Paris, and continued there till the end of August 1792. He said, he was very active in the bloody affair of the 10th of August, at the palace of the Thuilleries, when the Swiss guards were slaughtered, and Louis the sixteenth and his family fled to the National Assembly for shelter. He said he did not enter into this bloody contest as a volunteer, but happening to be in that part of the city of Paris, he was hurried on by the mob to take part in that sanguinary business. Not speaking good French, he said, he was suspected to be a Swiss, and on that account finding his life often in danger, he left Paris, and embarking for England at Havre de Grace, arrived at Weymouth in September last, and then came to Exeter. He said, that, being in great distress in October, he committed the mail robbery.

DIED, lately, in New Hampshire, in North America, aged 98, Mr. Webber Groves, who had written with much credit and approbation prior to the American revolution, "On the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and America," and which was improved on afterwards by Dr. Franklin.

4th. At his seat, at Vernon, on the banks of the Seine, Louis-Joseph Marie de Bourbon Penthièvre, grand admiral of France,

and

and a descendant of Louis XIV. The murder of his daughter-in-law the *princesse de Lamballe* on the 2d of September last, plunged him into the profoundest grief, and the execution of the king added to his affliction. This illustrious character was one of the richest subjects in Europe. Before the revolution his annual income amounted to five millions of livres, two of which he lost in consequence of that event. He was born Nov. 16, 1725, married the princess of Este in 1744, who died in 1754; by whom he had two children, the prince de Lamballe, and the virtuous consort of the vicious Orleans, who is to inherit the great fortune of her departed father, as very fortunately she obtained two days before a partial divorce, *a mensa et thora*, from her husband, by which means he is not entitled to a livre of the legacy; but as soon as he was informed that the duke was dead, he sent down emissaries to put seals on all his effects.

6th. The right honourable lord Barrymore, conducting a number of French prisoners from Rye to Dover, by the Berkshire militia, under his command, the whole party halted at the turnpike at the top of Folkestone hill; after taking some refreshment, on regaining his seat in his vehicle, a fusée, which he carried with him, went off, and shot him through the head. He died in a few minutes, and so finished a short, foolish, and dissipated life, which had passed very discredibly to his rank as a peer, and still more so as a member of society. He was born August 14, 1769.

20th. At his seat at Caen Wood, near Hampstead, in his 89th year, Wm. Murray earl of Mansfield, of

whom some memoirs will be given in a subsequent part of this volume.

A P R I L.

4th. The fall of snow, on Monday and Tuesday last, was greater than was ever remembered in so short a space of time; in many parts of Leicestershire and the north of England, it lay upwards of two feet deep, and in several places on Charnwood forest, the depth was nearly three feet. Several hundred sheep were for many hours buried in the snow, and probably would have perished but for the timely thaw that succeeded.

Mr. Pointer, of Essex, has just recovered 70 acres of land from the sea, at the ascertained expence of 344l. 2s. His mode of consolidating his sea wall, was to roll it daily for 8 or 9 months, with a roller nine and twenty hundred weight of draw, by four horses.

6th. Christian Jefferies and Wm. Harrison, the latter twelve years of age, were committed to Warwick gaol charged with a most inhuman murder, committed on the body of Wm. Sellard, a boy of only ten years old. The coroner's inquest sat four days for the full investigation of this crime, the cruelties of which are thus related: that these boys having the care of a boat on the Oxford canal left to their charge, they had exercised numberless and excessive cruelties upon the deceased; that after unmercifully beating and otherwise ill treating him, he was lashed to the rudder and then thrown into the canal, and dragged along to a considerable distance; and stripping off his shirt at another time, they had thrown it

pon the top of a thorn, and
 id him in that state to climb
 after it, and that from divers
 as too shocking to relate, the
 ids having at length mortified,
 dragged him out of the boat to
 k contiguous, where he died.
 e following disagreeable in-
 ation was received at the Se-
 ry of State's office from Nootka
 id :

lieutenant in the British navy,
 npanied by Mr. Gooch, the
 nomer, went on shore among
 natives (who are described by
 Mears as a very quiet inoffen-
 people), and from that descrip-
 having a confidence in them,
 went unarmed; the savages
 ver had no sooner got them
 eir possession than they fell
 them, and most inhumanly
 lered them. An armed party
 sent from the ship (the Dæ-
), but too late to be of any
 ce, as the two unfortunate
 lemen were already murdered,
 the horrid savages were pre-
 ing to broil and eat them. Other
 nts state this cruel accident to
 happened at Wookau, one
 e Sandwich islands.

h. A dreadful circumstance
 rred in Hyde Park. A young
 , very well dressed, and of
 el appearance, after walking
 ome time near the carriage-
 drew a pistol from his pocket,
 discharged the contents into
 ead. The muzzle had been
 d against the back part, just
 the neck, and three balls pene-
 d from thence upwards. As
 ll some persons ran towards
 and a lady stopped her car-
 , in which he was taken alive,
 peechless, to St. George's hos-

The unhappy victim had re-
 L. XXXV.

sided lately in Pall Mall, and in
 some sort of commercial concern
 had lost his property. He was
 about thirty years of age.

12th. The following melancholy
 and distressing catastrophe happen-
 ed at Newhaven. As thirteen men,
 artificers and labourers, employed
 on the new piers at that place,
 were crossing the river, the rapid
 and resistless current overset their
 boat, when six of them were
 drowned. The other seven were
 with great difficulty saved.

14th. *Portsmouth.* The French
 prisoners, who, in number 850,
 are confined in Forton prison,
 made an attempt to escape. One
 of the centinels perceived something
 like scraping under the ground
 where he stood, when giving the
 alarm, the house where they are
 confined at night was searched, and
 two planks in the lower room were
 found loose, from which they had
 made a passage 27 feet long, to-
 wards the palisade. It is supposed,
 that their intent was to have killed
 the agent, the keeper, and the of-
 ficer on guard, then to have got
 possession of the first vessel they
 could, and have sailed for France.

15th. In consequence of a scholar
 of Winchester college having tres-
 passed beyond the limits prescribed
 by the warden, the whole commu-
 nity were refused to dine with their
 friends the following Sunday. This
 was *una voce* resented by the rest of
 the scholars, and measures were
 adopted to separate the warden, fel-
 lows, and masters, who had appointed
 the next day for the expulsion of the
 ten senior students. The gates
 were locked and guarded, the
 towers fortified with stones to repel
 an attack from the enemy without,
 and a regular watch observed.

C

throughout

throughout the night. On Thursday morning the high sheriff, mayor, grand jury, and constable, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, assembled to address the King, treated for peace in the name of the warden. The Buckingham militia were also mustered to terrify the besieged; but all in vain. At length a general amnesty was agreed upon by the masters, and accepted by the scholars; the offensive edict was recalled, and peace restored. A fresh misunderstanding has, however, broken out, and the boys, in consequence of an oath taken during the first dispute, have nearly all withdrawn themselves from the college. With respect to the commoners this secession is considered as merely in the nature of a vacation, but to many of those on the foundation the consequences are truly serious; by the statutes they must inevitably be expelled, and their parents and friends have thus to provide for them new establishments in life.

The state of the city hospitals for the last year is as follows:

Christ's Hospital.

Children put out apprentices	165
Now in the care of the hospital	1078
To be presented this Easter	160

St. Bartholomew's.

Patients cured and discharged	9189
Remaining	630

St. Thomas's.

Cured and discharged	7726
Remaining	585

Bridewell.

Received indigent and miserable people	1525
Maintained	26

Bethlem.

Admitted	168
Cured and discharged	182
Remaining	243

The bank, for the convenience of the public, made an emission of 5l. notes.

16th. A very extraordinary convulsed motion and sinking of a large spot of ground at Capley Wood, in the Parish of Fownhope, near Hereford, has lately taken place. It was first remarked on Thursday, the 4th instant, by a man and a boy employed in hedging, who were alarmed by a noise which seemed to proceed from the wood, and immediately afterwards perceived some large stones in motion at a smaller distance from them; a part of the wood and wood-ground was, at the same time, in apparent agitation, and slipped from its bed towards the low ground by the side of the River Wye. They were still more alarmed by the sudden motion of the ground whereon they stood, which opened at different places, and threw up small ridges of earth at short distances; and they had only time to make their escape, before the hedge at which they were at work was nearly buried, the trees, in or near it, were thrust down, and the road at the bottom of the wood was completely choaked up with earth, trees, and stones, to the height of twelve feet. The ground within the circuit of this motion has been ascertained to exceed four acres in extent, and several very large apertures have been left, which have since continued to widen daily. What is very remarkable, an yew tree was removed to the distance of forty yards, and now remains upright, without having suffered any apparent injury.

19th. A general fast was observed this day throughout the kingdom, for the success of his Majesty's arms by sea and land.

Government

Government have concluded on the measure of sending a bishop to Canada, and have conferred that dignity on the Rev. Jacob Mountain (domestic chaplain to the bishop of Lincoln, a prebendary of the cathedral, &c. and late minister of St. Andrew's, Norwich) with an appointment of 2000*l.* per annum; and it is also said, that Mr. Mountain takes with him his brother, the Rev Joshua Mountain, as his domestic chaplain.

12th. A few days ago a woman, who assumed the habit of a man, and travelled about the country as a pedlar, took a lodging at a house in one of the outlets at Worcester, and being much indisposed at the time, she went to bed, where she was treated by her hostess with every civility for about a fortnight; at the end of which time growing worse, and having a presentiment that her dissolution was very near at hand, she made a discovery of her sex to her landlady; telling her at the same time, that, having been very active in the riots in London, in the year 1780, the fear of being taken and hanged, had operated so powerfully on her mind, as to induce a change of dress; under which disguise she travelled the country ever since, in the character mentioned above. She would never tell her surname, but her christian name was Fanny. The poor creature died in a day or two afterwards.

Plymouth. A very singular circumstance occurred in this town. A lad, aged about fourteen years, entirely dumb, was insulted by another lad of nearly the same age; in consequence of which, they came to blows, and fought a considerable

time; at last the dumb boy received a violent blow on the left side of the neck, which stunned him, and he lay on the ground some minutes; but on recovering, he gave a dreadful scream, rose up on his legs, and began to converse with his opponent, and others who were spectators, to their no small astonishment and surprise. It is said that his father and mother died when he was very young, after which he was bound apprentice by the parish, and ran away from his master; since when he has been in Plymouth and the neighbourhood for two years past, subsisting merely on charity: he is now on board a vessel lying in Catwater.

DIED, in New Hampshire, in America, aged 98, Mr. Job Maurice, who had written very ingeniously on the distresses of the first adventurers in the American regions, when the Spaniards literally ate the natives, Frenchmen devoured one another, and when Englishmen who had been there were afterwards shewn in London as skeletons.

5th. At Epsom, in a very advanced age, Mr. Dale Ingram, surgeon in Christ's Hospital. He published, 1. an Essay on the Cause and Seat of the Gout, 1743, 8vo. 2. Practical Cases and Observations in Surgery, 1774, 8vo. 3. An Historical Account of the several Plagues that have appeared since 1346, 1754, 8vo. 4. The Anatomy of the Human Body abridged, translated from the French of Verdier, 1756. 5. The Blow; or an Inquiry into the cause of Mr. Clarke's Death, 1769. Mr. Ingram first began his professional career as a surgeon and

C 2

man-midwife at Barnet, and thence gradually arose by merit to a considerable degree of eminence.

15th. At his apartments in New Inn, Mr. Foster Powell, the celebrated pedestrian. His extraordinary feats of walking, by which he might, with proper management, have profited so much, never produced him enough to keep him above the reach of indigence. Poverty, which he ought always to have kept a day's march behind him, was his constant companion in his travels through life, even to the hour of his death. He was born at Horseforth, near Leeds, in Yorkshire, in the year 1734. He came to London in 1762, and articulated himself to an attorney in the Temple, with whom he served his clerkship. In 1764 he undertook to go fifty miles on the Bath road in seven hours, which he accomplished in the time, having gone the first ten miles in one hour, although encumbered with a great coat and leather breeches. We are assured that he visited several parts of Switzerland and France, where he walked two hundred miles beyond Paris, and gained much praise there. In 1773 he travelled on foot from London to York and back again (a distance of four hundred and two miles) in five days and eighteen hours. In 1786 he walked one hundred and ninety miles on the Bath road in twenty-three hours and a quarter, coming in three quarters of an hour before the expiration of the time agreed upon. In 1787 he went from Canterbury to London-bridge and back again in twenty-four hours. The following year, 1788, he engaged to go his favourite journey from London to York and back

again in six days, which he executed in five days and twenty hours. After this he did not undertake any journey till the year 1790, when he set off to walk from London to York and back again. He was allowed six days to do it, and accomplished it in five days and eighteen hours. He performed the same journey in 1792, in five days fifteen hours and a quarter; and this is supposed to have occasioned his death.—Powell seems to have considered his wonderful agility as a circumstance from which he derived great glory. He despised wealth, and, notwithstanding his many opportunities of acquiring money, forty pounds was the largest sum he ever made at one time, and then it proceeded from the generosity of his friends, who raised it among themselves by subscription. In the afternoon of the 22d, his remains were brought for interment, agreeably to his own request, to St. Paul's church-yard. The funeral was characteristically a *walking* one, from New Inn through Fleet-street, and up Ludgate-hill. The followers were twenty on foot in black gowns, and after them came three mourning coaches; the attendants were all men of respectability. The ceremony was conducted with much decency; and a very great concourse of people attended. He was buried nearly under the only tree in the church-yard. His age, as inscribed upon the coffin, was fifty-nine.

M A Y.

1st. *Dublin.* A burglary and murder of the most atrocious kind was

was committed in the house of Samuel Waddy, esq. of Jamesville, in the county of Wexford. Some time ago Mr. Waddy discharged a footman from his service for misdemeanours, particularly for beating in a cruel manner a female servant in the family. The fellow, on going away, vowed vengeance against his master, and unhappily kept his word; for, between the hours of nine and ten on Thursday night, he, with a number of accomplices, broke into Mr. Waddy's house, where, after tying the servants, he proceeded to Mr. Waddy's bed-chamber, and discharged a pistol at his head, which instantly killed him. The villains then robbed the house of valuable articles to a considerable amount, and got off. Three persons charged with the above murder were taken on Saturday morning, at Rathdrum, by the activity of Hunter Gowen, esq. In their possession were found some remarkable coins which Mr. Waddy had in his house, and a pair of buckles marked with the initials of Mrs. Waddy's name, that where stolen the night he was murdered.

7th. Between two and three thousand tanners are just arrived at Falmouth in a state of insurrection. The mayor and corporation went out to meet them, and demanded their business. The tanners answered, that they had been informed there was a large quantity of corn and flour in the place, and they expected it to be sold to them at a reasonable price, as they could get none from the farmers. The mayor told them that he could not dispose of the grain, as it belonged to government, but that he would apply to

ministers upon the subject; and asked them what they would agree to give a bushel? They fixed the price at 16s. the sack, or three bushels Winchester measure; and then retired in good order with a determination, as they said, to visit the whole county, and to regulate the price of all kinds of provision.

Dantzick. The citizens of this place took the oath of fidelity to his Prussian majesty. All the bells were set ringing from eight till nine in the morning, and the solemnity was farther announced by the artillery on the ramparts. In the interval all orders, being convoked to do homage, assembled in the town-hall.—At half past nine General de Raumer and President de Schleinitz, commissioners from the king, were accompanied from their hotels to the town-hall by the burgomasters Conradi and Keyger; counsellors Ayke, Graddeck, Weichman, and Gralath; and secretaries Jansen and Pegelau. In the hall prepared for administering the oath, the portrait of the new sovereign drawn at full length was displayed under a superb canopy. After the oath was administered, the hall resounded with shouts of "Long live Frederic William, the good father of his people!" which were re-echoed by the crowd assembled in the grand square. The whole company then repaired to the cathedral, to attend divine worship. When the service was concluded, numerous and splendid entertainments were given in several places. The whole town was illuminated in the evening; and a ball, to which every one was admitted *gratis*, concluded this memorable day. The medals distributed

buted in commemoration of the event, have on one side the image of the king, and on the other an eagle soaring in the air, with this legend, "*Vobis quoque Pater.*"

8th. James Ridgway and H. D. Symonds were brought into the court of King's Bench, and received judgment for publishing Mr. Paine's works and the Jockey Club. They were severally sentenced to four years imprisonment in Newgate.

10th. *Rome.* All the French and foreign artists have been ordered to quit this place, who were supposed to favour French politics, or circulate French principles. Ducroix, with several other eminent artists, in consequence of the Pope's mandate, have been ordered to quit Rome.

The exportation of prints, which has been so productive to England, is now become an object to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who, conceiving it a valuable branch of commerce, has taken Morgan, the celebrated engraver, from Rome, and has given him a splendid house, where he is employed with his assistants in bringing this branch of the art to its utmost perfection.

Puccini, who is a great amateur, and who was originally a lawyer, a gentleman well known for his politeness to the English, has got the care of the grand gallery at Florence, which of course will render it easy of access to all foreigners.

Gavin Hamilton and the Prince Borghesi have desisted from making any farther excavations in search after the treasures of Gabii. They have recovered every thing worthy of notice on the prince's estate; but, as the town runs under the estates

of the neighbouring nobility, they have declined adventuring in Mr. Hamilton's future subterraneous speculations.

13th. Pursuant to order, Robert Mackreth, esq. M. P. was brought into the court of King's Bench to receive judgment for giving a challenge to Sir John Scott, his Majesty's then solicitor general. After reprobating in general terms the practice of duelling; and animadverting on the circumstances of the case, the court sentenced Mr. Mackreth to be fined the sum of 100l. and to be imprisoned for the space of six weeks in the King's Bench prison.

Kingston, Jamaica. The bread fruit plants have been divided by the commissioners as follows: to the county of Surrey 83, to the county of Middlesex 83, and to the county of Cornwall 83.

Lisbon. Though the queen is not much amended of late, the whole city and court have worn an aspect of the greatest joy ever since the birth of the youngest princess, which took place on Monday the 29th of April. The city was illuminated three successive nights. The general effect was much inferior to that of a London illumination; but there were four spectacles, which perhaps surpassed any of the sort ever seen. The first was the city castle, under the direction of the intendant of the police; on which was erected, for the occasion, a magnificent Gothic tower, with a transparency in the middle, the whole so thickly hung with lamps as to appear one solid mass of fire, like a palace of the Salamanders in some old fable. The effect of this brilliant spectacle was very great. At ten o'clock each

each night, a prodigious number of rockets were sent up from the tower. The other chief illuminations were at the houses of contractors, who here, as elsewhere, acquire immense riches. The expences of each are supposed to have amounted to 10,000l. sterling.

15th. A house at the foot of the Bridge-end, at Perth, was discovered to be on fire. The house was completely in flames before it was noticed. Six persons were suffocated before any assistance could be procured, viz. one man, two widow-women, and a mother and her two sons. The fate of all of them is very lamentable; but that of the mother and her two sons is particularly distressing; she got safe out of the house, and came to the street, when missing her sons, she ran back into the midst of the flames in search of them. Unfortunately she could neither extricate them nor herself, and she was burnt to death.

The discoveries recently made in the Spanish register ship have induced the captors to form a resolution not to sell her when completely discharged, but to break her up themselves, suspecting that in this way they may find more valuables artfully concealed. To evade the King of Spain's high duty on gold, many bars of that metal have been found thinly coated with pewter, and denominated, in the invoice, by order of Spanish merchants, *fine pewter*. The King of Spain will no doubt eventually take advantage of this piece of information. An incorrect account having been given of the cargo of the above ship, we state it upon an authority that may be relied on.

- 694 Cases of silver, each containing three thousand dollars.
- 33 Cases of gold, besides plate and jewels, value 500,000l.
- 72 Hundred of redwood.
- 16 Cases of silver in bars.
- 2262 Quintals of bark of different weights.
- 2340 Quintals of cocoa.
- 4887 Cases of pepper.
- 520 Ditto of lead.
- 120 Ditto of wool.
- 162 Ditto of sugar.
- 2247 Pounds of medical roots.
- 387 Ditto extract of bark.
- 75 Ditto of gum of cocoa.
- 150 Ditto balsum of Peru.
- 250 Prepared hides.
- 119 Rasping skins.
- 800 Dozen fine leather skins.
- 12 Ditto of alambon.
- 3 Barrels of honey.
- 11 Cases of the various productions of Peru.

This cargo had been two years in collecting from different parts of the coast, and is without exception the richest that ever was trusted on board of any single ship. It is impossible to form a just estimate of its value; but it is certainly not overrated, when it is stated at twelve or thirteen hundred thousand pounds.

Ten additional houses to Bromley college are just finished for the benefit of clergymen's widows; they are built with a legacy of 10,000l. left for that purpose by the late Mrs. Battenson, widow of Sir Richard Battenson, of Bradburn, in Kent, and endowed with twenty pounds per annum for each inhabitant.

The judges of the supreme court of the United States of America have finally delivered their opinions upon the important question which had

had been argued before them for thirteen days, viz. "Whether an individual of any state may sue a state, or the United States; or, whether the citizens of any one state may sue another state?" Their opinion was, that every individual of any state has the natural privilege of suing either the United States, or any states whatever in the union, for redress in all cases where he can prove a just claim, a loss, or an injury, having been sustained: and *vice versa*.

Mr. Locke's statue, the Discobolos, was sold by auction. It had once before been offered for sale; when 800*l.* was bidden for it, and it was bought in by himself at 900*l.* This day—such are the variations of taste—360*l.* was its price. Mr. Duncombe is the buyer.

16th. This day was held the anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy; at which were present the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, president; Sir John Skinner, vice-president; his Grace the Archbishop of York; Lords Thurlow and Fielding; Bishops of London, Peterborough, Lichfield, Coventry, Lincoln, Salisbury, St. David's, Gloucester, Carlisle, Bristol, and Exeter; Aldermen Clarke, Wright, Gill, Pickett, Boydell, Skinner, Glynn, and Langston; Sheriffs Tebbs and Brandon; Sir William Dolben, Sir Richard Kaye, and George Byng, esq. with many of the clergy and gentry. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Griffith Griffith, M. A. rector of St. Mary-le-bone, London, domestic chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the epistle to the Galatians, chap. vi. verse 2. "Bear ye one another's

burthens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Collection at the cathedral on Tuesday	-	92	5	0
Ditto, ditto, Thursday		181	0	0
Ditto at Stationers-hall, ditto	-	578	6	6

851 11 6

Mr. Beach, a paper-manufacturer, of Denbury, in Connecticut, North-America, has manufactured a quantity of incombustible paper, a quire of which he has presented to the New-York museum. From this circumstance it is probable that the asbestos (a stone resembling the Venetian talc) found in Italy and some parts of France, has been discovered in the North-American States. In a cloth made from this stone the ancient Romans used to burn their dead bodies, to prevent their ashes from being blended with those of the funeral pile.

18th. This morning, the honourable Mrs. Rawdon was nearly burnt to death at her house in Dover-street. The accident was occasioned by a spark flying at some distance from the fire, against her muslin dress, which she had just put on previous to going to chapel. Her first effort to extinguish the flames was by rolling on the sofa, when happily the servants rushed into the room in time to save her life, and prevent the spreading of the flames, which had communicated themselves to the furniture. This is, at least, the fiftieth fatal accident of the kind that has happened within a few years.

24th. The Recorder made his report to the King, of the prisoners convicted at the Old Bailey in April sessions, which were, Charles Allen for a highway robbery, Mary Goodall

Goodall for the same, Wm. Turnbull for a burglary, James Somerville for the same, Catherine Owen for robbing in her dwelling, Jane Huggins for the same, James Lavender for a rape, John Price for a highway robbery, Elizabeth Cope for robbery, all of whom were respited during his Majesty's pleasure.

27. Came on before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, in the court of King's Bench, the trial of Mr. Frost for seditious words spoken at the Percy coffee-house. The Attorney General addressed the court on the part of the prosecution: he then called Messrs. Tatè, Savilliac, Yateman, and Bullock, as evidence for the crown. Mr. Erskine addressed the jury, in a speech of great eloquence, on the part of the defendant. The jury retired for about an hour and an half, and brought in their verdict—guilty.

The indictment against Mr. Frost stated, that he on the 6th of November last, at the Percy coffee-house, Rathbone-place, made use of these words: "I am for equality; I see no reason why one man should be greater than another; I would have no king, and the constitution of this country is a bad one."

There is an establishment in Sweden well worth the consideration of every country: this is called, "A Board of Commissioners of Health." Its sittings are at Stockholm, and it consists of three officers of state, three chemists, and six physicians. This board inquires into every practice, and every kind of adulteration of food, drink, or medicine, that can be anywise prejudicial to the health of the

people, and by the authority of the state officers who sit at that board, its decrees have the force of laws, and heavy penalties and punishments are inflicted on all who disobey.

DIED, at Kilmarnock, aged 111, John Craig. He served as a soldier in the North British dragoons, and was at the battle of Sheriff Muir in 1715. He was never married; nor ever had any sickness, but worked as a day-labourer till within a few days of his death, and retained his memory and senses to the last. There was found in his possession, secreted in an old chest, a number of crown and half crown pieces, and other smaller coin.

Aged 83, Mr. John Oliver, the eccentric miller of Highdown-hill, in Sussex. His remains were interred near his mill, in a tomb he had caused to be erected there for that purpose near 30 years ago, the ground having been previously consecrated. His coffin, which he had for many years kept under his bed, was painted white; and the body was borne by eight men clothed in the same colour. A girl about twelve years old read the burial service, and afterwards, on the tomb, delivered a sermon on the occasion from Micah vii. 8, 9, before at least 2000 auditors, whom curiosity had led to see this extraordinary funeral.

At Thurgaton, aged 101, Goodwife Mack. She was of a strong, athletic constitution, and, until within a few years of her death, would occasionally exercise herself in some of those labours of the field and farm-yard which are usually allotted to men.

In Jermyn-street, St. James's, in his 60th year, Wm. Hudson, esq.

F. R. S.

F. R. S. author of the "Flora Anglica." Mr. Hudson was a native of Kendal, was brought up to physick, and kept an apothecary's shop in Panton-street, where he practised with great reputation till, a few years ago, the house was found to be on fire at nine o'clock in the evening. Mr. Hudson was not insured, but had no wish to be plundered by the mob, and kept the doors fast till he and his servants were nearly caught in the flames.

At her house in Berkeley-square, lady Ducie; married to lord Ducie about three years since. She was the widow of Mr. Child, the banker, and mother of the present countess of Westmorland. The illness which occasioned her ladyship's death was a mortification; but she had suffered much, for about three weeks before, by a complication of the gout and dropsy. The attack of the gout was produced by her having taken cold one night, during a long delay of her carriage at the Opera-house door, and drinking, presently afterwards a large glass of lemonade. Her property, according to the will of her late husband, Mr. Child, is now to be thus distributed: the countess of Westmorland, in addition to the annuity of 2000*l.* which she already has, is to have another 4000*l.* for life. The remainder of the real and personal property, with the profits of the copartnership in the banking-house, except the legacies thereafter mentioned, devolve to any son of the countess of Westmorland (except such as may enjoy, or be heir to, the title and estates of Westmorland) who shall first attain the age of 21; and, if no son, then to any daughter who shall first at-

tain that age, or shall be married with the consent of guardians; and these estates and property are to be theirs *absolutely and in fee*. If no second son, or no daughter, shall attain the age of 21, or become entitled to this property, then the eldest son of the countess of Westmorland may inherit it, on attaining the age of 21.

28th. At Berlin, in his 69th year, the celebrated Dr. Anthony Frederic Busching, well known for his "New Treatise of Geography," first published in the German language, in 2 vols. 1754; translated into English, 1762, 6 vols. 4to. with maps; French, in 14 vols. 12mo. 1786; Dutch, 1779.

At Hopetoun-hall, near Edinburgh, at the surprising age of 137, a man of the name of Robertson. This modern patriarch had always lived in the family of the lords of that place, whom he served in the capacity of inspector of the lead works, for four complete generations, besides the time elapsed since the birth of the present possessor. The funeral was celebrated with a decency that did honour to his noble patron, who has bespoke an elegant monument, with an inscription expressive of the ~~zeal~~ and fidelity of an old and worthy servant during the space of 110 years.

J U N E.

4th. This being his Majesty's birth-day, the morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells; the flags were displayed on the churches; at one o'clock the Park guns were

years fired, which were answered by those at the Tower. In the evening the houses of the different tradesmen belonging to the royal family, the play and club houses, &c. were superbly illuminated.

18th. This morning as colonel Dundas, and R. Dundas. esq. (son of the secretary) were on the road to Dover, from whence they were going to proceed with dispatches for lord Henry Spencer, at the Hague, they were stopped in their chaise a little on this side Dartford by eight footpads. The gentlemen were both asleep when the chaise was stopped, and immediately on their being awaked, Mr. R. Dundas fired a pistol and shot one of the villains, who fell against the wheel of the chaise; one of his companions then opened the door of the chaise and fired his pistol, the ball of which unfortunately entered colonel Dundas's right breast; after which the gentlemen were obliged to submit to be plundered by this gang of desperadoes, who all got off, and carried with them their wounded companion.

A young woman charged with the care of a child four years old, belonging to Mr. Pearson, merchant, at Whitby, walking too near the edge of the precipice, over the new half-moon battery at that place, the ground gave way, and she fell with the child in her arms from the height of near 100 feet perpendicular. The young woman was dashed to pieces, and her remains were conveyed from the spot a shocking spectacle; the child had its right arm broken, but providentially received little hurt besides, and is now in a way of recovery.

On Whit-Tuesday, according to

triennial custom, the procession of the young gentlemen, educated at Eton school, to Salt-hill, took place. About eleven the boys assembled in the school-yard, and were soon after properly arranged in the procession according to their rank in the school. Their Majesties, with the Prince of Wales, Princesses, duchess of York, and prince William of Gloucester, arrived at the school-house about twelve, and took their station in the stable-yard. The boys marched twice round the school-yard, and thence went in *true military parade* with music playing, drums beating, and colours flying, into the stable-yard, where they passed the royal family; the *ensign* having first flourished the flag by way of salute to their Majesties. The procession then moved on through the playing fields to Salt-hill, where they were again received by the royal family; when, after again marching by and saluting them, the boys proceeded to dinner. The number of boys who marched in the procession amounted to 500. The collection for the benefit of the *captain* far exceeded all former ones; the sum spoken of amounts to 1000l. The fineness of the day drew together an immense number of spectators, which materially contributed to the largeness of the collection; a great number of the nobility and gentry, who were old Etonians, were present. The motto on the flag and on the tickets distributed on the occasion, was, *Mes pro lege*. Their Majesties, Prince of Wales, Princesses, and duchess of York, made their donations to the salt-bearers. In the evening the boys returned to Eton, and afterwards the salt-bearers and scouts appeared on the terrace

terrace in their dresses, and were particularly noticed by their Majesties. The novelty of the sight had a very pleasing effect, and rendered the scene extremely splendid.

18th. The king held a chapter of the most noble order of the garter, and honoured the three following noblemen with that illustrious order.

The marquis of Salisbury, vice the duke of Cumberland, deceased.

The earl of Westmoreland, vice the earl of Bute deceased.

The earl of Carlisle, vice the earl of Guildford, deceased.

14th. General Dumourier arrived at Mr. Carco's, hatter, Piccadilly, and immediately gave notice of the event to lord Grenville.

The duke of Buccleugh has established a charity-school at Grafton Underwood, for the education of all the poor boys and girls of that parish. It ought not to pass unnoticed, that Mr. Carley, the person his grace appointed as schoolmaster, was born without hands, and is, notwithstanding, fully capable of teaching writing, as well as other useful branches of learning.

19th. This day general Dumourier received an order from the secretary of state to quit the kingdom in 48 hours.

Mr. Frost was brought up to the King's Bench to receive his sentence; Mr. Justice Ashurst, after recapitulating the circumstance of the trial, told him, that the court had fully considered all the facts proved, and, upon the most mature deliberation, adjudged, that he should be struck off the roll of attorneys, and imprisoned six months in Newgate; during which time

he should stand in the pillory once, between the hours of one and two o'clock, at Charing-cross; and, after the expiration of his imprisonment, that he should give security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in 500*l.* and two persons in 250*l.* each.

The Settlement at New South Wales, we are happy to hear from many respectable quarters, is in a very flourishing state. Governor Philips has brought home with him very minute and particular accounts of the actual situation of the colony. By these we are informed, that the settlers were making very considerable progress in the cultivation of their land, and in rearing of live stock. Every settler had at least one breeding-sow, with sheep goats and other cattle. The pasturage is uncommonly fine and in great plenty; and such progress had been made in clearing and cultivating the government lands, that nearly 3000 acres were in corn when the governor left the settlement, with every appearance of a luxuriant crop. The celebrated Barrington is likely to become a man of some consequence at last. His natural talents entitle him to a more respectable distinction than that which he enjoyed, and we hope he has tasted enough of the bad effects of vicious courses to abandon them entirely. Major Grose, commandant of the New South Wales corps, and lieutenant-governor of the settlement, commands at New South Wales, in the absence of governor Philips; captain Nepean is second in command. Governor Philips tells many curious stories of his Majesty's subjects in Botany-bay. Barrington is high-constable

constable of the settlement, and administers justice with a most impartial hand.—There is no severity that will operate to the prevention of the natives stealing one another's cabbages. One of the convicts has built a comfortable house, and has cultivated his share of ground to great advantage. His time has expired, but he refuses to return to England, and actually gives his share of the government provision to his neighbours, as he is able to live with his family on his own farm.

22. This night, at 10 o'clock, general Dumourier sailed from Dover, in the Express packet, with the mail for Ostend; an armed cutter accompanied the packet as a convoy: on his landing at Ostend, he was put under arrest by order of prince Cobourg. He is now on his way to some German prison.

23d. Early this morning a dreadful affray took place in Oxford-buildings, near Oxford-road, where a large party of labouring persons of both sexes, chiefly Irish, had been collected at the house of one of them, upon occasion of a child's death. The watchmen were beaten, and the captain of the patrols was so severely wounded that he is since dead. A party of the foot guards, who arrived about three in the morning, were assailed by brick-bats, &c.; but they seized fifty-six of the rioters, of whom sixteen have been since committed to Newgate, and a number of others to Tothill-fields bridewell.

At Ascot races a very remarkable accident happened to Mr. Anderson's horse in running the third heat. After the horse had gained the summit of the hill, near the king's stand, he suddenly faultered,

and with the shock threw his rider to a considerable distance, without falling himself. Upon examining the horse it was discovered that both his fore legs were broken, and that he had galloped near eighteen yards on the stumps, when he made a dead stop. The accident can be accounted for in no other way, than that, it is supposed, the hardness of the ground dislocated the fetlock joint of the off-leg, and in running with full speed, the near-leg just above that same joint was completely broken. The rider very fortunately escaped unhurt.

Distances between the principal sea-ports in France, and sea-ports in Ireland and Great Britain.

	Leagues.
From Brest to Galway	- 180
Cork	- 100
Plymouth	- 60
Torbay	- 70
Portsmouth	100
The Downs	134
Cherbourg to Portsmouth	26
Dieppe to Brighton	- 96
Hastings	- 92
Calais to Dover	- 7
Dunkirk to Ramsgate	15
Margate	- 17
Nore	- 25

25th. The number of bankruptcies from the 25th of December, 1792 to this day, amounts to 800—a number not to be paralleled in the annals of the commercial history of the kingdom.

26th. At a general court of the East India house, an annuity of 5000*l.* was granted to lord Cornwallis and his assignees, for twenty years certain.

27th. A dreadful fire broke out about the middle of the day at Stanton St. John's, about four miles

miles from Oxford, which entirely destroyed twenty-one dwelling-houses, five barns, and divers out-buildings.

Disp, at Grenier's hotel, in Jermyn-street, about 6 o'clock in the evening, the duke de Sicignano, lately arrived here as ambassador from Naples. A paper which was found on the table, in the duke's hand-writing, declared, "that the act was his own free choice; that no one was to be blamed; nor was any one privy to it." He had said to his secretary, about an hour before, that from the want of some dish at his hotel, he should dine that day at the Imperial ambassador's; and he then expressed a wish, that whenever he did not immediately answer to a knock at his door, no person should repeat the knocking, or endeavour to come in. The secretary had occasion to call upon him in the evening, and, according to his wish, went away upon receiving no answer to his first rap. After a second and a third unsuccessful attempt he was alarmed, and the door being locked, was burst open by the servants. The duke was not in the drawing room, where they perceived a smell of gunpowder, nor in his own sitting-room or bed-room. It was in the water-closet that he was at length found, and still moving; but, as the surgeons declared, merely by the convulsions of death. The ball had passed entirely through his head, and he died in a few minutes afterwards. The motive for this violence against himself cannot be discovered. Bills of credit for 5000*l*. were found in his escrutoire. He was not thirty years of age; of a very favourable appearance, and of a disposition evenly, and even

powerfully cheerful. He did not expose himself to serious losses at play. His habits of general gallantry contradict the generally received opinion, that some affair of love depressed his mind. In short, nothing can at present be said for the act, but that it was the result of a momentary madness. He had lodged at Grenier's since his arrival at London; was a very temperate and punctual man, going to bed generally every night at eleven o'clock, and paying his bills weekly. He had transacted business with lord Grenville on the same morning. As soon as the event became known, the prince Castelficala, and some other foreign noblemen, went to Grenier's to view the body, and the prince took charge of his effects. Next morning Mr. Burgess one of his Majesties under secretaries of state, at the request of lord Grenville, went to the hotel to make the necessary enquiries concerning the suicide, and to give orders for the removal and interment of the corpse, and an express was sent off to Naples with the melancholy news. The duke was a young nobleman of one of the first families in Italy, of very amiable manners, and much beloved by those who knew him. A lovely sister is dangerously ill, from the melancholy event having been communicated to her in too sudden a manner.

11th. At Edinburgh, the celebrated historian, Dr. William Robertson, principal of the university of Edinburgh, and historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland. He was born in the year 1731, licensed in 1743, placed in the parish of Glansmuir; in 1744, from thence; in 1758, he was translated to Lady Yester's

Yester's parish in Edinburgh; and in 1761, upon the death of professor Goldie, he was elected principal of the university of Edinburgh and minister of the Old Grey friars parish.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman to his friend at Calcutta, dated on board the ship Shaw Adams, off Saugur island, December 23, 1792.

"To describe the awful and lamentable accident I have been an eye-witness of is impossible. Yesterday morning, Mr. Downey, of the company's troops, lieut. Pyefinch, Mr. Monro (son of sir Hector), and myself, went on shore on Saugur island to shoot deer. We saw innumerable tracks of tigers and deer, but still we were induced to pursue our sport, and did the whole day. About half past three we sat down on the edge of a jungle, to eat some cold meat sent us from the ship, and had just commenced our meal, when Mr. Pyefinch, and a black servant, told us there was a fine deer within six yards of us. Mr. Downey and myself immediately jumped up to take our guns; mine was the nearest, and I had just laid hold of it, when I heard a roar like thunder, and saw an immense royal tiger spring on the unfortunate Monro, who was sitting down. In a moment his head was in the beast's mouth, and he rushed into the jungle with him with as much ease as I could lift a kitten, tearing him through the thickest hedges and trees, every thing yielding to his monstrous force. The agonies of horror, regret, and fear, rushed on me at once. The only effort I could make was, to fire at him;

though the poor youth was still in his mouth. I fired a musket, saw the tiger stagger, and agitated, and cried out so immediately. Mr. Downey then fired two shots, and I one more, we retired from the jungle, and a few minutes after, Mr. Monro came up to us all over blood, and fell. We took him on our backs, to the boat, and got every medical assistance for him from the Valentine East Indiaman, which lay at anchor near the island, but in vain. He lived twenty-four hours after, but in the extreme of torture; his head and skull were torn and broke to pieces, and he was wounded by the claws all over the neck and shoulders; but it was better to take him away, though irrecoverable, than leave him to be devoured limb by limb. We have just read the funeral service over him, and committed him to the deep. He was an amiable and promising youth. I must observe, there was a large fire blazing close to us, composed of ten or a dozen whole trees; I made it myself, on purpose to keep the tigers off, as I had always heard it would. There were eight or ten of the natives about us, many shots had been fired at the place, and much noise and laughing at the time; but this ferocious animal disregarded all. The human mind cannot form an idea of the scene; it turned my very soul within me. The beast was about four and a half feet high and nine long. His head appeared as large as an ox's, his eyes darting fire, and his roar, when he first seized his prey, will never be out of my recollection. We had scarcely pushed our boats from that cursed shore, when a tiger made her appearance, almost raging mad, and

and remained on the sand as long as the distance would allow me to see her.

J U L Y.

2d. Oxford, on this and some days past, was a very busy scene; people pouring in from every road to see the installation of the new chancellor, the duke of Portland. The streets were filled the greater part of Monday, in expectation of his arrival. He came about nine in the evening, and drove immediately to the vice-chancellor's, Dr. Willis, Warden of Wadham. At twelve o'clock, on Tuesday morning, the duke came in procession from Wadham college to St. Mary's church. Divine service was performed, and a sermon was preached by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, from the 13th chapter of St. John, ver. 34. In the evening, at the theatre, a selection was performed to near 3000 noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies.

Thursday, at nine, the doors of the theatre were opened, and the ladies alone were admitted, and disposed in the galleries by the proctors. The crowd at the gates became very impatient for admission. Near a thousand persons waited in Broad-street. At about half after ten some of the most active ventured to climb over the iron rails, to the great discomposure of their dresses and danger of their limbs. Above a hundred followed the daring impetuosity of these besiegers, and the gates were at length carried, when the crowd rushed into the theatre with such confusion, that the street was

strewn with shoes, buckles, gowns, hats, caps, &c. Never did such a multitude enter that building. At eleven, the chancellor, followed by the noblemen and doctors, and in their proper dresses, walked in procession to their seats in the theatre, from the vice chancellor's, at Wadham college.—The convocation being opened by his grace, the following noblemen and gentlemen were honoured with the degree of D. C. L.

Duke of Devonshire
Earl of Dalkeith
Marquis of Tichfield
Earl of Bute
Earl Fitzwilliam
Earl of Mansfield
Earl Spencer
Viscount Fielding
Lord Malmesbury
Lord Naas
Earl of Darnley
Viscount Grimstone
Earl of Oxford
Lord George Cavendish
Lord William Russell
Mr. F. Montague
Mr. Wyndham.

The bishop of Dromore, of Cambridge, was admitted *AD EUNDEM*.

Applause, as usual, was bestowed on the new doctors.

The prize compositions were then recited—*Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage*, in Latin verse, by Mr. Copplestone, of Corpus; and *Popularity*, an English essay, by Mr. Taunton, of Christchurch. These were followed by the Creweilian oration, by Dr. Holmes, professor of poetry.

The installation ode, written by Dr. Holmes, and set to music by Dr. Hayes, was then introduced by Messrs. Webbe and Bartleman, Mrs. Billington, and the rest of the band.

band. It was unfortunately interrupted in its course. The crowd in the area was so great that many of the gentlemen found themselves overpowered, and, notwithstanding the attention they received, serious consequences began to be apprehended. They were impelled in waves from one side to the other, nor was there any other part of the theatre which could give them room. In this state of general alarm the chancellor was intreated to dissolve the assembly, which he accordingly did.

At three o'clock the chancellor, and all the noblemen and doctors, were elegantly entertained in the hall of Wadham college by the vice-chancellor.

In the evening there was a concert, in which Mrs. Billington, by her angelic strains, proved herself worthy of the popularity she has obtained at Oxford.

On Thursday, new arrangements having taken place, the members of the university and the company were accommodated in a satisfactory manner. At eleven, the chancellor having opened the convocation, the degree of D. C. L. and the hon. degree of M. A. was conferred on a great number of noblemen and gentlemen; after which the poetical exercises commenced. The concert, in the evening, was attended with a numerous company as before, and at eight there was an elegant though crowded ball in the Town-hall.

The next day degrees were as before conferred on several persons, and in the afternoon the musical festival closed with the oratorio of the Messiah.

At night there was a second ball for the ladies at the Town-hall,

VOL. XXXV.

where the company was very numerous. The weather proving favourable during the present week, the promenades were well attended at intervals; and the university has not been so much alive at any period since the installation of Lord North, in the year 1773.

8th. This morning about one o'clock, a fire broke out in the sail room of his Majesty's dock-yard at Deptford, which consumed a great quantity of sails just finished, and some part of the building; the great supply of water prevented it from doing any farther damage. The fire was not completely got under until five o'clock.

At Chelmsford, the notorious John Wilshire, alias Crowder, alias Burk, was tried for robbing H. Howarth, Esq. and Mr. Montolieu, on the 18th of April last, near Woodford Wells, on Epping-forest, of bank and other notes, and cash to the amount of upwards of 600l. The prisoner made no defence, and the jury in about five minutes brought him in guilty.

William Hill, for a burglary, was also capitally convicted, and left for execution with Wilshire.

13th. A fire broke out in the rope and yarn manufactory of Mr. Wilkinson, at Stepney Causeway. The fire raged with incredible fury, and as the tide had ebbed there was a difficulty for the first four hours of procuring water. The whole manufactory was destroyed. The flames were so fierce that they were distinctly seen at the distance of several miles from London. No lives were lost.

14th. Paris. Marat was yesterday evening assassinated while in the bath, by a young woman of the

D

name

name of Charlotte Cordé, who had come from the interior of France for the purpose of executing this deed; after she was arrested she gloried in it, and declared that she would die with pleasure, having rid the world of a monster. She continued to display the same spirit of heroic firmness and resolution to the last moment of her life. Being asked by her judges, who were her accomplices? she answered, "I have none, no person has prompted me to perform the good action which I have done; and if people will but take the pains to examine into all the events before and after the death of Marat, they will be easily convinced that a true republican soul like mine could be excited by no other impulse than to free my country from its most dangerous enemy." Sentence of death being pronounced upon her, she was led to the place of execution, and the most feeling minds were excited to behold the Amazonian courage of this unhappy woman in her last moments. It was with much difficulty she arrived at the scaffold. The poissardes and others belonging to the markets were near tearing her to pieces; she ascended the scaffold with intrepidity, and appeared serene and reconciled to death, and suffered execution with the same courage. The corpse of Madame Cordé was buried in the churchyard of St. Magdalaine, near the grave of Louis XVI. she having been executed in the same section with that unfortunate monarch.

Thermometer at Bristol, 8th July, 84°; 9th, 86; 10th and 11th, 89; 12th, 90; 13th, 88 at three in the afternoon, shade and open air at seven in the morning the same

day lowest point 65; mean height 77. Last year the mean height was only 63; and in 1791, only one degree more.

Thermometer at the pump-room in Bath, 12th of July 83, the next day 72.

At Bottesford, July 6th, at 1 P. M. 90.

At Edmonton, July 16th, the thermometer stood at 93 exposed to the north; in the shade such a degree of heat is uncommon even in the southern parts of Jamaica.

17th. This morning, between seven and eight o'clock, the tide flowed into the harbour of Plymouth in a very extraordinary and rapid manner; it rose two feet perpendicular in nine minutes, and as rapidly receded again; and this it did three times in less than the space of an hour. It ran so very swift into the pool, that it was impossible for a fast rowing boat to make head against it. Nothing of the kind has been observed there since the great earthquake at Lisbon, when the tide flowed and ebbed in the same extraordinary manner.

The huge fragment of antiquity in Canterbury, situated to the left of Ethelbert's tower, and within the precinct of St. Augustin's monastery, which had withstood the corroding hand of time in a very inclined position for many ages, was a few days ago pulled down; but so strong was the cement of the materials it consisted of, that the united efforts of two hundred men were scarcely sufficient to accomplish it. When it fell, its weight was so immense that the ground shook for a considerable distance round. It is composed of chalk and flint in irregular layers, cemented

cemented so firmly as to be nearly as hard as a solid rock. Three private men belonging to the Surrey militia, now in barracks there, contracted to remove it for the value of the materials, which they have sold for one shilling the cart load, for mending the highway. It is supposed that there are not less than five hundred loads, exclusive of the rubbish.

Some gypsies, whether from accident or design is not known, set fire to the furze upon Blackheath, which, from the late dryness of the weather, burnt with great fury. The whole heath was quickly enveloped in a cloud of smoke. A number of fire-engines went from town; and the crowd of people that flocked down to see the fire was immense. It was extinguished without doing any material damage.

Sierra Leone. Arrived the company's ship *Amy*, with a cargo of African produce, consisting of camwood, ivory, gum, pepper, hides, and bees-wax. She also brings some passengers. The dispatches, which are dated the 14th of June, mention, the rains had set in several weeks before, but that the colony continued to be in very good health. The colonists were put in possession of small lots of land; and a new town, on a more regular and extended scale, was begun to be built. Between two and three hundred Nova Scotians were usually at work for the company; and a large party of the natives continued to work at the plantation begun by the company on the opposite side of the river, where the soil proves extremely fruitful, and the experiments in sugar, cotton, &c. appeared to be very promising.

The native chiefs and people continue to be extremely friendly; and some of them, on the occasion of some vessels appearing which were mistaken for French privateers, came down to offer their assistance in protecting the colony. The company's schools are attended by three hundred children, among whom are some children of the natives.

18th. *Paris.* The funeral of Marat was celebrated yesterday with the greatest pomp and solemnity. All the sections joined in the procession. An immense crowd of people attended it. Four women bore the bathing machine in which Marat was standing when he was assassinated; his shirt, stained with blood, was carried by a fury in the shape of a woman at the top of a pike. After this followed a wooden bedstead on which the corpse of Marat was carried by citizens. His head was uncovered, and the gash he had received could be easily distinguished. The procession was paraded through several streets, and was saluted on its march by several discharges of artillery. At half past ten o'clock at night the remains of Marat were deposited in a grave dug in the yard of the club of the Cordeliers, between four linden trees. At the base of his bed of state the following words were inscribed.

MARAT,
The friend of the people,
Assassinated by the enemies of the
people.
Enemies of the country,
Moderate your joy,
He will find avengers.

26th. Three Jews were apprehended, in Southwark, for uttering
D 2 counterfeit

counterfeit shillings, sixpences, and half-crowns; on being searched upwards of 50*l.* of counterfeit silver was found on them. They were committed to prison.

Archangel. This city, so often damaged by fire, has again met with a dreadful one, which broke out on Sunday the 26th of June, and lasted from seven P. M. till eight o'clock the next morning. It has burnt to ashes eight hundred and seventy-seven numbered houses, among which are all those lately built of brick, and the buildings of the different tribunals, the cathedral, and other churches, all the shops in the market-place, to the number of above three hundred; besides a great number of magazines, stables, out-houses, private baths, &c. In general they reckon the buildings destroyed, of every description, at about three thousand. The loss is immense; the most moderate estimation states it at three millions of roubles, and without the generous assistance of government it will be impossible for the citizens, without shelter, goods, or refuge, to subsist. Two thirds of the city are consumed, and many lives were lost in the general confusion.

DIED, at Beverley, in his 62d year, George Motherby, M. D. late of Highgate, near London; he was the author of a new Medical Dictionary.

At Bristol, aged 110, Richard Brent, commonly called Tom Thumb; which appellation he acquired from selling histories of that little hero's life and adventures.

Aged 93, Mr. Parsons of Great Warford, in Cheshire. He retained his faculties to the last, was twice

married; his first wife lived with him sixty years, and at the age of 80 he married a young woman of 21, who died in child-bed of her third child at the age of 36. At 15 his life was inserted in a lease of a large farm, which he held by that tenure seventy-eight years.

In the parish of Dalry, in Scotland, aged 104, Michael M'Narvan, baron officer to lord Gallo-way.

AUGUST.

On the 11th of April last, Joseph Draper, of the Royal Fuzileers, whose execution had been respited to that day, for conspiracy against his royal highness Prince Edward at Quebec, was solemnly led, with his coffin, &c. to the fatal field, where he was in no other expectation than to be launched into eternity:—but such was the change of fate by the following address pronounced by his royal highness, which must ever do honour to his feelings:

“ Draper, you have now reached the awful period, when a few moments would carry you into the immediate presence of the Supreme Being. You must be conscious of the enormity of your guilt, and that you have not the least right to expect mercy. I, as your commanding officer, am entirely prevented making any application whatever in your favour; there being, from various circumstances of the case, not one opening that could justify me in that station to take such a step: however, as the son of your sovereign, whose great prerogative is the dispensation of mercy, I feel myself fortunately enabled

enabled to do that which, as your colonel, the indispensable laws of military discipline rendered it impossible for me even to think of. In this situation, therefore, I have presumed to apply to the king's representative here for your pardon; and I am happy to be authorised to inform you, that my intercession has been successful.—Major-general Clarke, in consequence of my warm prayers and entreaties, has had the goodness, by his acquiescence with my wishes, to enable me to prove both to you and the public, that although your atrocious machinations were chiefly directed against my person, I am the first to forgive you myself, and to obtain for you his majesty's mercy. May you take warning by this awful scene, and so conduct yourself, that by the remainder of your life you may atone for your past crimes, and that I may not hereafter have occasion to repent having now been your advocate."

5th. Chamberlain, the footpad, terminated a life marked by many strange vicissitudes. He was found guilty at the last Croydon assizes of having some time since committed a footpad robbery, attended with many circumstances of cruelty, upon captain Bellamy, near Epsom, and was this day hung on Kennington-common, with a coiner of the name of Vernon. His father, a butcher in Leadenhall-market, dying while he was young, left him to the care of a mother too foolishly fond to exercise any controul. Having no inclination for business, he was allowed to pass his time idly, and his mother gave him a regular annual supply of 200l. to live like a gentleman. She also occasionally paid his debts.

To supply, however, extravagance with greater prodigality, he had recourse to robbery, and was twice capitally convicted, but had the good chance to get the punishment commuted for transportation. On the first conviction he was permitted to transport himself, which he did, to Ireland, till part of his time was expired and the rest remitted; he also got off the second sentence; and his mother dying about the same time, left him 10,000l. He was now seriously advised to retrieve his character; and that he might not have the temptation of want, the executor of his mother's will suffered him to draw upon him at discretion. But so indiscriminate a use did he make of this indulgence, that in less than three years nearly all the money was exhausted. He for some time existed by depredations, and was taken for a house robbery. While in prison for it, Mrs. Bellamy happening to be on a visit to a person confined in the next room, recognized him by his voice; he was examined, tried, and convicted principally on her evidence, and at the age of twenty-three suffered for a robbery committed two years before, after squandering a respectable fortune. He demeaned himself decently at the gallows, and his body was taken away in a hearse.

The following melancholy particulars have been received at the India-house, from captain Hartwell, of his majesty's ship *Thetis*.

An account of the unfortunate loss of the company's ship *Winterton*, George Dundas commander.

Thomas de Souza, passenger, arrived at the Isle of France April

17, 1793. The ship struck at Madagascar, lat. 23° 50'. at two o'clock in the morning, August 20, 1792. At four o'clock, having hove the guns and part of the cargo overboard, they cut away her masts. At daylight, being about seven miles from the main land, the yawl was sent on shore for assistance. In the night of the 20th the long-boat, cutter, and jolly-boat, were stove to pieces by the immense sea which broke repeatedly over the ship. On the 21st the sea continuing, and perceiving the yawl returning from the shore, captain Dundas hoisted signals, ordering her not to come alongside, which she obeyed, and again returned to the shore. On the 22d, at six in the morning, captain Dundas perceiving the ship to be separating, fixed the ladies on the top of the poop, with provisions, &c. the rest of the passengers and people took their stations in the mizen-chains, &c. and then he ordered the poop to be cut away; which saved their lives. At nine o'clock the ship divided into four pieces, when captain Dundas, Mr. Chambers, &c. were drowned. Mr. Dale, Mr. De Souza, and the fourth mate, with four seamen, went in the yawl to Desel, from thence to Mosambique, where they procured a vessel to fetch the ladies, &c. from Madagascar to the Isle of France. The numbers saved from the wreck were as follows:

Ship's company 87, soldiers' wives 7, king's troops 99, passengers 32, company's recruits 3. Total 228.

List of people lost on board the Winterton.

Captain George Dundas, Mr. C. Chambers, first mate; Miss Robinson, Miss Cullen, Miss M'Gowan,

passengers; Frances, a black girl; sixteen seamen, and twenty-one soldiers. Mr. J. Wilton, the fourth officer, died at Senna, Dec. 25, 1792; T. Longster died Dec. 23, 1792; T. Adams, Dec. 6, 1792.

Mr. Dale, third mate, has since taken up a Spanish ship at the Isle of France, on board of which he shipped the passengers, crew, and soldiery who were saved, for the East-Indies. 67,000l. sterling in dollars were lost on board the Winterton.

By the last accounts from the Pellew islands, it appears that a total change had taken place in the government. The old king died, as did the next in succession, and the reigning monarch is now Abba Thule. The throne was disputed by the younger branch of the family, who were strongly opposed by the elder brother; two of the former fell in the contest, and the remaining other was obliged to fly with all his adherents to the northward. Their fate can be little regretted, as it was they who assassinated the amiable Raa Kook. Abba Thule is absolutely adored by his subjects; and he himself remains as strongly attached as ever to the English.

10th. The ceremony of notifying the acceptance of the new constitution by the primary assemblies was performed with great pomp at Paris. The procession left the hall of the convention at nine in the morning; when they arrived at a triumphal arch erected in the Champ de Mars, the president gave the fraternal kiss to the heroines of the 5th and 6th of October, and presented them with a branch of laurel. They were seated upon pieces of heavy ordnance: 86 elders, representing

representing the 86 primary assemblies, ranged themselves close to the statue of Liberty. Every standard bearer came to deposit his colours around the pedestal. The insignia of royalty, brought upon carts, were thrown upon billets of wood. The president then tore aside the veil which covered the statue of Liberty, and its solemn inauguration took place amidst a general discharge of artillery, and the singing of a hymn composed for the occasion.

Afterwards the elders carrying torches set fire to the billets. After this, a second discharge of artillery announced the continuance of the march.

The president of the convention, accompanied by the secretaries and the 86 elders, ascended the altar, whilst the members of the convention, and those of the primary assemblies, occupied its steps.

The president proclaimed the acceptance of the constitution by the primary assemblies, which was announced to the people by a general discharge of artillery, and the oath to defend it was taken.

After the administration of the oath, the 86 elders advanced towards the president, and delivered to him the fasces which they bore in their hands, and which the president tied together with tri-coloured ribbon.

He deposited the act of the constitution under the arch. He then consigned the arch, with the fasces, to the commissioners of the primary assemblies, to be kept by them till the following day, then to be deposited in the place of the sitting of the national convention.

Embraces terminated this scene.

The people then abandoned themselves to joy. At ten o'clock a discharge of artillery was the signal for the commencement of a pantomime, entitled, The Bombardment of the City of Lisle.

21st. Last Sunday the Rev. Dr. Knox (a gentleman well known in the literary world as the author of several essays) preached at Brighton church. He took his text from St. Luke: "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will towards men!" In enlarging upon this subject he spoke in very strong terms of the calamities of war, and said, that the tinsel of military parade was but a poor compensation for the innumerable miseries which were the too sure attendants upon a state of warfare; that the voice of religion was but little heard amidst the roar of cannon, the shouts of conquerors, and the splendour of victory. In another part of his discourse he said, that religion and philosophy seemed to have but little weight in the councils of the rulers of the world.

Several military officers in the church officiously took upon themselves to think the sermon was an attack upon the constitution of the country, and that it contained improper reflections upon the profession to which they belonged.

Last night, Dr. Knox and his family being in one of the boxes at the theatre, there were also several officers in the house. At the end of the play a note was handed to Dr. Knox by the box-keeper, stating, that it was the desire of several gentlemen then present that he should withdraw. The note being without a signature, Dr. Knox took

no

no notice of it. Several officers then stood up, and insisted on his leaving the house immediately.

A scene of much confusion, nearly bordering on personal violence, ensued. Dr. Knox attempted to speak, but was absolutely forcibly hindered from proceeding; and himself, Mrs. Knox, and two or three of their little children, were compelled to leave the house, to avoid military coercion.

30th. *Edinburgh.* Came on the trial of Mr. Thomas Muir, which lasted about 16 hours; to the several acts of sedition charged in the indictment, Mr. Muir pleaded not guilty: being asked if he had any defence, he said, he rested upon his written defence. He had uniformly advised the people to pursue legal and constitutional measures, and that he had also advised them to read all books written upon the great national question of reform. The jury brought him in guilty; and the court sentenced him to be transported beyond seas (to such place as his Majesty, with the advice of his privy council, should judge proper), for the space of 14 years. Mr. Muir observed, that though *some* in the court might think the sentence too lenient, and others too severe, yet had he been carried from the bar to the scaffold, he would have met his fate with equal coolness, so convinced was he of the rectitude of his conduct.

At Perth, Mr. Fische Palmer has been found guilty of writing a seditious hand bill; his sentence was seven years transportation.

DIED. At Pensacola, Mr. Mac Gillivray, a Creek chief, very much lamented by those who knew him best. There happened to be at

that time at Pensacola a numerous band of Creeks, who watched his illness with the most marked anxiety; and when his death was announced to them, and while they followed him to the grave, it is impossible for words to describe the loud screams of real woe which they vented in their unaffected grief. He was, by his father's side, a Scotchman, of the respectable family of Drumoaglass, in Inverness-shire. The vigour of his mind overcame the disadvantages of an education had in the wilds of America; and he was well acquainted with all the most useful European sciences. In the latter part of his life he composed, with great care, the history of several classes of the original inhabitants of America; and this he intended to present to professor Robertson, for publication in the next edition of his history. The European and the American writer are now no more; and the MSS. of the latter, it is feared, have perished, for the Indians adhere to their custom of destroying whatever inanimate objects a dead friend most delighted in. It is only since Mr. Mac Gillivray had influence amongst them, that they have suffered the slaves of a deceased master to live.

SEPTEMBER.

5th. The Shrewsbury mail coach was robbed this night by two passengers, of a parcel containing the halves of bank-notes, to the amount of 1400l. five 10l. bank-notes, and ten 5l. notes.

6th. A spot of ground nearly 90 yards in circumference, of a circular

lar form, yesterday, suddenly sunk to the depth of five feet, in the parish of Felmingham, Norfolk; and, on the day following, another chasm nine feet in depth, and of about the same extent and form as the afore-mentioned, were discovered in a field in the same parish. The earth is much cracked round the spots, but the parts settled are perfectly whole.

Some soldiers having taken a deserter at Cobham, on their return, after having delivered up their charge, agreed to discharge their pieces at a mark which they fixed to the park-paling of Painshill grounds. Not taking the precaution of looking behind the pales before they fired, one of the balls, after going through the paling, penetrated the temple of a sleeping child of three years old, and killed it, while its parents were gleaning in the park.

9th. *Birmingham.* The first stone of a general Infirmary was laid at *Sheffield*, amidst the acclamations of full 20,000 people. R. Swallow, esq. deputed by Mrs. Fell (the benevolent lady who has given 1000l. to the institution) to lay the stone, was accompanied in procession to the spot by the master cutler and company, the lodges of Freemasons, and all the clubs of the town, with their flags, music, &c. and as soon as the stone was deposited, a suitable prayer was offered up by the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson. A grand entertainment at the Angel inn concluded the business of the day.

10th. At five o'clock this afternoon a daring robbery was committed, not above 100 yards from the Green-man on Epping-forest. Mr. Brumen, in the service of Messrs. Truman and Co. eminent

brewers, was returning in a one-horse chaise from the George at Wansted, where he had dined with his wife, when he was stopped by two fellows, whose horses were held by another in an adjoining thicket, and robbed of near 300l. which he had been receiving in the course of the day for his masters. The villains were masked; one of them has since been taken.

A small neat marble monument has been just set up in the middle isle of Cripplegate church to the memory of the great poet Milton. It consists of a bust as animated as the chissel of the artist can make it; the sculpture of Bacon. There is no "storied urn," but underneath is a plain tablet with the following inscription: "John Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*, born Dec. 1608, died Nov. 1674. His father, John Milton, died 1648. They were both interred in this church.

20th. The Convention, after hearing a report of the committee of public instruction respecting a new division of the year, decreed:

I. The æra of the French shall be reckoned from the day of the foundation of the republic, which took place Sept. 22, 1792, at the moment when the sun entered the equinoxial line in the sign of the balance.

II. The common or vulgar æra is abolished; the year is divided into twelve months, each of thirty days, after which five days shall ensue, which shall make part of no month whatever.

III. Each month shall be divided into three parts of *ten days* each.

IV. The months shall bear the names of the *liberty and equality of the people*, of the *regeneration of the mountain*, of the *republic*, of the *tennis*

tennis court, of unity, fraternity, of the pikes, and the sans culottes, &c. *plough, of the compass, of the fasces, of cannon, of oak, of rest, &c.*

V. The days shall bear the names of the level, of the cap of liberty, of the national cockade, of the *VI. Every four years olympic games shall be celebrated in honour and rejoicing of the French revolution.*

THE NEW FRENCH CALENDAR for the present year, commencing Sept. 22.

Names of Months. English.

Term.

AUTUMN

Vendemaire	Vintage month	from Sept. 22 to Oct. 21
Brumaire	Fog month	— Oct. 22 to Nov. 20
Frimaire	Sleet month	— Nov. 21 to Dec. 20

WINTER

Nivose	Snow month	— Dec. 21 to Jan. 19
Pluviose	Rain month	— Jan. 20 to Feb. 18
Ventose	Wind month	— Feb. 19 to March 20

SPRING

Germinal	Sprouts month	— March 21 to April 19
Floreale	Flowers month	— April 20 to May 19
Prairial	Pasture month	— May 20 to June 18

SUMMER

Messidor	Harvest month	— June 19 to July 18
Thermidor	Hot month	— July 19 to August 17
Fructidor	Fruit month	— August 18 to Sept. 16.

Sans Culotides, are feasts dedicated to

Les Vertues	The Virtues	Sept. 17
Le Genie	Genius	Sept. 18
Le Travail	Labour	Sept. 19
L'Opinion	Opinion	Sept. 20
Les Recompenses	Rewards	Sept. 21

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called *La Sans Culotide*; on which there is to be a national renovation of their oath, "To live free or die." This month is divided into three decades, the days of which are called, from the Latin numerals,

1. *Primidi* 3. *Tridi* 5. *Quintidi* 7. *Septidi* 9. *Nonidi*, and
2. *Duodi* 4. *Quartidi* 6. *Sextidi* 8. *Octidi* 10. *Decadi*, which
is to be the day of rest.

A corresponding calendar for all the days in the year may be made from the above sketch.

21st. The sessions ended this day at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon ten convicts; one was sentenced to be transported for 14 years, nineteen for seven years, twelve to be imprisoned in Newgate, twelve in

Clerkenwell Bridewell, two to be publicly and two to be privately whipped, and 79 were discharged by proclamation.

The sentences intended to be passed upon ten of the prisoners convicted this session of felonies were

were respited, on condition of their entering and continuing to serve his majesty.

Eleven capital convicts of former sessions were pardoned, on condition of their being transported to New South Wales for the term of their natural lives; and three upon condition of being imprisoned in Clerkenwell Bridewell.

About ten o'clock this forenoon, a young man named Campbell, about eighteen years of age, clerk to Messrs. Vere, Lucadou, and Co. bankers, in Lombard-street, presented a bill to a Mr. Mallett, No. 13, Hatton-garden, for payment. The clerk on going into the passage, was desired to walk backward into the counting-house for payment, which he did, and on presenting the bill, a green cloth was put over his head by a tall man and another, and he was thrown down on the floor, and his pocket-book, containing bills to a considerable amount, was forcibly taken from him; after which he was dragged into a kitchen, where they bound him hands and feet and fastened him to the iron grating of a copper, in which situation he continued till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when a person passing the house was struck by piercing cries; he at first was not aware from whence they came, but at length discovered that they proceeded from within that house, which apparently, from the windows being shut, was uninhabited. The lamentations of one in distress still continued, and determined the man to get into the house; for this purpose he knocked at the door: but as no one answered, he got assistance, and with several others forced his way into the house through the parlour win-

dow. Attracted by the voice of distress, those who entered the house descended into the back kitchen, where they found the young man stretched on the floor and his arms, body, and legs fastened by strong iron chains to a plank, which was again fastened to the iron grating of a copper; there was placed within his reach a large mug of water, a bottle of brandy, some porter, and a quantity of ham and bread; a rug and a green baize also lay by his side.

At the time he was first seized, he was told that if he cried out he would be murdered; and it was not until some time after the robbers had left him that he ventured to call out; he then made all the noise he could, and from his continued exertion, his confinement, and the terrors of his mind, he was, when released, very much exhausted.

24th. This day Cowdry house in Sussex (the seat of lord Montague) was burnt down. The architecture was gothic, and the form quadrangular; in the middle of the quadrangle was a reservoir of excellent water. The great hall was wainscoted with cedar, and was called the buck-hall, from having been ornamented with the figures of several bucks; one in particular was pointed out to visitors as the identical antlers of a stag which queen Elizabeth actually shot when (in one of her excursions) she visited that park and mansion.—The house was, in general, fully and richly furnished, and very much ornamented with paintings, some of which were excellent, particularly two or three family portraits; but what gave high celebrity to the paintings of the house, were the historical pieces by Hans Holbein:

Holbein: these pieces chiefly exhibited processions in London, in the reign of Henry VIII. wherein sir Anthony Brown, an ancestor of the family, made a conspicuous figure in a party-coloured garment, the dress he wore when he stood proxy for his master at his marriage of Anne of Cleevcs.

25th. A new light-house, with reflectors, has been erected on *Cumbræ* island in Scotland, which will be lighted, for the first time, on the first of October. The trustees have given notice, that the old light-house will be continued till it known how far this experiment with the new one succeeds.

The medals struck by the Swedish artist Fehrmann, in memory of the late king, represent, on one side, his image crowned with laurel—on the other, the hill Oeta, on the summit of which some burning ruins appear, with the club of Hercules, and the harp of one of the muses lying near them. Out of these ruins the genius of Hercules is ascending to the stars. The inscription is *majorque videri cæpit*. Under this is the date of the king's death.

Abstract of the estimate of the expenditures of the civil list of the United States, for the year 1793, reported by A. Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, to the house of representatives.

	Dollars.
President's salary -	25,000
Vice president's ditto -	5,000
Chief justice -	4,000
Five associate justices -	17,500
All the district judges -	21,700
Congress -	143,591
Treasury department -	55,050

Carried over 271,841

Brought over	271,841
Department of state -	6,300
Department of war -	11,250
Commissioners of old accounts -	13,300
Loan offices -	13,250
Western territory -	11,000
Amount of Pensions -	5,267
Contingencies -	20,364
Total -	352,472

In British money 79,304l. 17s. sterl.

The American revenue, for 1793, is estimated at 4,400,000 dollars, exclusive of what may arise from the sale of lands in the Western territory; there is likewise upwards of the value of 5,000,000 dollars in bullion, lying in the bank of the United States, now preparing for their coinage.

27th. A melancholy accident happened at Laughton in Leicestershire. Several labouring men were employed in digging gravel from a deep pit, and having imprudently undermined a large bed of clay, the whole, to the amount of fifty loads, suddenly gave way, and fell upon three of them, of the name of Stafford: two unhappily were crushed to death, and the other had his leg broke. It was several hours before the unfortunate men could be dug out, when they exhibited a most shocking spectacle.

The inhabitants of Northampton having petitioned government that barracks might be erected in the neighbourhood of that town, their request has been complied with, and the following answer sent to Mr. Bouverie, by the secretary of state:

Whitehall, Sept. 27, 1793.

" Sir,

" The petition of the inhabitants of

garden, and a clear income of 200,000 florins. The prince left his villa in the Prater to the countess of Hoya. He also left 30,000 florins to his secretary; 20,000 florins to his steward; and 10,000 florins to all the inferior officers of his household. All his domestics receive their full annual wages, in ready specie, for life, on condition that they shall not serve any other master, and thereby injure those who want bread, and have no competency. The prince has desired to be buried in his botanical garden. He was a great admirer of Linnæus; and a superb monument will be erected to his memory in that garden.

OCTOBER.

1st. Yesterday Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudson dined at the London coffee-house, Ludgate-hill. Shortly after their dinner they were giving toasts to each other in so loud a manner as to be taken notice of. Pigott gave aloud, "The French republic," which was immediately resented by a gentleman present, who gave "The King." Mr. Leech, the master of the coffee-house, had previously taken notice of their improper conduct, and soon after sent for a constable from the Poultry compter, who took them into custody. They were yesterday examined before Mr. Alderman Anderson, at Guildhall, who remanded them, in order to be brought again before him. Mr. Leech, the master of the coffee-house, Mr. Newman, of Newgate-street, and a Mr. Vaughan, of Bristol, were examined; and it was proved in evidence, that they had

spoken in a very disaffected manner, and had given the following toasts,—“The system of equality,”—“May the republic of France be triumphant over all Europe!” The lord mayor was talked of in most opprobrious terms for his public conduct. The king was spoken of in an improper and seditious manner; as was also the prince of Hesse Cassel, whom they called a swine-dealer. The ministry were denominated robbers and highwaymen. The constable, who accompanied them in the coach to the Poultry compter, deposed, that on their way thither they called from the coach-windows to the people, “The French republic!” and “Liberty while you live!” This morning they were again brought before the same magistrate, when Dr. Hudson made an able speech in defence of himself and his fellow prisoner. After the whole of the evidence had been heard in support of the charge, the alderman felt it his duty to commit both the prisoners for trial. They were accordingly committed to the New Compter, their bail not being ready; and it being necessary, in this case, to give notice to the solicitor of the treasury of the persons intended to be offered as bail.

5th. Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudson were brought by a *Habeas Corpus* before the hon. Mr. Justice Gould and Mr. Baron Perryn, at Serjeant's-inn, at the request of Mr. Martin, their attorney. The warrant of commitment being deliberately read by Mr. Harrison, at the request of the judge, Mr. Pigott hoped that Mr. Martin might state to his lordship the grounds of their objection to the commitment. Mr. Martin was heard for the prisoners,
in

when the soldiers were unfortunately obliged to fire, is estimated at upwards of 500; they fired in three directions—up High-street, down the back, and over the bridge: about 15 persons were killed, and near forty wounded, some of them dangerously; three bodies have been taken out of the river, one of them a genteel person, though unknown, with a watch and ten guineas in his pocket; and 29 of the wounded are in the infirmary.

A very formidable body of the populace were assembled again on Tuesday night, though the collection of the toll was abandoned, some of the principal citizens having offered to present to the trustees the sum for which they were let. The windows of the council house were broken; but a troop of dragoons arriving, with the Brecon and Monmouthshire militia, the populace retired to their homes.

DIED, in an obscure lodging in Westminster, Mauritius Lowe, a painter of considerable eminence in his profession at starting, being the person the Royal Academy first sent to Italy to paint a picture, according to one of the articles of their constitution; but, being of an indolent habit of mind, he painted no picture at Rome, but dissipated his time to no purpose. He was a natural son of the late lord Southwell, from whom he had an annuity. He was much esteemed by Dr. Johnson, who bequeathed him a legacy, and stood godfather to one of his children. Some of his conversations are recorded in Mr. Boswell's Life of the doctor. He was a person of elegant education and agreeable address.—Mr. Lowe married his servant, by whom he had a

large family. If we judge of the works of his pencil by the magnitude of his subject, few painters stand higher. Some of his works are, Abraham offering up Isaac, a drawing; Adam and Eve, a drawing; Joseph's coat brought to Jacob; St. John; Dædalus and Icarus; Homer singing his Iliad to the Greeks, an highly finished and admired drawing; and his last, not least, work, his gigantic painting of the deluge.

At Paris, general Adam Philip Custine, late commander of the French republican army of the North and the Ardennes. He was condemned to die on the 27th, and the sentence was put in execution the next morning. At the awful moment he shewed neither the calm resignation of conscious innocence, nor the indignant firmness that men of proud spirit, who want that consolation, substitute for it. He kissed the crucifix, embraced his confessor, hesitated, used every artifice to gain a few minutes longer time, and at last was taken to the guillotine by force.

Lately, at Vienna, prince Gallitzin, the Russian ambassador to that court. His estates in Russia, next to those of the late prince Potemkin, are supposed to be the largest allotted to any one of the Empress's subjects. General count Romanzow, the Russian ambassador at the Diet of Ratisbon, is his heir; to whom he has not only left a fortune of 2,000,000 florins in specie, but vast estates in Russia, which yielded upwards of 200,000 roubles per annum. The pleasure-villas of Gallitzinberg have been left by the prince to the Russian ambassador who shall hereafter be sent to Vienna, besides the English garden,

garden, and a clear income of 200,000 florins. The prince left his villa in the Prater to the countess of Hoya. He also left 30,000 florins to his secretary; 20,000 florins to his steward; and 10,000 florins to all the inferior officers of his household. All his domestics receive their full annual wages, in ready specie, for life, on condition that they shall not serve any other master, and thereby injure those who want bread, and have no competency. The prince has desired to be buried in his botanical garden. He was a great admirer of Linnæus; and a superb monument will be erected to his memory in that garden.

OCTOBER.

1st. Yesterday Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudson dined at the London coffee-house, Ludgate-hill. Shortly after their dinner they were giving toasts to each other in so loud a manner as to be taken notice of. Pigott gave aloud, "The French republic," which was immediately resented by a gentleman present, who gave "The King." Mr. Leech, the master of the coffee-house, had previously taken notice of their improper conduct, and soon after sent for a constable from the Poultry compter, who took them into custody. They were yesterday examined before Mr. Alderman Anderson, at Guildhall, who remanded them, in order to be brought again before him. Mr. Leech, the master of the coffee-house, Mr. Newman, of Newgate-street, and a Mr. Vaughan, of Bristol, were examined; and it was proved in evidence, that they had

spoken in a very disaffected manner, and had given the following toasts,—“The system of equality.” —“May the republic of France be triumphant over all Europe!” The lord mayor was talked of in most opprobrious terms for his public conduct. The king was spoken of in an improper and seditious manner; as was also the prince of Hesse Cassel, whom they called a swine-dealer. The ministry were denominated robbers and highwaymen. The constable, who accompanied them in the coach to the Poultry compter, deposed, that on their way thither they called from the coach-windows to the people, “The French republic!” and “Liberty while you live!” This morning they were again brought before the same magistrate, when Dr. Hudson made an able speech in defence of himself and his fellow prisoner. After the whole of the evidence had been heard in support of the charge, the alderman felt it his duty to commit both the prisoners for trial. They were accordingly committed to the New Compter, their bail not being ready; and it being necessary, in this case, to give notice to the solicitor of the treasury of the persons intended to be offered as bail.

5th. Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudson were brought by a *Habeas Corpus* before the hon. Mr. Justice Gould and Mr. Baron Perryn, at Serjeant's-inn, at the request of Mr. Martin, their attorney. The warrant of commitment being deliberately read by Mr. Harrison, at the request of the judge, Mr. Pigott hoped that Mr. Martin might state to his lordship the grounds of their objection to the commitment. Mr. Martin was heard for the prisoners,

in

in a speech which took up near half an hour. His principal aim was directed to the illegality of the commitment; and he trusted, that, as the precise words were not specified in the warrant, the gentlemen would be discharged. The solicitor general made a short reply; when Judge Gould stated at some length the Act of Parliament which guided him in this business. He did not see that there was any illegal step in the commitment, and quoted several authorities to confirm it. Baron Perryn stated, that he knew nothing of the circumstance till that moment, but entirely agreed in opinion with his brother Gould. Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudson both addressed the judge, who gave them the greatest attention. Dr. Hudson also stated, that he had no reason to complain of alderman Anderson's conduct; on the contrary, he believed he had done no more than his duty. Mr. Martin, the attorney, begged to be heard again: He said he differed from his client in his sentiments with regard to the alderman's conduct; and was proceeding with some invective, when he was stopped by the judge. Mr. Pigott: "My lord, the Bill of Rights states, that excessive bail shall not be demanded." Judge Gould: "You are premature. You do not know what bail I may demand. I shall be satisfied with less. Where are your bail?" Mr. Martin: "My lord, from the objections I have made, I did not think of bringing any; my clients would much sooner suffer the greatest severity the law can inflict, than put in such heavy bail, so contrary to *Magna Charta*." Mr. White, of the treasury, said he should be contented with bail of

250l. for each of them: Judge Gould: "You must give twenty-four hours notice to the solicitor of the treasury, that he may enquire as to the respectability of the bail; but, as you have no bail to put in, I must do my duty, and remand you to prison."

Lawrence Jones was apprehended by Jealous and Kennedy, in Bridge-street, Westminster, on suspicion of being concerned in the robbery of Mr. Campbell, clerk to Vere and Co. bankers; his apprehension was a mere accident. The above officers were attending in Palace-yard, while the sheriffs of London were sworn in, where they saw Jones, and took him into custody; on searching him they found a great quantity of notes and bills to a large amount, together with a direction to a house in Peckham-rye-lane, to which place they went, and found a great quantity of papers, among which was a letter to Mr. Pitt, the whole of which was brought up to Bow-street. The prisoner was formerly a lieutenant in the queen's rangers in America, but sold out some time back; subsequent to this he has been confined in Newgate for debt.

14th. About eight o'clock in the evening Miss C. Herschell discovered a comet in the constellation of the Serpent, but the heavens were clouded over so suddenly that its place could not be taken. On Tuesday evening Dr. Herschell ascertained its situation, and found that it preceded the first ophiocbe six minutes thirty-four seconds in time, and was one degree twenty-five minutes more north than that star.

New York. A dreadful pestilential

tial disorder broke out in Philadelphia, in August last, which swept off some thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants, but we are happy to learn that its fury is now abated.

A young man of the name of Aloze, a deputy of the Convention for the department of Jura, lately absented himself from his colleagues, repaired to his own department, whence he came to Geneva, where he blew his brains out, leaving the following note behind him :

"I had only three resolutions to take ; namely, to return to the bosom of tyranny, to emigrate, or to die ; the two former are too repugnant to my principles, and I must embrace the last. I am going to join Cato ; I have seen France turned upside down by the villains who tear her bowels ; but I will at least be exempted from viewing the last struggles of that ignominious agony. I have been vain and deluded ; but never a villain—never have I knowingly offended any man ; I have only hated the monsters who have ruined my country ; I die tranquil and contented.

(Signed) "Aloze,
33 years of age."

26th. This day the last stone was laid of the tower in Heathfield park, and the scaffolding removed.

A little account of this structure, intended by the present owner as a memorial of respect to the character of his predecessor, the late lord Heathfield, and which may be considered as an ornament to the county, may not be unacceptable to our readers.

It was begun on the 2d of March 1792, is built of stone, and from the bottom is of an octagonal shape to

the height of about fifteen feet ; whence it rises, in a circular form, to the top of the battlement, which is fifty-five feet from the ground. It is twenty-two feet in diameter, and contains a circular staircase, and three apartments, which are to be fitted up in a Gothic style, and ornamented with views of Gibraltar, and the operations of the siege.

The building is simple ; but so admirably constructed as to unite lightness with solidity ; and every precaution has been used to preserve it from decay ; the proportions, moreover, are so just, and the effect of the whole so agreeable to the eye, that it cannot fail to impress the beholder with the taste and ingenuity of the architect.

Over the door, on the outside of the tower, is a tablet, with this inscription, "*Calpes defensori*," the letters of which are to be formed of the metal of the guns from the Spanish floating batteries, and let into the stone.

The view, from a building situated on one of the most elevated spots, will be more readily conceived than described, by those who are acquainted with that beautiful part of the county of Sussex.

The site of the tower happening to be upon part of the copyhold of the manor of Loughton, lord Pelham has enfranchised the ground in compliment to the undertaking.

Guillotined, at Paris, in her thirty-eighth year, being born November 2, 1755, Marie Antoinette, the beautiful widow of the late French king, Louis XVI. She was arch-duchess of Austria, and sister to Leopold II. late emperor of Germany, to the present queen of the Two Sicilies, and to the present duchess

duchess of Parma; and was married to the king of France in 1770.

DIED, in his 68th year, John Hunter, esq. F. R. S. surgeon-extraordinary to the king, and surgeon-general to the army. He was suddenly taken ill in the council-room of St. George's hospital, and did not live one minute, but dropped down and died instantly. Every possible means were used to restore so valuable a life; but neither his pulse or breathing returned. At five o'clock his body was conveyed in a chair to his house in Leicester-square. On examining it the next day, there was no satisfactory cause found for his sudden death, the ossification of the valves of the aorta being no unusual appearance in persons of his advanced age. He was eight years younger than his brother, Dr. William Hunter, and survived him ten years and six months. About twenty years ago he married the daughter of Mr. Home, surgeon, in Suffolk-street, Charing-cross; by whom he has left a son, in his twentieth year, now at Cambridge, and a daughter. Mr. Hunter may be truly said to have been an honour to his profession and to his country. His deep knowledge, in both speculative and practical surgery, has long been known and admired, whether considered as to the efficacy of its operations, or the sensibility of its effects. As a man of letters, independent of his profound scientific studies, he had traced the practice of surgery to the earliest ages. He was well acquainted with every practitioner mentioned by Pliny; with all the Greek and Roman authors who had written on the subject, as well as with every modern one who has

contributed to the perfection of the art. His own publications will be his monuments. His anatomical researches were various, persevering, and successful; the office, use, situation, or communication, of the several parts of the human structure, no man was better acquainted with. His labours may be considered as a basis, on which the whole great art of physic may securely rest.—Mr. Hunter was soon to have opened a course of lectures. His fame, however, will be his recording pillar, and be far more durable than even the brazen skeleton consecrated by Hippocrates to the Delphian Apollo! Science has still to receive, from the theories of John Hunter, some compensation for the loss of his practice. His "Comparative Anatomy," intended to be published after his death, was, many years since, said to be in a forward state, by those who had been gratified with the sight of parts of it, and had an opportunity of knowing his laborious and extensive researches upon the subject. Among the persons most interested in its appearance must be the disciples of Lavater, whose system, existing hitherto but in the conception of his followers, and communicable only by definitions, which depend upon the fancy of the hearer, may acquire certainty from his proofs, and at length be received into the classes of demonstrable knowledge.—Every particular is interesting, with respect to the loss of so valuable a man. He had, for some years been subject to spasms; on account of which, he was cautioned not to indulge in any violence, or loudness of speech. Upon some occurrence, in which he was worthily, but too warmly, interested,

interested, he neglected the warning which his own skill had approved, and was seized with a spasm that occasioned almost an immediate death. He is thought not to have died very rich; for, of whatever his present skill could acquire, he was always ready to expend the greater part upon the means of future improvement. Such had been his habit, since his eighteenth year, when, from the condition of a boat-builder, or shipwright, he began the career that ended in his becoming, both in theory and practice, the first surgeon in the world; a circumstance which, either with respect to his own honour, or to the encouragement of others, can never be mentioned in vain.

Among other curious items in the will of Mr. Hunter is the following:—That his museum, which has cost him upwards of 90,000 guineas, shall be offered to this government for sale, at the sum of 20,000*l*. In case of refusal, it shall then be offered to every other nation, at the same price. Should they likewise decline the purchase, it shall then be sold, by public auction, to any person who wishes to be possessed of such an invaluable curiosity. The money arising from the sale to be equally divided among his relatives.

At Kendal, in Westmorland, of a paralytic affection, for which he had in vain sought relief at Lisbon, the hon. sir John Wilson, knt. one of his majesty's justices of the court of Common Pleas. His illness had been of fourteen days continuance. He married, April 7, 1788, the daughter of serjeant Adair, whom he had known from a child, and by whom he had issue.

Guillotined at Paris, in the space of thirty-seven minutes, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, after having been convicted of "a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and against the liberty and safety of the French nation," the following twenty one deputies to the national convention, viz. Brissot, Vergniaux, Gensonne, Duperret, Valaze, Cara, Gardien, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, Ducros, Boyer-Fonfrede, Lasource, Lesterp Beauvais, Duchatel, Mainville, Lacaze, Lehardi, Boileau, Antiboul, and Vigée. The corpse of Valaze (who had stabbed himself in court as soon as sentence was passed, the day before) was conveyed separately, on a cart, to the place of execution, exhibited on the scaffold, and buried in the same spot.

Unfortunately drowned at one of the falls of Schaufhausen, in the Rhine, George Samuel, 8th Viscount Montague, and Sedley Burdett, esq. second son of Francis Burdett, esq. and grandson of Rob. Burdett, esq. who inherited very considerable property from the late sir Cha. Sedley, bart. His lordship was the only son of Anthony the 7th viscount, by Frances daughter of Herbert Mackworth, esq. and relict of Alexander lord Halkerton. He was born June 26, 1769, and was on his return home to be married to the amiable and accomplished Miss Coutts, to whose sister Mr. Burdett was some time since united. By his death the title of Montague is become extinct. The unfortunate fate of these two travellers was owing to a very rash attempt, from which no remonstrance could divert them. His lordship, accompanied by Mr. Burdett, was un-

commonly anxious to pass the famous waterfalls of Schaufhausen, in Switzerland, which had hitherto been unattempted by any visitant. The magistrates of the district, having heard of the resolution of these travellers, and knowing that inevitable destruction would be the consequence of such an attempt, had ordered guards to be placed for the purpose of preventing the execution of it. Such, however, was the force of their curiosity, that they found means to elude every precaution. Having provided themselves with a small flat-bottomed punt, as they were about to step into it, lord Montague's servant stopped short, and, as it were instinctively, seized his master by the collar, declaring, that for the moment, he should forget the respect of the servant in the duty of the man. His lordship, however, extricated himself at the expence of part of his collar and neckcloth, and pushed off immediately with his companion; they got over the first fall in safety, they then pushed down the second fall, by far more dangerous than the first, from which time they have not been seen or heard of. It is supposed, that the boat, hurried by the violence of the cataract, jammed them between two rocks. The servant remained three weeks near the place bewailing the fate of his master, who in the prime of life had thus fallen a victim to his curiosity while he was hourly expected at Midhurst, which owed so much to his ancestors, the conflagration of his seat near which having not yet reached him.

NOVEMBER.

2d. A young man, who said he

came from two persons who had failed at the Stock Exchange in August last, went to Mr. Martin, a reputable stock-broker, and desired him to sell out 16,000l. three per cent. scrip. for them. He hesitated to do the business, as he was a stranger: and asked if he knew any person in the room; he mentioned Mr. Lyons, a broker, who was just come in; on which Mr. Martin asked Mr. Lyons, who said he knew him very well. Mr. Martin sold one 10,000l. of it that day, and received the money, but through some mistake did not meet the young man afterwards.

On Monday morning he called on Mr. Martin, who lives in the neighbourhood of Hackney, for the money; but being informed that the whole was not disposed of, it was agreed, as Monday and Tuesday were holidays, he should pay him the whole together on Wednesday.

Mr. Martin happening to be at Garraway's on Tuesday, sold the remainder there; but the person who bought it observing, that though Messrs. Thelluson's name was indorsed on the back of the receipt, the inside was left blank, thought it very irregular, and advised its being chequed at the Bank before he paid the money. When Mr. Martin went thither, the whole was found to be a forgery. [Lyons and his sister (*who personated the young man*) have been since apprehended, and committed to different prisons for trial.]

9th. A solemn dirge was sung at the Spanish ambassador's chapel, Manchester-square, for the late queen of France. The whole chapel was covered with black, the windows

windows darkened, and a great number of silver lamps on the walls and on the front of the galleries. Before the altar lay the representation of a coffin, on which was a superb pall, covered with escutcheons; and on it lay the crown and sceptre of France; at the sides of the coffin a dozen large wax tapers. The chapel was filled at an early hour with a great number of the nobility, persons of fashion, and many others, who all dropped a tear upon the melancholy occasion: and the whole did honour to the liberality and taste of the marquis del Campo, who was in the organ-gallery all the time. The bishop of Limoges, late almoner of France, and tutor to the late king when dauphin, celebrated the mass, and walked in procession round the coffin three times, sprinkling and censuring it. A numerous choir of vocal performers chanted the service, and afterwards joined in bands of harmonies. After which Mr. Webb played the organ; and the emigrant French clergy, scattered over the body of the chapel joined in the mournful office with wonderful and moving effect. There was no sermon or oration on this occasion.

On the same day a similar service was performed in the catholic chapel at Winchester, where a discourse, suited to the occasion, was pronounced by the Rev. Mr. Milner. Besides the French ecclesiastics, who officiated in a style superior to any thing that is seen in the chapels in London, the marquis and marchioness of Buckingham, the officers of the regiment of that name, and the principal clergy of the neighbourhood, assisted.

26th. *Bath.* This day the whole body of chairmen, to the amount of five hundred struck their poles, and proceeded in a mutinous manner to Guildhall, respecting the granting of their licences. The act of parliament having enabled the mayor and justices to licence the chairmen of this city, they attempted to lay some restrictions on them, when the latter immediately rose, and surrounding the Guildhall, insulted Dr. Harrington, the mayor, and broke to pieces the chairs of all those who came forward to obtain their licences; they then refused to carry any one to the places of public amusement. In consequence of these circumstances, the mayor and justices called a meeting this day at eleven o'clock; when, acceding to the resolutions of the chairmen, the latter once more fixed their poles, and gave a general shout of "God save the king."

The dispute arose mostly from the mayor and justices wishing to remove the chairmen from their old stands, and insisting that they should carry their passengers to any distance in the city without making any extra charge.

27th. In the court of King's Bench, Mr. Holt, printer of the Newark Herald, found guilty, on two indictments, for printing and publishing two libels; the first entitled "An Address to the Addressers," and the second "An Address to the Tradesmen, Mechanics, and Labourers of Newark, on a Parliamentary Reform," was sentenced for the first offence to pay 50l. to the king, and to be imprisoned in his majesty's jail of Newgate for the space of two years; for the second offence to pay a fine

of

of 50*l.* to the king, and be imprisoned in his majesty's jail of Newgate for the space of two years, to be computed from the expiration of the last imprisonment, and to find security for his good behaviour for the term of five years, himself in 200*l.* and two sureties in 150*l.* each—Mr. Holt was immediately taken into custody.

The same day the Rev. William Winterbottom, found guilty of preaching two seditious sermons, was sentenced for the first offence to pay a fine of 100*l.* to the king, and to be imprisoned in the New Prison in Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, for the term of two years; for the second offence to pay a fine of 100*l.* to the king, and to be imprisoned in the New Prison in Clerkenwell for the term of two years, to be computed after the expiration of the first imprisonment, and at the end of his imprisonment, to give security for his good behaviour for the term of five years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

Leghorn. Yesterday we witnessed a most dreadful catastrophe. Le Scipio, a French ship of 74 guns, and six hundred men, at anchor in this port with the British squadron, under the command of admiral Cosby, became a prey to the flames. At three in the afternoon, large volumes of black smoke, rising from all parts of the ship, were the forerunners of the flames, which a few moments after began to break forth. The crew, who were all on board of her, and had not the smallest suspicion of any accident, finding they could not withstand the rage of the fire, mostly flung themselves through the flames into the sea, every one striving to

escape with his life. Meanwhile, the jolly boats belonging to the British, Spanish, and Neapolian men of war, picked up several of the unfortunate sufferers; and many dead bodies were afterwards taken up, suffocated, or drowned. The rest, being invalids, or wanting to extinguish the flames, which began to spread in every part, fell victims. About four o'clock, all the rigging and masts were seen on fire; the port-holes of the cannon resembling so many furnaces issuing fiery lava. The guns, loaded either with grape-shop or balls, went off, and threatened to set fire to the rest of the shipping. Rear admiral Cosby finding the squadron of his Britannic majesty too near the French ship, and exposed to the most imminent danger, immediately sailed from the harbour. Shortly after the French ship bore away from her anchor, all on fire; fortunately a strong gale from the land preserved the shipping in the harbour from destruction while the Scipio passed along, and that prevented greater misfortunes. About eight o'clock in the evening the Scipio was four Italian miles from the port when the great explosion took place in the store-rooms, containing three hundred barrels of gun-powder. The column of fire rose the height of near three hundred fathoms; a large smoke ensued, which appeared intersected with flames, and during several minutes the whole horizon seemed to be on fire. The explosion was so great, that it resembled the effect of the most dreadful shock of an earthquake, and an immense number of window panes in this city burst. After the explosion of the store-room, the water rushed into.

into the body of the hulk, which began to sink. About two in the morning no further signs of fire appeared on the surface of the sea. At day-break a piece of the ship was still seen out of the water, full of coals, and covered with dead corpses. The ship was reckoned worth one million of piasters; and two hundred of the crew were lost, including M. de Goy, the captain, who would not quit her. This dreadful accident it is said to have been occasioned by a barrel of brandy being set on fire by a light which was burning near it. To the above loss may be added that of a great quantity of live stock, and all kinds of provision destined for Toulon. It has since been ascertained, that the number of men saved amounts to two hundred and ten. They are also raising the cannon, for which the workmen are allowed one third of what they can recover.

28th. The stables of sir Peter Burrell, bart. at Langley in Beckenham, were destroyed by fire. A set of six fine coach-horses perished in the flames, and a seventh was so injured as to be rendered useless. The stables had not been long erected, and fortunately were at such a distance from the house as not to endanger it. Sir Peter himself narrowly escaped from the kicking of one of the horses in the agonies of death.

DIED, at his apartment on the master's side of the gaol of Newgate, where he had been confined two years for a libel on the moral and political conduct of the late queen of France; three more for one on the empress of Russia; and ten months longer for want of being able to obtain the necessary

security for his enlargement, the hon. George Gordon, commonly called lord George Gordon, third son of the late Cosmo George duke of Gordon, by Catharine, daughter of William earl of Aberdeen, and brother of the present duke of Gordon. He was born in Upper Brook-street, December 19, 1750, and his late majesty was his god-father. He died of a fever, which baffled the skill of Dr. Lettsom, who attended him. He had been delirious for three days previous to his death, the last ten hours of which he was speechless. At an early period of life he entered into the royal navy, which he quitted during the American war, in consequence of an altercation with the earl of Sandwich, relative to promotion. He represented the borough of Ludgershall in parliament during several sessions; and, as he animadverted with great freedom, and often with great wit, on the proceedings of both sides of the house, it was usual at that period to say, that "there were three parties in parliament, the minister, the opposition, and lord George Gordon." The dreary hours of his confinement were devoted to reading and the study of ancient and modern history. Several of his publications, upon miscellaneous subjects, are characterised by sound arguments, and illumined by flashes of genuine humour; his language was animated, and his diction correct and classical. His conduct to his fellow-prisoners was beneficent; and his heart alive to the impressions of sensibility. Such is a brief sketch of an individual, who ended his days in a prison. Those, however, in whose memory the riots of 1780 are yet fresh,

fresh, when they consider the present state of political speculation, and weigh the character, genius, and talents of lord George, must in candour admit, that such a person could not well be at large without some degree of hazard to the good order of society. The melancholy circumstance of his departure in such a situation, however, will justify the sympathetic commiseration of many who could once with pleasure have seen him undergo the severest inflictions of criminal justice. By his death an annuity of 800*l.* a year, payable out of the estate of his brother the duke, ceases. His last moments were additionally embittered by the knowledge that he could not be buried amongst the Jews, whose religion he some time since embraced, and to which he was warmly attached. His remains were interred on the 9th, with the utmost privacy, in a vault in St. James's burying-ground, on the Hampstead-road.

Gillotined at Paris, aged forty-six, Madame Roland, wife of the minister of that name, who lately destroyed himself to avoid suffering the same fate. She was, perhaps, the most extraordinary woman that this or any other age has produced. During the administration of her husband she was the author of all those papers signed by him, which, for composition, brilliancy of language, and sentiments of patriotism, are unrivalled. To the enthusiasm of a spirited reformist, she added a degree of firmness that gave weight to her decisions, and made her company be sought after by all the Moderés of Paris. She had her regular levees of statesmen, and was consulted as though she

were the prime minister of state.—Courteous in her demeanour, and easy in her manners, though her extreme good judgment and sense awed her inferiors into respectful silence, yet she had those means of conciliation in her power, that never failed to render her mistress of the principles and the object of those by whom she was consulted. Whenever Roland gave a political dinner, his lady (who in the prime of life was considered as beautiful) always presided; for it was she alone that raised him to that situation which, at length, proved fatal to this great woman, in consequence of his having attached himself to the weakest party.

DECEMBER.

1st. *Pilton, Somerset.* A verdict was this day taken on the wife of one Withy, a labourer, who was found drowned in a pool near this place. They had lived separately some time; but on Sunday, the 3d ult. he visited her, and appearing on friendly terms, she was in the evening prevailed on to accompany him part of the way to Evercreech, where he resided. Nothing was seen or heard of the wife till the ensuing Sunday, when he came again to Pilton, and, enquiring for her of the person with whom she lodged, he affected great surprise at his not being able to give him information, and said, she must have made away with herself. He requested the man to accompany him in searching for her. When they came to the place where he said they had parted, the man immediately saw her hat among some brambles, and in the water near the

the spot he discovered the body. A jury was summoned; but, as no positive proof could be adduced against the husband, they returned a verdict, "accidental death." In Withy's absence, his landlady at Evercreech found concealed under his bed the cloak and handkerchief, which, it was afterwards proved, the deceased had on when she left her lodgings with her husband. She directly gave this information, and Withy was again taken into custody in church, at the very moment when the deceased was about to be interred. Another jury was impannelled; when these strong circumstances appearing, they instantly returned a verdict of wilful murder against him; upon which he was committed to Ilchester gaol.

2d. This evening about five o'clock, a fire broke out at Hawley's wharf, near the Hermitage. Three houses, besides several warehouses, three ships, &c. were totally destroyed, and others considerably damaged, together with a great quantity of sugars, rum, and hemp. The fire entirely destroyed the warehouses, besides four or five adjoining houses, amongst which was the Cannon public-house; two large vessels that lay along side the wharf, and some craft in the dock, were also destroyed. The flames spread with such rapidity, that in the space of two hours nothing appeared of the buildings but empty shells. It is reported, that it commenced through some negligence in the counting-house. The damage done cannot yet be ascertained, but must be very great. At eight o'clock the flames were so far got under, as that no further mischief was apprehended. Though the tide was ebbing, there ap-

peared no complaints of a want of water.

The fire was seen very plainly from Maidenhead-bridge, which is at least 29 miles distant, though it was for a long time believed to be only an atmospherical appearance. At Windsor, from the terrace, the flames were discovered very clearly.

During this fire a new and astonishing phenomenon struck every beholder with awe. The united mass of near 1400 casks of sugar were at once dissolved by the irresistible heat of the surrounding fires, and having burst into a flame, flowed down amongst the populace in one bright stream of liquid fire. A traveller, who contemplated the sublime appearance, declared that nothing in nature, but the liquified lava at Mount Aetna could be paralleled with this destructive current, which at once destroyed the property of individuals to the amount of above 100,000l.

5th. This evening about ten o'clock, a fire broke out in the printing office of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, in Paternoster-row, which destroyed the upper stories. The property of the *Public Advertiser* had been lately sold by Mr. Woodfall; but the purchasers had not removed the printing materials; and the fire caused much confusion among the printers of that paper; but by great exertion they contrived to convey all the articles necessary for completing it to another house, and it was duly published next morning. For two hours it obstinately resisted the efforts of the firemen, though there was happily a most liberal supply of water; but before one o'clock it was got under, without any greater damage having been sustained than that of burning

burning the upper stories of the house, and a part of the roof adjoining. By this fire the whole impression of the first and second volumes of Mr. Monk's Agricultural Dictionary, and the MS. of the third, were unfortunately destroyed.

8th. In the morning, on the turnkey's opening the condemned cell in which Jones, who committed the robbery in Hatton-garden on the banker's clerk, and who was to have been executed on Wednesday, was confined, he found him suspended by his neck with his knee-strings, which were fastened to the iron bars of the window. On Monday the coroner's jury, having examined the body, pronounced a verdict of *felo de se*.

In consequence of the above verdict, the body was, on Wednesday morning, carried out of Newgate, extended upon a plank on the top of an open cart, in his clothes, and fettered, his face covered with a white cloth, to the brow of Holborn-hill, directly opposite the end of Hatton-garden. The procession was attended by the sheriffs, city-marshals, and near 500 constables. Being arrived at what may be called the place of execution, the body was deposited in a very deep pit, and a stake driven through it, according to the coroner's verdict. The concourse of populace on this occasion was very great.

10th. Sir James Marriott pronounced the following provisional decree:—That the St. Jago shall be restored to his Catholic majesty, and the Spanish subjects, the claimants; and that one eighth of the true value (the expences of the proceedings on both sides being first deducted from the general mass)

shall be paid for salvage; provided that within six months it shall be declared by his Catholic majesty, by some public act, that ships and cargoes, being the property of British subjects which have been or shall be recaptured by the ships of war of his Catholic majesty, or Spanish privateers, shall be restored to his majesty and to British subjects their proprietors, in like manner; otherwise the said ship and cargo are condemned as good and lawful prize to the captors.

16th. *Dublin*. The following is an authentic account of the horrid murder of the late rev. Mr. Butler. Shearon, a colter, who was one of the party, came voluntarily before Robert Waller, of Allentown, *esq.* a magistrate for the county of Meath, and surrendered himself prisoner, alledging, that, from the disturbed state of his mind, and fearing that persons wholly innocent might suffer, he had resolved to discover the whole plot. He accordingly gave information against three men of the name of Lawless, who, together with himself, waylaid Mr. Butler—that he [Shearon] was appointed to fire; but on the approach of Mr. Butler, was struck with terror, and declined his horrid purpose.—Lawless then seized the blunderbuss, and perpetrated the infernal deed. The three Lawlesses were since apprehended and lodged in Trim gaol. It appears by Shearon's declaration, that neither Lynch, the late approver, nor Mullen, were in the smallest degree concerned in this dreadful conspiracy, or had any the least knowledge of their purpose.

Scotland. A collection of shillings, coined during the reigns of Elizabeth

Elizabeth and James I. was lately found at Strathbane, in Stirling-shire. Each of them has the head of the sovereign on the one side, and the national arms on the other. The legend on the one is, ELIZAB. D. G. ANG. FR. ET HIB. REGIN.; and, on the reverse, POSVI DEV ADJVTORE MEV. The legend on the other is, JACOBUS D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET HIB. REX, with the number XII. within the circle; and on the reverse, NEMO SEPARABIT QUOS DEUS COJUNXIT, evidently alluding to the recent union of the crowns. These coins were found in an old piece of wood, which the proprietor was cleaving for fuel. This stump had for many years been made use of, near the common church-yard, as a block for splitting wood, and had afterwards served for a stool in the proprietor's kitchen, without any suspicion having been entertained of the treasure concealed in it. Besides these, we understand, that some gold coins, of considerable value, and a number of half-crown pieces, were found in the same repository, together with a small crucifix.

Leicester navigation is now open as far as Sileby. The first boat from the Loughborough bason came up to Mountsorrel last week; and as the locks above Mountsorrel are finished in the masonry, the time which will be required to fix the gates will be the only term of delay, before the line from Loughborough to Leicester is navigable for general commerce.

A beautiful tessellated floor was lately discovered on the farm of Mr. Water, at the Lea, between Hawood and Pontesbury, in Salop. It is between 13 and 14 feet square,

consisting of small tessellæ of red brick, whitish marble, and brown, black, and grey stone; and appears to have belonged to the bathing apartments of an elegant Roman villa; mortar floors having been found near it, three feet below its level, with the foundation of such brick pillars as usually supported the floor of the sudatory: numerous fragments of square flues or tunnels of tile, furled within with smoke, are also found; with some pieces of leaden pipe, charred wood, pottery of blackish earth, and a channel or gutter to carry off water, corresponding with the descent of the ground.

19th. Between eleven and twelve, Mr. John Frost was brought out of Newgate, and placed in a coach, apparently very feeble, and rolled in blankets. Mr. Kirby, the keeper, accompanied him to the house of Mr. Justice Grose, in Bloomsbury-square, where he, with two sureties, entered into the recognizance required by his judgment for his keeping the peace. He was then discharged out of custody. As soon as he was at liberty, the multitude took the horses out of the carriage, and drew him along the streets, stopping at every marked place, particularly St. James's palace, Carleton-house, Charing-cross, &c. to shout and express their joy; and in this state they conducted him to his own house in Spring-gardens, where Mr. Thelwall made a speech, and intreated them to separate peaceably, which they accordingly did.

Mr. Thomas Muir and the rev. Fysche Palmer arrived in the river from Leith, on board a revenue cutter. Orders were sent down for delivering them into the custody of Duncan

Duncan Campbell, the contractor for the hulks at Woolwich; and they were put on board the hulks. A second order was sent down to separate them; and they are placed in different hulks at Woolwich; the former in the Prudentia, and the latter in the Stanislaus. They are in irons among the convicts, and were ordered yesterday to assist them in the common labour, on the banks of the river. Mr. Muir is associated with about 300 convicts, among whom he and Palmer

slept after their arrival. Mr. Muir is rather depressed in spirits; but Mr. Palmer appears to sustain his misfortune with greater fortitude.

Philadelphia, Nov. 10. The disorder which had so long prevailed in Philadelphia is gradually abating; and, though some small remains of the contagion still exist, there is a reasonable ground of expectation that it will be effectually eradicated in the course of two or three weeks.

Nov. 7th. The king of Spain has ordered that a calculation should be taken of the number of inhabitants in the city of Madrid, which are stated as follows:

To 16 years of age	{ Boys - 17,641 Girls - 17,042 }	34,683
From 16 to 25	{ Men - 14,982 Women - 13,780 }	24,762
From 25 to 40	{ Men - 23,697 Women - 20,811 }	44,508
From 40 to 50	{ Men - 10,721 Women - 9,052 }	19,773
From 50 upwards	{ Men - 8,903 Women - 12,146 }	21,049
Friars	- - - 2,112 }	3,029
Nuns	- - - 917 }	
Resident in the convents, colleges, and hospitals	- - - }	7,421

Total 158,222

The following statement of the quantity of sweets or British wines made in this country during the last four years, ending the 5th of July, 1793, may be relied upon as accurate.

	Number of barrels.			
	1790.	1791.	1792.	1793.
James and Co.	1820	4426	4119	2564
Beaufoy and Co.	327	3049	3537	1998
Faulkner and Co.	735	2312	2580	1843
Bate and Co.	338	—	—	—
Waleham and Co.	—	610	668	1052
Dowler and Co.	157	257	194	291

Total 32,877 barrels of 31½ gallons each, the duty on which is 30,236l. 19s. 9½d. average yearly 7,559l. 4s. 11½d. into his majesty's treasury.

7th.

7th. The naval list laid before the king by the earl of Chatham, in his majesty's closet, makes the total number of ships of the British navy now in commission 289, which are rated as follows:

Of the line, from 110 guns		
to 64	—	88
50 gun ships	—	10
Frigates, from 38 to 24 guns		110
Sloops and cutters of all descriptions	—	81
		289

The ordinary of the navy is fifty-five ships of the line, nine of 50 guns, twenty-two frigates, and twenty-four sloops.

Ships captured by the English and French since the commencement of the war to the 1st of December

French ships taken.

Le Gestan of 14 guns by the Penelope.	
Le Curieux 14	— Inconstant.
La Cleopatra 36	— La Nymphe.
Le Pompe 28	— Phaeton.
L'Eclair 20	— Leda.
Lutin (sloop) 16	— Pluto.
La Reunion 36	— Crescent.
La Blonde 28	— Phaeton.

British ships taken.

Hyæna 24	by Le Concorde,
The Thames 32	in her passage from Gibraltar.

The number of persons confined in the different prisons of Paris was on

Sept. 23d	- - -	2300
24th	- - -	2344
25th	- - -	2395
26th	- - -	2434
27th	- - -	2458
28th	- - -	2551
29th	- - -	2560

By the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the state of the trade to Newfoundland, it

appears, that that most valuable branch of naval commerce has within these few years suffered an alarming decrease. In 1788 the total of ships fitted out from the ports of England amounted to 302; in 1789, to 267; in 1790, to 256; in 1791, to 242; and in 1792, to 230.

The following loans have been lately contracted for, and taken up at Amsterdam.

By Prussia	5,000,000 Dutch florins.
Russia	6,000,000
Austria	2,000,000
America	3,000,000

Total 16,000,000

The conditions are to pay annual interest of five per cent. except the United States of America, who promise, at the expiration of ten years, six and a half per cent.

24th. The number of bankrupts from the 25th of June last to this day, amounts to 502; a considerable falling off from the enormous number of failures that happened in the last half year.

Found murdered in his chambers in Clifford's-inn, Mr. Slaughter. Having lived servant in a gentleman's family, he was an extremely retired man, saw no company, frequented no place of public resort, except a certain club, which met once a week, and which, for many years, he regularly attended. His absence on the night of meeting was immediately imputed to sickness, or some uncommon accident. Some of the party hearing of the life he led, never suffering any person to make his bed, or clear up his room, agreed to call at his chambers. After repeatedly knocking at the door, and receiving no answer, they broke it open, and

and discovered him cruelly mangled, but no appearance of robbery, and his chest or desk not in the least injured. The coroner's inquest have returned a verdict of wilful murder against a person or persons unknown.

BIRTHS for the Year 1793.

- Jan. 4th. The Duchess of Leinster, a son.
 12. Lady Rodney, a daughter.
 22. Lady of Francis Buller Yarde, esq. a daughter.
- Feb. 3. The lady of Wm. Woodley, esq. a son and heir.
 5. The lady of the rev. Mr. Twopenny, two daughters.
- Mar. 31. The lady of Theophilus Cock, esq. a son.
 Lately, the lady of W. White, esq. a daughter.
 Lady of lord Le Despen- cer, a daughter.
- April 1. The lady of Henry-Augustus Leicester, esq. a son.
 At Edinburgh, the marchioness of Tweeddale, a son.
 19. At Vienna, her Imperial Majesty, a prince; who was baptised, the next day, by the names of Ferdinand, Charles, Leopold, Joseph, Francis, Marcellin.
 29. At Lisbon, her royal highness the princess of Brazil, a princess; who was baptised, May 6, by the name of Maria.
- May 31. At Basle, in Switzerland, lady Robert Fitzgerald, a son.
- June 20. Lady of Charles Hawkins, esq. a son.
- July 1. The lady of Cha. Easton, esq. a son and heir.
 2. The lady of the hon. lieut. col. Fane, a son.
 3. The lady of Wm. Manning, esq. a son.
 At Florence, the lady of Langford Heyland, esq. a daughter.
 At Dublin, viscountess Mountcashel, a son.
- Aug. 21. At Berlin, the duchess of Courland, a princess.
 25. At Dublin-castle, her excellency the countess of Westmorland, a dau.
- Sept. 29. At his house at Bromley-common, in Kent, the lady of George Norman, esq. high-sheriff of that county, a son and heir.
- Oct. 25. Mrs. Cooke, wife of Mr. Cooke, alderman of Grantham, co. Lincoln, a son. It has been an ancient custom at Grantham, that, if the alderman has a child born to him during his being in that office, the members for the borough stand god-fathers.
 28. At Copenhagen, the princess royal of Denmark, a princess.
- Nov. 28. The lady of Charles Chadwick, esq. a son and heir.
 The lady of sir H. Harpur, bart. a daughter.
 The lady of major Mercer, a son.
- Dec. 1. The marchioness of Worcester, a son.
 2. The queen of Naples, a princess, since named Elizabeth.

Dec. 4.

- Dec. 4. The lady of Samuel Bod-
dington, esq. a daughter.
7. The lady of Henry Tim-
son, esq. a son.
10. The lady of Beeston Long,
esq. a daughter.
17. The lady of Edw. Grove,
esq. a daughter.
18. The lady of Thomas Fau-
quire, esq. a daughter.
21. The lady of John-Paul
Paul, esq. a daughter.
22. The lady of sir Stafford
Northcote, bart. a son.
26. Lady Anne Vernon, a
daughter.
The countess of Guildford,
a daughter.
- May 23. Herbert Newton Jarrett,
esq. to miss Berners.
Barwell Browne, esq. to
miss Coffen.
26. Viscount Milsington, eldest
son of the earl of Port-
more, to lady Mary-
Elizabeth Bertie, only
daughter of the duke of
Ancaster.
- June 18. At Reading, lord Charles
Murray, brother to the
duke of Athol, to miss
Aynsley, of Littleharle-
tower, co. Northumber-
land. His lordship has
obtained his majesty's
permission to take the
name of Aynsley.

MARRIAGES, 1793.

- Jan. 16. Major Wm. Charles Ma-
dan, son of the bishop of
Bristol, to Miss Falconer,
daughter of the rev. Dr.
Falconer, of the Close,
Lichfield.
17. Rev. Thomas Butler, of
the University of Cam-
bridge, to Miss Stout, of
Lancaster.
- Mar. 31. Charles Greville, esq. to
lady Charlotte Cavendish
Bentinck, eldest daugh-
ter of the duke of Port-
land.
- April 2. Right hon. Henry Dundas,
secretary of state for the
home department, to lady
Jane Hope, sister of lord
Hopetoun. Mr. Pitt act-
ed as father.
The earl of Ancram to lady
Henrietta Hobart. This
lady was lately viscount-
ess Belmore of Ireland.
21. At the house of the mar-
quis of Buckingham, sir
Wm. Young, bart. M. P.
to Miss Barbara Talbot.
- July 1. Francis Dashwood, esq. to
lady Anne Maitland, sis-
ter of the earl of Lau-
derdale.
Samuel Eastwick, esq. son
of Samuel Eastwick, esq.
to the hon. miss Hawke,
daughter of lord Hawke.
- Aug. 14. Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
bart. to Miss Manners,
daughter of the late John
Manners, esq. of Grant-
ham.
29. The earl of Pomfret to
miss Brown, of Pall-mall.
- Sept. John earl of Breadalbane,
to miss Gavin, eldest
daughter of the late Da-
vid Gavin, esq. of Lang-
ton.
- Oct. 24. James Bulkely, esq. to miss
Hare, daughter of the
rev. Nathaniel Hare, of
Hurstmonceaux-castle.
- Nov. Charles Mordaunt, esq.
eldest son of sir John
Mordaunt, bart. to miss
Louisa Chester, second
daughter

- daughter of the late C. Chester, esq.
- Nov. Wyld Brown, esq. to miss Whitmore, daughter of Thomas Whitmore, esq. M. P. for Bridgnorth.
- William Hicks, esq. to miss Chute, eldest daughter to the late Thomas Lobb Chute, esq. of the Vine, Hampshire.
- G. Grote, esq. of Threadneedle-street, banker, to miss Peckwell, of Sloane-street, Chelsea.
- The hon. Robert Molesworth, son of lord viscount Molesworth, to the hon. miss Jones, daughter of lord viscount Ranelagh.
- Dec. By special licence, David Pennant, esq. to miss Louisa Peyton, second daughter of the late sir Henry P. bart. of Hagbeach-hall, co. Norfolk.
- Rev. John Garnet, M. A. to be a canon of Winchester.
- The rev. Edward Walsby, D. D. to be a prebendary of Canterbury.
- Dr. Latham, to be a physician of St. Bartholomew's hospital.
- Mr. John Griffiths to be surgeon of the household to her majesty.
- Alexander lord Loughborough to be lord chancellor.
- Robert Graham, esq. to be attorney-general to the prince of Wales.
- John Anstruther, esq. to be solicitor-general to his royal highness.
- The prince of Wales to be colonel in the army (his commission bearing date Nov. 29, 1793), and colonel commandant of the 10th or prince of Wales's own regiment of light dragoons.
- Earl of Westmeath to be a privy-counsellor in Ireland.
- Elizabeth lady Cathcart to be lady of the bedchamber to the younger princesses.
- Molyneaux lord Shuldhham, sir Hugh Palliser, bart. and Matthew Barton, esq. admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1793.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to William Manners, of Handby-hall, in the county of Lincoln, esq.

Francis Drake, esq. to be his majesty's minister at Venice.

John Sibthorp, doctor of physic, to be regius professor of botany in his majesty's university of Oxford.

Lady Cathcart to be governess of the princesses.

The hon. Thomas Onslow to be deputy ranger of Windsor park.

The rev. Dr. Majendie, canon of Windsor, to be one of the deputy clerks in his majesty's closet.

Mariot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, and William Lloyd, esqrs. sir Edward Hughes, K. B. John Evans, and Mark Milbanke, esqrs. vice admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

Nicholas Vincent, esq. sir Edward Vernon, knt. Richard Edwards, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Benj. Marlow, esqrs. and sir Alexander Hood, K. B. vice admirals of the white; sir Chaloner Ogle, knt. and Samuel lord Hood, vice admirals of the blue, to be vice admirals of the red.

Sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliot, William Hotham, and Joseph Peyton, esqrs. vice admirals of the blue ;

blue; John Carter Allen, esq. sir Charles Middleton, bart. sir John Laforey, bart. and John Dalrymple, esq. rear admirals of the red, to be vice admirals of the white.

Herbert Sawyer, esq. sir Richard King, bart. and Jonathan Faulkner, esq. rear admirals of the red; Philip Affleck, esq. sir J. Jervis, K. B. Adam Duncan, Richard Braithwaite, and Philips Cosby, esqrs. rear admirals of the white, to be vice admirals of the blue.

Feb. 15. Lord chief baron Macdonald to be a privy counsellor.

Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Arthur viscount Gosford, and William Forward, esqrs. to be privy counsellors of Ireland.

Rev. Folliot Herbert Walker Cornwall to be dean of Canterbury.

Rev. John Luxmore, M. A. to be prebendary of Canterbury.

Rev. John Prettyman to the archdeaconry and precentorship of Lincoln cathedral.

Rev. doctor Isham to be warden of All Souls college, Oxford.

March 1. William duke of Manchester to be lord lieutenant of the county of Huntingdon.

Sir John Temple, bart. to be his majesty's consul general in the Eastern states of America.

Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, Charles Wolseley, and Samuel Cranston Goodall, esqrs. Hon. Keith Stewart, and William Henry duke of Clarence, rear admirals of the blue, to be rear admirals of the red.

Captains, Richard Onslow, Robert Kingsmill, sir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, sir Hyde Parker, knt. Rowland Cotton, Benjamin Caldwell, and the hon. William Cornwallis, to be rear admirals of the white.

VOL. XXXV.

Captains, William Allen. John Macbride, G. Vandeput, Charles Buckner, John Gell, William Dixon, and Alan Gardner, to be rear admirals of the blue.

George Murray and Robert Linzee, esq. and sir James Wallace, knt. to be colonel of marines.

Thomas Coxhead, esq. of Epping, to be a knight.

Robert Graham, Sylvester Douglas, Thomas Plumer, and William Garrow, esqrs. to be king's counsel.

William Grant, esq. to take precedence next to Mr. Graham, and John Anstruther, esq. next to Mr. Plumer.

His royal highness prince William to be captain of a company in the first regiment of foot-guards.

Lord Mulgrave to be colonel of 31st regiment of foot.

Lord chief baron Eyre to be chief justice of the common pleas.

Sir Archibald Macdonald, knt. to be a serjeant at law.

Sir J. Scott, knt. to be attorney-general.

John Mitford, esq. to be solicitor-general.

Giles Rooke, serjeant at law, to be king's serjeant at law.

Sir Archibald Madonald, knt. to be chief baron of the exchequer.

Francis Ford, of Ember-court, esq. to be a baronet.

John duke of Athol to be governor in chief and captain-general of the Isle of Man, and lieutenant of the same.

Phineas Bond, esq. to be his majesty's consul general in the middle and southern states of America.

John lord viscount Mount Stuart to be lord lieutenant of the county of Glamorgan.

The honour of knighthood on John Dryden, of Canon's Ashby,

F

in

in the county of Northampton, esq. and on John Henslow, esq. surveyor of his majesty's navy.

R. Osborne, esq. to be recorder of Hull.

Colonel Woodford to be lieutenant colonel of the duke of Gordon's regiment of light dragoons.

Bruce Boswell, esq. late commander of the earl of Chesterfield East Indiaman, to be marine paymaster and naval store-keeper at Bengal.

The rev. Dr. Gregory to a prebend in the cathedral of St. Paul.

Dr. Thomas Gisborne, and Dr. William Heberden, jun. to be her majesty's physicians in extra.

April 12. The duke of York to be a general in the army.

The hon. and rev. Mr. Stuart to be canon of Christ-church.

The dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, to the right hon. William lord Auckland of the kingdom of Ireland.

Francis Baring, esq. of London, merchant, to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain.

John Smith Burges, esq. of Eastham, in Essex, to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain.

The dignity of an earl and marquis of Great Britain, to the right hon. Francis Seymour Conway, earl of Hertford, K. G. and his heirs male, by the names, styles, and titles of earl of Yarmouth, and marquis of Hertford.

The dignity of an earl of Great Britain to the right hon. Henry lord Portchester, and his heirs male, by the name, style, and title of earl of Carnarvon.

The most noble James marquis of Salisbury, the right hon. Frederick earl of Carlisle, and his excellency John earl of Westmorland, to be

knights of the order of the garter.

His grace James duke of Montrose to be a knight of the order of the thistle.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the right hon. William Wyndham baron Grenville, one other of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the right hon. William Pitt, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer, his grace James duke of Montrose, knight of the most ancient order of the thistle, the right hon. Richard earl of Mornington of the kingdom of Ireland, the right hon. Robert Grosvenor (commonly called viscount Belgrave), the hon. Henry Bathurst (commonly called lord Apsley), the hon. Edward James Eliot, and the hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, to be his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

The right hon. Richard earl of Mornington, the right hon. Henry lord Apsley, the right hon. Robert viscount Belgrave, the right hon. John Jefferies viscount Bayham, and the right hon. James George viscount Stopford, treasurer of his majesty's household, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

May 1. Robert Hobart to be one of his majesty's privy council.

The hon. John Thomas Townshend to be one of the commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

His grace the duke of Beaufort to be one of the Radcliffe trustees at Oxford, in the room of the late earl of Guildford.

Dr. Battine, of the commons, to be chancellor of Lincoln.

The rev. John Prettyman, prebendary

bendary of Norwich, to be precentor and archdeacon of Lincoln.

Right hon. lieut.-general Robert Cunninghame to be commander in chief of the army in Ireland.

Capt. Murray, of the guards, to be aid-du-camp to the Hanoverian general.

Philip Affleck, esq. to be a commissioner of the Admiralty.

William Harry earl of Darlington to be lord lieutenant of Durham.

The right hon. Henry Dundas to be *custos rotulorum* for Middlesex.

June 29. George Poyntz Ricketts, esq. to be captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Tobago.

Jens Wolff, esq. to be joint consul with his father George Wolff, esq. for the king of Denmark, at the court of Great Britain.

Lawrence Hansen, esq. to be his Danish majesty's consul at Liverpool.

July 5. John Anstruther, of Lincoln's-inn, esq. to be his majesty's justice of the counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesea.

William Grant, of Lincoln's-inn, esq. to be one of his majesty's justices of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardiganshires.

Aug. 1. Lord Henry John Spencer to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary to the court of Stockholm.

Francis Drake, esq. to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Genoa.

The hon. William Eliot to be his majesty's secretary of embassy to the states-general of the United Provinces, and minister plenipotentiary in the absence of his majesty's ambassador.

George Henry Rose, esq. to be

his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

James Crauford, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Copenhagen.

Arthur Young, esq. to be secretary to the new board of agriculture established by government, with a liberal salary.

John Bruce, esq. to be historiographer to the East India company.

The dignity of a baron of Ireland unto the right hon. John O'Neill, and his heirs male, by the style and title of baron O'Neill, of Shane's castle.

September 26. The most honourable order of the Bath on Charles Whitworth, esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Petersburg.

George Harward, esq. to be his majesty's consul in the several ports of Ostend, Nieuport, and Bruges.

Dr. Samuel Horsley, bishop of St. David's, to be bishop of Rochester.

Dr. Samuel Horsley, bishop of St. David's, to the deanery of St. Peter, Westminster.

To the rank of Field-Marshal.

Oct. 18. Gen. Conway, the duke of Gloucester, and sir G. Howard.

To be Generals.

Lieutenant-generals Robert Melville, Marisco Frederick, R. D. Horn Elphinstone, James Johnson, marquis of Drogheda, sir William Pitt, lord Adam Gordon, hon. Alex. Maitland, earl of Eglinton, Hunt Walsh, lord Dorchester, sir Charles Thompson, Robert Clark, Robert Cunningham, sir Wm. Howe, lord G. Lennox, Henry Fletcher, John Hale, sir Robert Boyd, sir Henry Clinton, lord Southampton, Bernard

nard Hale, Francis Craig, duke of Northumberland, William Taylor, and marquis of Cornwallis

To be Lieutenant-Generals.

Major-generals sir Thomas Shirley, Joseph Brome, Patrick Tonyn, Gabriel Christie, John Reid, Chas. Ross, sir William Green, George Scott, Charles O'Hara, hon. William Harcourt, earl of Carhampton, William Dalrymple, William Picton, sir Hector Munro, K. B. Robert Sandford, L. A. Tottenham, William Rowley, Henry Trelawny, Peter Bathurst, hon. Wm. Gordon, John Mansell, Stuart Douglass, Robert Prescott, hon. Edward Stopford, hon. William Hervey, West Hyde, J. Fletcher Campbell, Francis Lascelles, James Murray, Sam. Townsend, sir William Medows, K. B. Thomas Osbert Mordaunt.

To be Major-Generals.

Colonels John Lind, William Shirreff, William Grinfield, Samuel Hulse, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Vallancy, Thomas Pigot, J. T. De Burgh, sir James Steuart, Thomas Carleton, James Marsh, Cavendish Lister, Charles Leigh, James Ogilvie, William Roberts, Robert Kingston, sir Robert Laurie, John Tupper, William Martin, John Archer, William Edmeston, David Home, Hugh Debbeig, Montgomery Agnew, Thomas Jones, Stephen Kemble, James Stewart earl of Balcarras, hon. Charles Stuart, Cornelius Cuyler, Thomas Dundas, earl of Harrington, Rich. Fitzpatrick, Nesbit Balfour, Edmund Stevens, Thomas Trigge, earl of Moira, Peter Craig, Benjamin Stehelin, and Edmund Fanning.

All the lieut.-colonels, whose

commissions are dated before 1783, to be colonels.

All the majors in the army, down to the same date, to be lieutenant-colonels.

Captains Lyons and Grey to be majors; and lieut.-colonel Francis Dundas, aid-du-camp to the king, which gives him the rank of colonel.

Lieut.-colonels William Morshead, Francis Dundas, and Hamilton Maxwell, to be aid-du-camps to his majesty.

Major Peter Painter, Wm. Varlo, George Elliott, Benjamin Adair, and Duncan Campbell, of the marines, to be lieut.-colonels.

Sir John Peters, late consul at Ostend, to be one of the paymasters of exchequer bills.

Nov. 13. Serjeant Rooke to be a knight, and one of his majesty's justices in the court of common pleas.

The rev. Robert Fowler, A. M. son of his grace the lord archbishop of Dublin, to the deanery of St. Patrick, Dublin.

The rev. John Warren to the deanery of Bangor.

The rev. John Willes, D. D. warden of Wadham college, to be (a second time) vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the rev. doctors Samuel Dennis, president of St. John's, Joseph Chapman, president of Trinity, and Scrope Berdmore, warden of Merton college, to be provice-chancellors.

The rev. William Colman, D. D. master of Bene't, to be vice-chancellor of Cambridge.

The rev. William Probyn, M. A. to the chancellor's stall in the cathedral of St. David's.

The rev. William Crawford, M. A. to the archdeaconry of Carmarthen.

Dec.

Dec. 2. Captain Saumarez to the honour of knighthood.

Mr. Dunkin, fellow of New college, to the law scholarship on Mr. Viner's foundation, vacated by the succession of Mr. Burrows, of Christchurch, to the fellowship resigned by the election of Dr. Blackstone, the new professor.

Dr. Pennington to succeed the late Dr. Plumtree as regius professor of physic at Cambridge.

1765, at Peterhouse. He was born at Whitworth, in Durham, and was elected fellow of Emanuel college, April 26, 1751. He was the author of a "New Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times," three parts; "Occasional Thoughts on the Study of Classical Authors," 1762, and two sermons preached at Cambridge.

At Millecent, in the county of Kildare, Ireland, Mrs. Griffith, relict of the late Richard Griffith, esq. Mrs. Griffith was the author of several dramatic pieces, and some successful novels; and joint author with her husband of the "Letters of Henry and Frances." She also wrote "The Morality of Shakespeare," and translated some works from the French. In the early part of her life, we are informed, she attempted the stage in Ireland, and in the year 1753, at Covent-Garden, where, on the 10th of December, 1753, she performed Clarinda in the Suspicious Husband, and in a new tragedy called Philoclea.

March 3d. At Luxemburgh, in his fifty-eighth year, the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbst, brother to the empress of Russia, and a general in the Austrian service. Having left no children, the branch of Zerbst finishes with him, and his estates and feudal possessions pass to the other branches of the house of Anhalt.

18th. At his house in Winchester, Thomas Woods Knollis earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, Baron Knollis of Greys. His lordship's titles thus originated:—In the first year of king James the first, his ancestor William (son to sir Francis Knollis, K. G. and treasurer to queen Elizabeth) was created baron

D E A T H S, 1793.

Jan. 15. At Munich, in Bavaria, Hugh lord Clifford, of Chudleigh; born in 1756; and married, in 1780, to Apollonia, daughter of the late lord Langdale. The barony and estates descend to his lordship's brother, Charles. He had been, for the latter years of his life, a sufferer by many disorders, chiefly the gout. His long residence abroad, and the adherence of the family to the Catholic persuasion, by which they are kept from parliament, have prevented their being much known; but their estates are very ample.

19th. At Florence, Thomas Pitt, lord Camelford, baron Boconnock, in the county of Cornwall, born March 3, 1737; married July 19, 1774, Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Pinkney Wilkinson, esq. of Burnham, in the county of Norfolk.

At Lincoln, in his sixty-eighth year, the rev. John Gordon, D. D. F. S. A. precentor and archdeacon of Lincoln, and rector of Henstead, in Suffolk. He was of Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he took the degrees of A. B. 1748, and A. M. 1752, and afterwards D. D.

baron Knollis; the 14th of the same month he was advanced to the title of viscount Wallingford; and in the first of Charles I. was created earl of Banbury. By the death of this nobleman, his titles and estates devolve on his only son, William viscount Wallingford, a lieutenant in the third regiment of foot guards.—The earls of Banbury have always stood in the predicament of having a patent for the title, but of being without the writ, which would enable them to sit in parliament, or to be considered as peers. Thus, in commissions of the peace, and in other formal proceedings, they have been called earls, yet were liable to be sued, in the ordinary forms, as commoners. The late earl was a most respectable magistrate and country gentleman; but his estates were too small to permit a town residence, or to give him the usual state of a nobleman.

April 3d. At his lordship's house in Downing-street, after an illness of four days, the right hon. Abigail lady Sheffield. She was the daughter of Lewis Way, esq. and sister to Benjamin Way, esq. governor of the South Sea company; and was married to his lordship in 1785.

25th. In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, lady C. Herbert, wife of lord Herbert and daughter of the late well-known Topham Beauclerk, esq. and lady Diana, sister of the duke of Marlborough. Her marriage with lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke, took place in 1789; and her early death is imputed to the shock which her constitution received in her first pregnancy.

At her house in Manchester, lady Asheton, relict of sir Ralph Asheton,

bart. of Middleton, in Lancashire, and mother of lady Grey de Wilton, and of lady Suffield.

26. At Plymouth, in the seventy-second year of his age, after having been many years subject to severe and repeated attacks of the gout, which he bore with the greatest fortitude, John Mudge, M. D. F. R. S.

At his house in Bow-street, Covent-garden, sir Sampson Wright, knt. the distinguished magistrate of the public office in that street.

May. At his house, in Stratford-place, John Chetwyn Talbot Chetwynd, earl Talbot, viscount Ingestrie, in Staffordshire, and baron of Hensol, in Glamorganshire. He succeeded his uncle, William earl Talbot, in the barony; and married, May 7, 1776, Charlotte, daughter of Wills Hill, marquis of Downshire, in Ireland, by whom he had two sons, Charles, born April 25, 1777, and John, born April 24, 1779.

June. At Stephen's-green, Dublin, the right hon. Henry lord baron Annaly, of Tenelick. He was created a baron in 1789.

In St. James's-square, Bristol, about three weeks previous to her expected delivery, Mrs. Taylor. While Miss Scott, she published two poems, "The Female Advocate," and the "Messiah."

At his seat in Ireland, in his seventy-third year, the earl of Moira. His lordship, by birth a baronet, was created Lord Rawdon in 1750, and earl of Moira in 1761. His children and family connexions are very numerous. His first wife was the sister of the first earl of Egmont, by whom he had two daughters, the present viscountess Mountcashel and lady Catharine Henry.

Henry. His second lady, the daughter of lord Hillsborough, died without issue. By his third lady, the daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, his lordship had Anne, the present countess of Aylesbury; Francis, created lord Rawdon in 1783; John, a major in the army; Selina, countess of Granard; and one other son and daughter; besides four sons and one daughter, who died young. He is succeeded in all his titles and estates by lord Rawdon; already possessed of the late earl of Huntingdon's estates, except as far as a life-interest in them is held by his mother the countess. The late earl had no English titles, so that the present nobleman will still sit in the house of peers as lord Rawdon; but his mother has, in her own right, the baronies of Hungerford, Newmarch, Botreaux, Molins, and Moel, to which his lordship is heir.

July 1st. At his house in St. Andrew's-square, Edinburgh, James Veitch lord Elliock, one of the senators of the college of justice, and many years a lord justiciary. He was born Sept. 25, 1712; entered advocate Feb. 11, 1733, and afterwards became his majesty's solicitor, and M. P. for Dumfriesshire. March 6, 1761, he was admitted one of the lords of session.

2d. At Foley-house, Chandos-street, Cavendish-square, Thomas Foley, baron Foley of Kidderminster, in Worcestershire. He was born July 7, 1742; married, March 20, 1776, Harriet, fourth daughter of the late earl of Harrington, by whom he had issue Georgina, William-Thomas, Charles and Thomas; and is succeeded by his eldest son, William-Thomas, now in his sixteenth year.

At Leeds-castle, in Kent, in his eighty-seventh year, Robert lord Fairfax, of Cameron, in Scotland. He was the youngest son of Thomas the fifth lord Fairfax, whose great uncle was the memorable general sir Thomas Fairfax, who conducted the parliament army, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, against Charles the first, and who, with general Monk, assisted in restoring his son, Charles the second to the throne.

16th. At Nutthall-temple, near Nottingham, the hon. Mrs. Sedley, daughter of the late convivial and popular sir Charles Sedley and the heiress of the greater part of his estates. Her husband, the hon. Mr. Vernon, took the name of Sedley, in compliment to sir Charles.

At his house on Stephen's-green, Dublin, Edmund Butler viscount Mountgarret and baron of Kells, and brother to the hon. Simon Butler at present confined in Dublin Newgate for a libel on the Irish house of lords. He was born July 27, 1745; succeeded his father in 1779; married, 1768, lady Hennette Butler, youngest daughter of the eighth earl of Carrick, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. He is succeeded in title and estates by his eldest son, Edmund, born 1771, lately married to the daughter of the archbishop of Dublin. His lordship was only three days ill. He sat down to dinner in apparently perfect health; and, after eating strawberries, and drinking cyder, he complained of sickness, which increased so rapidly as to baffle the skill of the best physicians.

19th. At Annandale-house, Harley-street, Cavendish-square, after a long illness, Elizabeth countess of Hopetoun, daughter of George sixth earl of Northesk. She was married

married to James third and present earl of Hopetoun, August 16, 1766, and had issue six daughters, of whom four survive.

Sept. At his seat at Blickling, in the county of Norfolk, the right hon. John Hobart, earl of Buckinghamshire, baron Hobart of Blickling, and baronet, lord lieutenant of the county of Norfolk (to which he was appointed on the death of the late earl of Oxford). His lordship was born August 17, 1723.

Oct. At Naples, where she had lately resided with lord and lady Cholmondeley, the most noble Mary, duchess dowager of Ancaster. She had been indisposed for some years. Her grace was the daughter of Thomas Panton, esq. and was married to the third duke of Ancaster in 1750. Her only surviving children are, the baroness Wilmoughby d'Eresby, lady of sir Peter Burrell, and the countess of Cholmondeley. By her death, the appointment of mistress of the robes to the queen, of which the salary is 500*l.* per annum, and the perquisites very considerable, becomes vacant.

At his seat at Hillsborough, in his seventy-fifth year, the right hon. Wills Hill, marquis of Downshire, earl and viscount Hillsborough, and baron Kilwarlin, in the kingdom of Ireland, earl of Hillsborough, viscount Fairford, lord and baron of Harwich, in the kingdom of England, a member of his majesty's most honourable privy council in both kingdoms, and governor of the county Down. He is succeeded in his estates and honours by his only surviving son, Arthur, earl of Hillsborough, knight of the shire in the present parliament for the county of Down.

His lordship, who was the second viscount of Hillsborough, was born at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, May 30, O. S. 1718. He took his seat in the Irish house of peers Nov. 11, 1743; was sworn a member of his majesty's privy council in Ireland in August 1740, and of the privy council in England in June 1754. He was advanced to the rank of earl in October 1757, and to that of a marquis in Ireland in 1789; was created an English baron (Fairford) in 1756, and an English viscount and earl (of Harwich) in 1772. His lordship was married, first in 1747, to lady Margaretta Fitzgerald, only and surviving daughter of Robert the last earl of Kildare, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Her ladyship died in 1766. He afterwards married the baroness Stawell, relict of the right hon. Henry Bilson Legge, and had no issue. His first born child, Marcus, died young; Arthur, his second son and successor, was born Feb. 23, 1753; his other children were, Mary-Anne, who died young; lady Mary-Amelia, marchioness of Salisbury; and lady Charlotte, countess Talbot. The marquis of Downshire has died very rich, both in property which he could, and in that which he could not, alienate. Of the former, his daughters, the marchioness of Salisbury and the widowed countess Talbot, have probably a considerable share. His son, lord Hillsborough, will add to the hereditary estates some property derived from collateral branches.

Nov. At Margate, after a few days illness, lady Teynham, relict of lord Teynham, baron of Teynham, of Linstead lodge, Kent. Her ladyship was the daughter of —

Webber,

Webber, esq; was born in 1726, and first married to Peter Mills, esq. of Woodford-bridge, Essex, and afterwards to the late Henry eleventh lord Teynham, who died December 10, 1786; and by whom she had issue Betty-Maria, born August 7, 1761, and now dead; Catharine, born August 2, 1762, married to — Tyler, esq. of Gower-street; Henry, the present lord, born March 3, 1763; Anne, born in 1765, since dead; and John, born March 23, 1767. Her remains were carried on the 19th, from Margate, for interment in the family vault.

Right hon. Peter lord King, baron of Ockham, in Surrey. His grandfather was made lord chancellor, June 1, 1725, having been created lord King baron of Ockham three days before. He settled at Ockham, which he purchased of the ancient family of Western, long resident there. He left four sons, who all succeeded to the title. Thomas, the youngest, was father of the late lord, who succeeded to the title in April 1779. In Dec. 1774, he married Charlotte, daughter of Edward Tredcroft, esq. of Horsham, in Sussex, by whom he has left issue three sons. Peter, the eldest, who succeeds him in title and estate, is now about seventeen years of age, and was educated at Eton. His lordship much increased his estate at Ockham by purchases, and possessed another estate at Long Ditton (formerly the Evelyn's), and a great one in Devon, derived from the marriage of his eldest uncle (John) with the daughter of Mr. Fry, but who died without issue.

4th. Richard Tickell, esq. commissioner of the Stamp-office, au-

thor of "Anticipation," a pamphlet of much celebrity in its day; "The Carnival of Venice," an opera, and some other pieces.

Dec. 1st. At Bath, lady Aylmer, relict of the late sir Gerald Aylmer, deceased.

At Islington, the rev. George Marriott, rector of Twinstead, in Essex, and lecturer of St. Luke's, Old-street. He was author of

The Primate, an ode, written in Sweden. 4to. 1767.

The Birth of the Jesuit. A poem in three books. 4to. 1768.

Two sermons on the Mortality of Mankind. 8vo. 1770.

Human Life a State of Pilgrimage. A farewell sermon preached at Hackney, March 14, 1773. 4to. 1773.

Three lectures, theological and critical. 1. On Misrepresentations of the Incomprehensibility of God. 2. On the Parable erroneously called the relapsing Demoniac. 3. On the Evangelical Spirit. 4to. 1772.

The Jesuit. An allegorical poem, with airs and chorusses, as rehearsed after the example of ancient bards and minstrels. By the author. 4to. 1773.

The Preservation of Moses on the Ark of Bulrushes, symbolically explained at Christ church, Middlesex, Sept. 25, 1774. 4to. 1774.

Considerations (in residue) on the State intermediate, or first future Revolution of Being. Three sermons preached at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and St. Luke, Old-street, soon after the death of Dr. William Nichols. 8vo. 1775.

Judgment begun in the House of God to be finished on its Enemies. A sermon preached in Duke-street chapel, Westminster. 4to. 1776.

Mr.

Mr. Marriott had been chaplain at Sweden.

The 3d. instant, at Vienna, the duchess de Polignac.

At Exeter-house, Brownlow 9th earl of Exeter. He was born September 21, 1725; and succeeded his father and namesake 1754. He was elected M. P. for Stamford 1747, and likewise for the county of Rutland; and made his election for the latter, which he was chosen to represent again, 1754; and appointed lord-lieutenant and custos-rotulorum Sept. 1752. He was a fellow of the society of Antiquaries, and of the Royal Society of London; and married, July 24, 1749, Letitia, sole daughter and heiress of the hon. Horatio Townshend, one of the commissioners of excise, and third son of Horatio viscount T.; but by her, who died April 17, 1755, had no issue. He is succeeded in his estate and title by his brother's son, Henry Cecil, who married, May 23, 1776, Emma, sole daughter and heir of Thomas Vernon, of Hanbury, in Worcestershire, esq. by whom he had a son, Henry Vernon Cecil (who died an infant), and from whom he has since been divorced. He bore a long illness with the utmost fortitude and resignation.

At his seat at Maiden-Bradley, Wilts Webb duke of Somerset, baron Seymour, and a baronet. His grace was born Dec. 3, 1718, and succeeded to the family titles and estates on the death of his brother Edward, duke of Somerset, Jan. 2, 1792. He was married Dec. 11, 1765, to Miss Bonnel, daughter and sole heiress of John Bonnel, esq. of Ashwick, in the county of Lincoln, by whom he has left issue two sons, Edward Adolphus (now

duke of Somerset), and Webb John, neither of whom is yet of age. The estates of the Somerset family have been small ever since their distribution at the death of the great duke, in 1750, who died without male heirs, and was succeeded by a lineal descendant of Edward, the first duke, so created in 1546. The property of the late duke somewhat exceeded that of his brother, his grandfather's estate at Monckton Farley having descended to him, and his lady's inheritance having been added to it. The three years of the present duke's minority will somewhat increase the possessions of a family, lately little known, except in the neighbourhood of their country residence, but once unrivalled in splendour by any in the kingdom.

14th. At Dynevor-castle, Carmarthenshire, the right hon. Cecil Rice Cardonnel, baroness Dynevor in her own right. She was the only daughter of lord Talbot, and was married in 1756 to George Rice, esq. treasurer of his majesty's chamber.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council for the Year 1793.

Berkshire. Tho. Goodlake of Barton Regis, esq.

Bedfordsh. Tho. Crosse, of Bramlingham, esq.

Bucks. Francis Peter Mallet, of Chalfont St. Peter, esq.

Cumberland. Tho. Pattenson, of Melvervy, esq.

Chesh. John Egerton, of Oulton, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. Tho. Cole, of Doddington, esq.

Devonsh. William Barber, of Fremington, esq.

Dorsetsh.

- Dorsetsh.* James Frampton, of Moreton, esq.
Derbysh. Sacheverell Pole, of Radbourn, esq.
Essex. Staines Chamberlayne, of Hatfield Broad Oak, esq.
Gloucestersh. Chr. Codrington, of Doddington, esq.
Herts. Geo. Will. Prescott, of Theobalds, esq.
Herefordsh. J. Keysall, of Bourton Court, esq.
Kent. George Norman, of Bromley common, esq.
Leicest. J. Noon, of Burton on the Woulds, esq.
Lincoln. Richard Ellison, of Sudbroke Holme, esq.
Monmouthsh. J. Hanbury Williams, of Holbroke, esq.
Northumb. Henry Collingwood, of Lilburn, esq.
Northampton. J. Dryden, of Canons Ashby, esq.
Norfolk. Edward Roger Pratt, of Ryston, esq.
Nottinghamsh. Honourable Richard Lumley Saville, of Rufford.
Oxfordsh. John Cailloud, of Aston, esq.
Rutlandsh. Tho. Barfoot, of Aylston, esq.
Shropsh. John Corbett, of Sunden, esq.
Somersetsh. Samuel Bailward, of Horsington, esq.
Stafford. G. Molineux, of Wolverhampton, esq.
Suffolk. George Doughty, of Leiston, esq.
Southampton. Sir George Iveson Tapps, of Hinton Admiral, bart.
Surrey. J. Hodsdon Durand, of Carshalton, esq.
Sussex. Thomas Richardson, of Warminghurst, esq.
Warwicksh. Evelyn Shirley, of Eatington, esq.
Worcestersh. Samuel Steward, of Stone esq.
Wills. J. Gaisford, of Westwood and Ilford, esq.
Yorksh. Richard Henry Beaumont, of Whitley, esq.
- SOUTH WALES.
- Carmarthen.* J. Williams, of Wenhalt, esq.
Pembroke. John Higgon, of Scolton, esq.
Cardigan. Thomas Lloyd, of Bronwydd, esq.
Glamorgan. John Lucas, of Stout Hall, esq.
Brecon. John Lloyd, of Abernalt, esq.
Radnor. William Symmonds, of Glascomb, esq.
- NORTH WALES.
- Anglesea.* Evan Lloyd, of Maes y Porth, esq.
Carnarvon. Wm. Owen, of Pencraig, esq.
Merioneth. Will. J. Lenthal, of Ucheldref, esq.
Montgomery. David Pugh, of Brynderwen, esq.
Denbighsh. Edw. Eyton, of Eyton Hall, esq.
Flint. Richard Puleston, of Emrall, esq.
- SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for the Year 1793.*
Cornwall. Fr. Granville, of Catchfrench, esq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

ABSTRACT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.

[The tendency of this important code cannot be too generally known ; but, as it is too long to be given here in detail, we present the following abstract for the information of the general reader.]

THE object, it begins, of all union of men in society, being the maintaining of natural, civil, and political, rights, these rights ought to be the basis of the social compact. The acknowledgment and declaration of them ought to precede the constitution which assures the guarantee of them.

(Then follows the declaration of the natural, political, and civil, rights of man.) *

After the recognition of these rights, on which the government is founded, the French nation is declared to form one indivisible republic.

The division into departments is retained ; each department is divided into communes or districts, and each commune into municipal sections and primary assemblies.

Primary Assemblies.

In the primary assemblies, every man aged twenty-one years has a

right to vote, provided that his name is inscribed on the civic table, and that he shall have resided one year in France.

The primary assemblies shall be so distributed in each department, that none shall consist of less than four hundred and nine, or more than nine hundred members ; in each of these a select committee is to be chosen by ballot, consisting of as many members as there are fifties of citizens in the assembly.

In this committee, he who has the majority of votes shall be president of the assembly ; the three next on the list shall be secretaries. The duty of the select committee is to keep the records, and to arrange and submit the business to the assembly.

All elections are to be carried on in those assemblies. The intermediate, or electoral, assemblies, have no place in this code. The elections are to be made by what is called a double scrutiny ; each gives a signed list of candidates equal to the number of places to be filled. These bulletins, or lists, of presentation, as they are termed, are sent to the administration of each department. They select a triple number of those candidates who have most votes, which from these are sent back to the primary assemblies ; a definitive

* Which is given in page 261, of the History of Europe.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 77

definitive election is made, each citizen giving in, as before, a signed list of the candidates to whom he gives his preference.

In the deliberations of these assemblies, the same mode is to be followed, as in the elections. The question is to be shaped so as to be answered by a simple negative or affirmative. On the day appointed for the decision, each citizen gives in a bulletin, or slip of paper, inscribed with his name, and the word *yes* or *no*. These are to be transmitted from the district to the department where the general result is to be ascertained.

Administrative Bodies.

There shall be in each department an administrative council of eighteen members; and, in each district, an administration of twelve members, with subordinate agencies. The former are to controul the revenue, and to correspond with the executive government. The inferior administrations are not as yet organized.

The administrators are to be elected in the primary assemblies, and the half renewed every two years.

Executive Council.

I. The executive council of the republic shall be composed of several general agents or ministers, and a secretary.

II. There shall be,

1. A minister of legislation.
2. A minister of war.
3. A minister of foreign affairs.
4. A minister of public contributions.
5. A minister of the marine.
6. A minister of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

7. A minister of works, aids, public establishments, and arts.

III. Each of the ministers shall alternately preside in the executive council, and the president shall be changed every fifteen days.—To this council it belongs to execute all the laws and all the decrees passed by the legislative body.

The ministers are to be chosen in the primary assemblies, and in the manner before described.—Eight *suppléans*, or substitutes, are to be chosen at the same time.

The members of the council are to be chosen for two years. The half shall be renewed every year; but they may be re-elected.

The executive council are accountable to, and cannot be members of, the legislative body. They have no controul over the national treasury, which is to be directed by three commissioners appointed for that purpose, and elected in the same manner. Two hundred members are to be chosen in the legislative body, of whom a jury of seven is to audit each account.

Legislative Body.

The legislative body is to consist of one chamber, and to be renewed annually, by election in the manner before mentioned.

The number of deputies to be sent from each department is to be newly fixed every ten years, according to the increase or decrease of the population.

The members of the legislative body shall not at any time be prosecuted, impeached, or tried for any thing which they may have said or written in the exercise of their functions.

No proposition shall pass into a law, unless it be first proposed in the

the assembly, then referred to a committee of thirteen, and, after the interval of a fortnight, if the time should permit, re-debated in the assembly.

Censorship of the People.

Under this head it is proposed, that any citizen shall have the right of convoking the primary assembly where he resides, to consider of the enactment of a new, or the repeal of an existing law. If they agree to the proposition, they are to address the people of other assemblies, and the wish of the department, thus collected, is to be transmitted to and decided upon by the members of the legislative body.

The citizens shall likewise have the right to demand an inquiry into the conduct of public functionaries, in case of an abuse of power and violations of the law.

A Convention.

A convention is to be summoned whenever any change is to be made in the legislative body. In the twentieth year after passing of the constitutional code, a convention shall be called to revise and improve.

The convention cannot hold its sittings within fifty leagues of the legislative body. It shall be formed of two members from each department.

Administration of Justice.

In the civil as well as the criminal code, the trial by jury is to be established. The jurors as well as judges are to be elected. The former to be taken one from every hundred citizens. The jury to consist of a director, a reporter, a national commissioner, and the number of jurymen to be specified.

The punishment of death is abolished for all private offences.

There are to be two juries, whose functions correspond with those of the grand and petty juries in the English constitution.

Judicial censors are to be appointed to travel at fixed periods, and to try all questions of appeal.

A national jury, consisting of three jurors from each department, is to try all questions of high treason.

The arrest and detention of an individual are qualified by a number of minute regulations, highly favourable to personal liberty.

The liberty of the press is declared to be indefinite.

None can be judged either civilly or criminally, on account of writings printed or published, except it shall have been recognized and declared by a jury, 1st. whether there is any criminality in the writing denounced; 2dly, whether the person prosecuted is guilty of it.

Public Force.

The forces of the republic are placed under the controul of the executive council. The public force is declared to be essentially obedient, as no armed body can deliberate.

The commanders in chief are to have annual and revocable commission from the executive council.

The commanders of all the national guards shall be elected annually by the citizens in each district.

Public Contributions.

The public contributions ought never to exceed the exigencies of the state.

There

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 79

There cannot be established any contribution, which by its nature or by its mode of exaction ought to be injurious to the free disposal of property, to the progress of industry and of commerce, to the circulation of capitals, or might produce the violation of the rights recognized and declared by the constitution.

The amount shall be fixed each year by the legislative body, and cannot exceed that term. They are to be published annually.

Relation to Foreign Powers.

The French will only take up arms for the sake of their liberty. It renounces all accession of territory, unless by the wish, freely expressed, of its inhabitants.

The declaration of war shall be made by the legislative body; treaties of peace, commerce, and alliance, shall be made by the executive council, and ratified by the legislative body, &c.

Presented by the members forming the committee of constitution.

Burrere, Brissot, Condorcet, Danton, Gensonne, Petion, Sieyes, Thomas Paine, Vergneaud.

The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, held in London, by adjournments, from the 20th to the 28th of the Fifth Month, 1793, inclusive, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere.

“ Dear Friends,
WE salute you in gospel love, and in a degree of that humility, which a close inspection into the state of our re-

ligious society hath produced: for, although we at this time may thankfully acknowledge that we have not found things in so neglected a condition as in some former years; and some increasing concern appears to have invested the minds of many brethren for the support of our testimonies; yet much remains to be done, and much laborious exercise of spirit to be patiently endured, before our Sion can become, so eminently as we trust she is designed to be, the praise of nations: Friends! may every one of you, who may read or hear of this our tender salutation, closely and effectually consider in what instance, and to what degree, he obstructs, in his practice, the accomplishment of a design so gracious.

Our meeting hath been large; and, through the mercy of our Holy Head and High Priest, hath been favoured with the renewed assistance of his spirit; and, although divers matters have occurred which have been subjects of considerable discussion, we have afresh experienced the prevalence of christian condescension.

The account of sufferings brought in this year amount, in Great Britain, to six thousand and eighty pounds, and, in Ireland, to one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine pounds. The largest part, as usual, is for those ecclesiastical demands with which we scruple actively to comply, as being the support of a ministry formed by the will of man; and not only inefficient in combating the desires of the carnal mind, (which, saith the holy scripture, is at enmity with God,) but too generally made subservient in its purposes.

Our correspondence with our brethren

brethren in Ireland and on the continent of America is maintained; and we have received epistles from all the yearly meetings, informing us of their concern for the cause of truth; and, in some of those from America, of their continued care to be, as opportunities offer, the advocates of the oppressed black people.—The slow progress in this country of the cause of these our fellow men we lament, but do not despair of its success; and we desire friends may never suffer the cause to cool on their minds, through the delay, which the opposition of interested men hath occasioned, in this work of justice and mercy; but rather be animated to consider, that, the longer the opposition remains, the more necessity there is, on the side of righteousness and benevolence, for steadiness, perseverance, and continued breathing of spirit to the God and Father of all, who formed of one blood all the families of the earth.

From Philadelphia we learn that friends have also had at heart to be instrumental in promoting a pacification with the frontier and other Indians; in which benevolent purpose they are encouraged by the Indians themselves; who, having been accustomed for more than a century, to just and kind treatment from friends, have been induced to repose much confidence in them.

At our last yearly meeting, we were engaged to caution our members against suffering the voice of party to draw any of us from the steadfastness which we may possess to Christ; and now, when war is making its ravages in the adjacent nations, we are again concerned to

exhort friends, that on all occasions, they evince themselves to be indeed the followers of the prince of peace. As we profess to be restrained from joining in a practice so desolating to mankind, let us not indulge the spirit of it in ourselves, or encourage it in others, by making the events of war a frequent subject of conversation; but, so far as we are truly redeemed from those warring lusts in ourselves, to which * the apostle ascribes its origin, let us, as enabled, be frequently engaged in secret supplication to the God of the spirits of all flesh, that it may please him † “to break the bow, and cut the spear in sunder; making wars to cease unto the end of the earth;” and to enlist the nations under his holy banner, in opposition to those iniquities which are a reproach to the profession of christianity.

Many have been of late the overturnings and failures in the commercial world; and some amongst us have not escaped the disgrace. We desire these things may operate as a call to all of us, who may need the caution, to contract rather than to enlarge our plans for the acquisition of wealth. Let us sooner endeavour to secure a competency, by contracting our wants and limiting our desires; recollecting, that, as Christ, our great example, declared his kingdom not to be of this world, so neither can his faithful followers make it the storehouse of their treasure, ‡ “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for

* James iv. 1. † Psal. xlv. 9. ‡ Mat. vi. 19, 20, 21.

yourselves

yourself treasures in heaven, where neither moth, nor rust, doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For, where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

Signed, in and on behalf of the yearly meeting, by

GEORGE BRAITHWAITE,
Clerk to the meeting this year."

An Address to the Members of the Methodist Societies throughout England, from the Conference assembled at Leeds, Aug. 6, 1793.

Dear Brethren,

WE feel it our duty to send you this address, lest the insinuations of any who are enemies to our prosperity and unity should grieve your minds, and injure the work of God. Our venerable father, who is gone to his great reward, lived and died a member and friend of the church of England. His attachment to it was so strong and unshaken, that nothing but irresistible necessity induced him to deviate from it in any degree. In many instances God himself obliged him to do this: he powerfully called him forth into the streets and open fields, and afterwards raised to his assistance hundreds of men who never passed through the usual forms of ordination. To all these evident providences of God Mr. Wesley submitted, though at first with great reluctance. In consequence, he found himself obliged to erect chapels, which were neither consecrated according to the usual method of the church of England, nor in the least

VOL. XXXV.

subject to the direction of the national episcopacy. In all these things he deviated from the establishment merely on the ground of unavoidable necessity, or, which is the same to a truly pious soul, from the clear manifested providence and will of God. A dilemma, or difficulty, of a similar kind has been experienced by us since the death of Mr. Wesley. A few of our societies have repeatedly importuned us to grant them the liberty of receiving the Lord's supper from their own preachers. But, desirous of adhering most strictly to the plan which Mr. Wesley laid down, we again and again denied their request. The subject, however, is now come to its crisis. We find that we have no alternative, but to comply with their requisition, or entirely to lose them!—O brethren! 'hate putting away,' especially those who are members of the mystical body of Christ, and our dearly beloved brethren; and whose only error, where they do err, is that of the judgment, and not of the heart. And can we suffer these to forsake their faithful pastors, and possibly to run into the jaws of some ravening wolf, when the point in contest must be allowed by all to be *unessential* to salvation? But we are sensible, that our brethren, on the other side, may justly urge,—“are not our interests as dear to you as theirs? Why then will you grieve us in so tender a point? Why will you oppose us in those particulars, which we think of very great importance to the prosperity of Zion? Why will you force upon us a term of communion to which we never consented, or expect us to remain

G

united

united to those who will be ever grieving us, by pressing the necessity of compliance with *that* which we judge to be highly injurious to the cause of God?"

Such is the dilemma, dear brethren, to which we have been reduced. We allow the full force of the arguments, which the brethren who disapprove of the administration of the Lord's supper urge as above: nor can we on any consideration lay on them a new term of communion, or suffer a *single person* among them to be grieved by the reasonings of those who wish for an innovation in our plan. We therefore weighed this delicate subject with the greatest seriousness and deliberation, feeling the greatest pity for those of our brethren who thought themselves aggrieved; and came finally to the following resolution:—"that the sacrament of the Lord's supper shall not be administered by the preachers in any part of our connexion, except where the whole society is unanimous for it, *and will not be contented without it*; and, even in those few exempt societies, it shall be administered as far as practicable, in the evening only, and according to the form of the church of England. For we could not bear that the sacrament, which was instituted by our Lord as a bond of peace and union, should become a bone of contention, and are determined never to sanction the administration of that holy ordinance for the purpose of strife and division. You may hence clearly see, dear brethren, that it is *the people*, in the instances referred to, who have forced us into this farther deviation from our union to the church of England.

Still we wish to be united to it as a body at large. The few societies which answer the description mentioned in the above resolution need but have a small influence on the whole connexion. We cannot, however, we will not, part with any of our flock who love God and man, on account of unessential points. For we love you *all*, and are the servants of you all, for Jesus' sake. But we intreat our societies at large (the few exempt cases excepted) to continue, as usual, in connexion with the church of England; and we shall, with great cheerfulness and contentment, labour among them according to that simple original plan of methodism established and left to us by our venerable friend. We must observe to you, in conclusion, that we feel the *most* unfeigned loyalty to the king, and a sincere attachment to the constitution. We reverence the government; are conscious of the many blessings we enjoy under our gracious sovereign, and are thankful to God for them; and do earnestly and sincerely recommend the same principles and spirit to you.

We remain, dear brethren,

Your most affectionate servants,

And faithful pastors,

(Signed in behalf of the
conference,)

JOHN PAWSON, President.

THOMAS COKE, Secretary.

Authentic Copy of a Petition praying for a Reform in Parliament, presented to the House of Commons by Charles Grey, Esq. on Monday, 6th May, 1793; and signed only by the Members of the Society of the Friends of the People, associated

*ated for the Purpose of obtaining
a Parliamentary Reform.*

To the Honourable the Commons
of Great Britain in Parliament
assembled.

Sheweth,
THAT by the form and spirit
of the British constitution,
the king is vested with the sole
executive power.

That the house of lords consists
of lords spiritual and temporal, de-
riving their titles and consequence
either from the crown, or from
hereditary privileges.

That these two powers, if they
acted without controul, would form
either a despotic monarchy, or a
dangerous oligarchy.

That the wisdom of our ancestors
hath contrived, that these authori-
ties may be rendered not only
harmless, but beneficial, and be
exercised for the security and hap-
piness of the people.

That this security and happiness
are to be looked for in the intro-
duction of a third estate, distinct
from, and a check upon the other
two branches of the legislature ;
created by, representing, and re-
sponsible to the people themselves.

That so much depending upon
the preservation of this third estate,
in such its constitutional purity and
strength, your petitioners are rea-
sonably jealous of whatever may
appear to vitiate the one, or to im-
pair the other.

That at the present day the
house of commons does not fully
and fairly represent the people of
England, which, consistently with
what your petitioners conceive to
be the principles of the constitu-
tion, they consider as a grievance,

and therefore, with all becoming
respect, lay their complaints before
your honourable house.

That though the terms in which
your petitioners state their griev-
ance may be looked upon as strong,
yet your honourable house is en-
treated to believe that no expression
is made use of for the purpose of
offence.

Your petitioners in affirming that
your honourable house is not an
adequate representation of the peo-
ple of England, do but state a fact,
which, if the word " Representa-
tion" be accepted in its fair and
obvious sense, they are ready to
prove, and which they think de-
trimental to their interests, and
contrary to the spirit of the consti-
tution.

How far this inadequate repre-
sentation is prejudicial to their in-
terests, your petitioners apprehend
they may be allowed to decide for
themselves ; but how far it is con-
trary to the spirit of the constitu-
tion, they refer to the consideration
of your honourable house.

If your honourable house shall
be pleased to determine that the
people of England ought not to be
fully represented, your petitioners
pray that such your determination
may be made known, to the end
that the people may be apprized of
their real situation ; but if your
honourable house shall conceive that
the people are already fully repre-
sented, then your petitioners beg
leave to call your attention to the
following facts :

Your petitioners complain, that
the number of representatives as-
signed to the different counties is
grossly disproportioned to their
comparative extent, population, and
trade.

Your petitioners complain, that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the majority of your honourable house is elected by less than fifteen thousand electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so low a number as three millions, is not more than the two hundredth part of the people to be represented.

Your petitioners complain, that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

Your petitioners complain, that the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in seven years.

Your petitioners thus distinctly state the subject matter of their complaints, that your honourable house may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to enquire into the facts, and to apply the remedy.

For the evidence in support of the first complaint, your petitioners refer to the return book of your honourable house.—Is it fitting, that Rutland and Yorkshire should bear an equal rank in the scale of county representation; or can it be right, that Cornwall alone should, by its extravagant proportion of Borough members, outnumber not only the representatives of Yorkshire and Rutland together, but of Middlesex added to them? Or, if a distinction be taken between the landed and the trading interests, must it not appear monstrous that Cornwall and Wiltshire should send more Borough members to parliament, than Yorkshire, Lancashire,

Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire united? and that the total representation of all Scotland should but exceed by one member, the number returned for a single county in England?

The second complaint of your petitioners is founded on the unequal proportions in which the elective franchise is distributed, and in support of it.

They affirm, that seventy of your honourable members are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in burghage and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable house, to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the seventy honourable members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and ninety-seven honourable members so chosen, fifty-two more are returned to serve in parliament, by twenty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds two hundred. And this

this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and forty-nine so elected, twenty more are returned to serve in parliament for counties in Scotland, by less than one hundred electors each, and ten for counties in Scotland by less than two hundred and fifty each. And this your petitioners are ready to prove, even admitting the validity of fictitious votes.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and seventy-nine so elected, thirteen districts of burghs in Scotland, not containing one hundred voters each, and two districts of burghs, not containing one hundred and twenty-five each, return fifteen more honourable members. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

And in this manner, according to the present state of the representation, two hundred and ninety-four of your honourable members are chosen, and, being a majority of the entire house of commons, are enabled to decide all questions in the name of the whole people of England and Scotland.

The third complaint of your petitioners is founded on the present complicated rights of voting. From the caprice with which they have been varied, and the obscurity in which they have become involved by time and contradictory decisions, they are become a source of infinite confusion, litigation, and expence.

Your petitioners need not tender any evidence of the inconveniences which arise from this defect in the representation, because the proof is to be found in your journals, and the minutes of the different committees who have been appointed

under the 10th and 11th of the king. Your honourable house is but too well acquainted with the tedious, intricate, and expensive scenes of litigation which have been brought before you, in attempting to settle the legal import of those numerous distinctions which perplex and confound the present rights of voting. How many months of your valuable time have been wasted in listening to the wrangling of lawyers upon the various species of burgagehold, leasehold, and freehold! How many committees have been occupied in investigating the nature of scot and lot, pot-wallers, commonalty, populacy, resiant inhabitants, and inhabitants at large! What labour and research have been employed in endeavouring to ascertain the legal claims of borough-men, aldermen, port-men, select men, burgesses, and councilmen! 'And what confusion has arisen from the complicated operation of clashing charters, from free-men resident and non resident, and from the different modes of obtaining the freedom of corporations by birth, by servitude, by marriage, by redemption, by election, and by purchase! On all these points it is however needless for your petitioners to enlarge, when your honourable house recollects the following facts; namely, that since the twenty-second of December 1790, no less than twenty-one committees have been employed in deciding upon litigated rights of voting. Of these, eight were occupied with the disputes of three boroughs, and there are petitions from four places yet remaining before your honourable house, waiting for a final decision to inform the electors what their rights really are.

But

But the complaint of your petitioners on the subject of the want of an uniform, and equitable principle in regulating the right of voting, extends as well to the arbitrary manner in which some are excluded, as to the intricate qualifications by which others are admitted to the exercise of that privilege.

Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote. All Papists are excluded generally, and, by the operation of the test laws, Protestant dissenters are deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the right of voting is confined to corporate officers alone; a deprivation the more unjustifiable, because, though considered as unworthy to vote, they are deemed capable of being elected, and may be the representatives of the very places for which they are disqualified from being the electors.

A man possessed of one thousand pounds per annum, or any other sum, arising from copyhold, leasehold for ninety-nine years, trade, property in the public funds, or even freehold in the city of London, and many other cities and towns having peculiar jurisdictions, is not thereby intitled to vote. Here again a strange distinction is taken between electing and representing, as a copyhold is a sufficient qualification to sit in your honourable house.

A man paying taxes to any amount, how great soever, for his domestic establishment, does not thereby obtain a right to vote, unless his residence be in some borough where that right is vested in the inhabitants. This exception operates in sixty places, of which

twenty-eight do not contain three hundred voters each, and the number of householders in England and Wales (exclusive of Scotland), who pay all taxes, is 714,911, and of householders who pay all taxes, but the house and window taxes, is 284,459, as appears by a return made to your honourable house in 1785; so that, even supposing the sixty places above-mentioned to contain, one with another, one thousand voters in each, there will remain 939,370 householders who have no voice in the representation, unless they have obtained it by accident or by purchase. Neither their contributions to the public burdens, their peaceable demeanor as good subjects, nor their general respectability and merits as useful citizens, afford them, as the law now stands, the smallest pretensions to participate in the choice of those, who, under the name of their representatives, may dispose of their fortunes and liberties.

In Scotland, the grievance arising from the nature of the rights of voting, has a different and still more intolerable operation. In that great and populous division of the kingdom, not only the great mass of the householders, but of the landholders also, are excluded from all participation in the choice of representatives. By the remains of the feudal system in the counties, the vote is severed from the land, and attached to what is called the superiority. In other words it is taken from the substance, and transferred to the shadow, because, though each of these superiorities must, with very few exceptions, arise from lands of the present annual value of four hundred pounds sterling, yet it is not necessary that the

the lands should do no more than give a name to the superiority, the possessor of which may retain the right of voting notwithstanding he be divested of the property. And on the other hand, great landholders have the means afforded them by the same system, of adding to their influence, without expence to themselves, by communicating to their confidential friends the privilege of electing members to serve in parliament. The process by which this operation is performed is simple. He who wishes to increase the number of his dependent votes, surrenders his charter to the crown, and, parcelling out his estate into as many lots of four hundred pounds per annum, as may be convenient, conveys them to such as he can confide in. To these, new charters are, upon application, granted by the crown, so as to erect each of them into a superiority, which privilege once obtained, the land itself is reconveyed to the original granter; and thus the representatives of the landed interest in Scotland may be chosen by those who have no real or beneficial interest in the land.

Such is the situation in which the counties of Scotland are placed. With respect to the burghs, every thing that bears even the semblance of popular choice, has long been done away. The election of members to serve in parliament is vested in the magistrates and town councils, who, having by various innovations, constituted themselves into self-elected bodies, instead of officers freely chosen by the inhabitants at large, have deprived the people of all participation in that privilege, the free exercise of which affords the only security they can

possess for the protection of their liberties and property.

The fourth and last complaint of your petitioners is the length of the duration of parliament. Your honourable house knows, that by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom frequent parliaments ought to be held; and that the sixth of William and Mary, c. 2. (since repealed) speaking while the spirit of this revolution was yet warm, declared, that "frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement between king and people;" and enacted, that no parliament should last longer than three years. Your petitioners, without presuming to add to such an authority by any observations of their own, humbly pray that parliaments may not be continued for seven years.

Your petitioners have thus laid before you the specific grounds of complaint, from which they conceive every evil in the representation to spring, and on which they think every abuse and inconvenience is founded.

What those abuses are, and how great that inconvenience is, it becomes your petitioners to state, as the best means of justifying their present application to your honourable house.

Your petitioners then affirm, that from the combined operation of the defects they have pointed out, arise those scenes of confusion, litigation, and expence, which so disgrace the name, and that extensive system of private patronage which is so repugnant to the spirit of free representation.

Your petitioners entreat of your honourable house to consider the manner

manner in which elections are conducted, and to reflect upon the extreme inconvenience to which electors are exposed, and the intolerable expence to which candidates are subjected.

Your honourable house knows that tumults, disorders, outrages, and perjury, are too often the dreadful attendants on contested elections as at this time carried on.

Your honourable house knows that polls are only taken in one fixed place for each county, city, and borough, whether the number of voters be ten or ten thousand, and whether they be resident or dispersed over England.

Your honourable house knows that polls, however few the electors, may by law be continued for fifteen days, and even then be subjected to a scrutiny.

Your honourable house knows that the management and conduct of polls is committed to returning officers, who, from the very nature of the proceedings, must be invested with extensive and discretionary powers, and who, it appears by every volume of your journals, have but too often exercised those powers with the most gross partiality and the most scandalous corruption.

Of elections arranged with such little regard to the accommodation of the parties, acknowledged to require such a length of time to complete, and trusted to the superintendence of such suspicious agents, your petitioners might easily draw out a detail of the expence. But it is unnecessary. The fact is too notorious to require proof, that scarce an instance can be produced where a member has obtained a

disputed seat in parliament at a less cost than from two to five thousand pounds; particular cases are not wanting where ten times these sums have been paid, but it is sufficient for your petitioners to affirm, and to be able to prove it if denied, that such is the expence of a contested return, that he who should become a candidate with even greater funds than the laws require him to swear to as his qualification to sit in your honourable house, must either relinquish his pretensions on the appearance of opposition, or so reduce his fortune in the contest, that he could not take his seat without perjury.

The revision of the original polls before the committees of your honourable house, upon appeals from the decisions of the returning officers, affords a fresh source of vexation and expence to all parties. Your honourable house knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half; and it was not till within the last two months that your honourable house had an opportunity of discovering, that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted near three years as the representatives of the borough of Stockbridge, had procured themselves to be elected by the most scandalous bribery; and that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted during as long a period for the borough of Great Grimsby, had not been elected at all.

In

In truth all the mischiefs of the present system of representation are ascertained by the difficulties which even the zeal and wisdom of your honourable house experiences in attending to the variety of complaints brought before you. Though your committee sit five hours every day from the time of their appointment, they generally are unable to come to a decision in less than a fortnight, and very frequently are detained from thirty to forty days. The Westminster case in 1789, will even furnish your honourable house with an instance, where, after deliberating forty-five days, a committee gravely resolved, that, "From an attentive consideration of the circumstances relating to the cause, a final decision of the business before them could not take place in the course of the session, and that not improbably the whole of the parliament" (having at that time near two years longer to sit) "might be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation;" and they recommended it to the petitioners to withdraw their petition, which, after a fruitless perseverance of above three months, they were actually obliged to submit to.

Your petitioners will only upon this subject farther add, that the expence to each of the parties, who have been either plaintiff or defendant in petitions tried before your honourable house in the present session, has, upon an average, amounted to above one hundred pounds per day; and that the attorney's bills in one cause, the trial of which in point of form only lasted two days, and in point of fact only six hours, amounted to very near

twelve hundred pounds. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

Your petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable house to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of *PRIVATE PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE*; an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the house of commons, and which, in its progress, threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons.

The patronage of which your petitioners complain, is of *two* kinds: *That* which arises from the unequal distribution of the elective franchise, and the peculiar rights of voting by which certain places return members to serve in parliaments; and *that* which arises from the expence attending contested elections, and the consequent degree of power acquired by wealth.

By these two means, a weight of parliamentary influence has been obtained by certain individuals, forbidden by the spirit of the laws, and in its consequences most dangerous to the liberties of the people of Great Britain.

The operation of the *first* species of patronage is direct, and subject to positive proof. Eighty-four individuals do by their own immediate authority send one hundred and fifty-seven of your honourable members to parliament. And this your petitioners are ready, if the fact be disputed, to prove,

prove, and to name the members and the patrons.

The *second* species of patronage cannot be shewn with equal accuracy, though it is felt with equal force.

Your petitioners are convinced, that in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven honourable members above mentioned, one hundred and fifty more, making in the whole three hundred and seven, are returned to your honourable house, not by the collective voice of those whom they appear to represent, but by the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals, added to the eighty-four before mentioned, and making the total number of patrons altogether only one hundred and fifty-four, who return a decided majority of your honourable house.

If your honourable house will accept as evidence the common report and general belief of the counties, cities, and boroughs, which return the members alluded to, your petitioners are ready to name them, and to prove the fact: or if the members in question can be made parties to the inquiry, your petitioners will name them, and be governed by the testimony which they themselves shall publicly give. But if neither of these proofs be thought consistent with the proceedings of your honourable house, then your petitioners can only assert their belief of the fact, which they hereby do in the most solemn manner, and on the most deliberate conviction.

Your petitioners entreat your honourable house to believe that, in complaining of this species of influence, it is not their intention or desire to decry or to condemn

that just and natural attachment which they, who are enabled by their fortune, and inclined by their disposition, to apply great means to honourable and benevolent ends, will always insure to themselves. What your petitioners complain of is, that property, whether well or ill employed, has equal power; that the present system of representation gives to it a degree of weight which renders it independent of character; which enables it to excite fear as well as to procure respect, and which confines the choice of electors within the ranks of opulence, because, though it cannot make riches the sole object of their affection and confidence, it can and does throw obstacles, almost insurmountable, in the way of every man who is not rich, and thereby secures to a select few the capability of becoming candidates themselves, or supporting the pretensions of others. Of this your petitioners complain loudly, because they conceive it to be highly unjust, that, while the language of the law requires from a candidate no greater estate, as a qualification, than a few hundreds pounds per annum, the operation of the law should disqualify every man whose rental is not extended to thousands; and that, at the same time that the legislature appears to give the electors a choice from amongst those who possess a moderate and independent competence, it should virtually compel them to chose from amongst those who themselves abound in wealth, or are supported by the wealth of others.

Your petitioners are the more alarmed at the progress of private patronage, because it is rapidly leading

leading to consequences which menace the very existence of the constitution.

At the commencement of every session of parliament, your honourable house, acting up to the laudable jealousy of your predecessors, and speaking the pure, constitutional language of a British house of commons, resolve, as appears by your journals, "That no peer of this realm hath any right to give his vote in the election of any member to serve in parliament;" and also, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the commons of Great Britain, for any lord of parliament, or any lord lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the elections of members to serve for the commons in parliament."

Your petitioners inform your honourable house, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect that no less than one hundred and fifty of your honourable members owe their elections entirely to the interference of peers; and your petitioners are prepared to shew by legal evidence, that forty peers, in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burgage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontroled command in very many small boroughs in the kingdom, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return eighty-one of your honourable members.

Your petitioners will, however, urge this grievance of the interference of peers in elections no farther, because they are satisfied that it is unnecessary. Numbers of your

honourable members must individually have known the fact, but collectively your honourable house has undoubtedly been a stranger to it. It is now brought before you by those who tender evidence of the truth of what they assert, and they conceive it would be improper in them to ask that by petition, which must be looked for as the certain result of your own honourable attachment to your own liberties and privileges.

Your petitioners have thus laid before your honourable house, what the mischiefs are which arise from the present state of the representation, and what they conceive to be the grounds of those mischiefs, and therefore pray to have removed.

They now humbly beg leave to offer their reasons, why they are anxious that some remedy should be immediately applied.

Your petitioners trust they may be allowed to state, because they are ready to prove, that seats in your honourable house are sought for at a most extravagant and increasing rate of expence,

What can have so much augmented the ambition to sit in your honourable house, your petitioners do not presume accurately to have discovered, but the means taken by candidates to obtain, and by electors to bestow that honour, evidently appear to have been increasing in a progressive degree of fraud and corruption. Your petitioners are induced to make this assertion by the legislature having found it necessary, during the last and present reigns, so much to swell the statute book with laws for the prevention of these offences.

As

As far as conjecture can lead your petitioners, they must suppose, that the increasing national debt, and the consequent increase of influence, are the causes of the increased eagerness of individuals to become members of the house of commons, and of their indifference as to the means used to gratify their speculations. To prove that they do not state this wantonly, or without substantial grounds, they humbly beg to call your attention to the following table, all the vouchers for which are to be found in the journals of your honourable house, or in different acts of parliament.

It is upon this evidence of the increase of taxes, establishments, and influence, and the increase of laws found necessary to repel the increasing attacks upon the purity and freedom of elections, that your petitioners conceive it high time to inquire into the premises.

Your petitioners are confident that in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts, and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honourable house, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect. Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduced from theoretical opinions, but positive truths susceptible of direct proof, and if in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call

your attention to assertions which you have not been accustomed to hear, and which they lament that they are compelled to make, they intreat the indulgence of your honourable house.

Your petitioners will only further trespass upon your time, while they recapitulate the objects of their prayer, which are,

That your honourable house will be pleased to take such measures, as to your wisdom may seem meet, to remove the evils arising from the unequal manner in which the different parts of the kingdom are admitted to participate in the representation.

To correct the partial distribution of the elective franchise, which commits the choice of representatives to select bodies of men of such limited numbers as renders them an easy prey to the artful, or a ready purchase to the wealthy.

To regulate the right of voting upon an uniform and equitable principle.

And finally to shorten the duration of parliaments, and by removing the causes of that confusion, litigation and expence, with which they are at this day conducted, to render frequent and new elections, what our ancestors at the revolution asserted them to be, the means of a happy union and good agreement between the king and people.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

93

At the Revolution { The public revenue did not exceed	£. 2,100,000	{ The peace establishment had not exceeded	1,900,000	{ The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom and independence of parliament, to regulate elections, and to prevent frauds, bribery, &c. amounted only to	14
At the death of William III. { The public revenue had increased to about	3,950,000	{ The peace establishment had increased to about	3,950,000	{ The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to	26
At the death of queen Anne { The public revenue had increased to about	6,000,000	{ The peace establishment had increased to about	6,000,000	{ The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to	35
At the death of George I. { The public revenue had increased to about	6,800,000	{ The peace establishment had increased to about	6,800,000	{ The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to	37
At the death of George II. { The public revenue had increased to about	8,600,000	{ The peace establishment had increased to about	8,600,000	{ The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to	49
In the 31st year of the reign of his present majesty { The public revenue had increased to above	10,000,000	{ The peace establishment had increased to above	10,000,000	{ The number of statutes found necessary to preserve the freedom of parliament, to prevent bribery, &c. increased to	65

TABLE OF PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE,

Extracted from the Report on the State of the Representation, published by the Society of the Friends of the People.

NAMES or PATRONS. NOMINATIONS.		INFLUENCE.		Total Mem- bers return- ed by Peers.
E. of Lonsdale <i>nom.</i>	{ 1 for Appleby 2 — Cockermouth 2 — Haslemere, 1 — Bossiney 2 — Lestwithiel 2 — Plympton 2 — Liskeard	{ <i>influ.</i> 2 for Westmoreland	{	7
Lord M. Edgecombe	{ 1 — St. Germain's 2 — Boroughbridge 2 — Aldboro' York 2 — Buckingham 2 — St. Mawes			6
Lord Elliot	{ 2 — Marlborough 2 — Great Bedwin 2 — Launceston 2 — Newport (Cor.) 2 — Woodstock 1 — Heytesbury 2 — Malton 1 — Higham Ferrers	{ 1 — Newark 1 — East Ketford 1 — Buckinghamsh. 1 — Aylesbury	{	6
Duke of Newcastle	{ 2 — Marlborough 2 — Great Bedwin 2 — Launceston 2 — Newport (Cor.) 2 — Woodstock 1 — Heytesbury 2 — Malton 1 — Higham Ferrers			4
Mar. of Buckingham	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Aylesbury	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
D. of Northumberl.	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
D of Marlborough	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Earl Fitzwilliam	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Marq. of Lansdowne	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Lord Sydney	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Duke of Devonshire	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Duke of Bedford	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Marquis of Stafford	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Lord Hertford	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Abingdon	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Duke of Norfolk	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Duke of Rutland	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Duke of Richmond	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Radnor	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Duke of Beaufort	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Sandwich	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Marquis of Bath	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Egremont	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Lord Westmorland	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Cornwallis	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Duke of Grafton	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Duke of Dorset	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
Duke of Bridgewater	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough	{ 1 — Oxfordshire 1 — Oxford 2 — Peterborough	{	4
Lord Beverley	{ 2 — Calne 1 — Whitchurch 2 — Knaresborough			5
20 Peers nominate	66	influence	39	Total 105 NAMES.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 95

NAMES of PATRONS.	NOMINATIONS.	INFLUENCE.	Total Mem- bers return- ed by Peers.
Brought forward	66	' Brought forward 39	105
L. Camelford <i>nominates</i> 2 for Old Sarum <i>influences</i>			2
Lord Foley	2	Droitwich	1 for Worcestershire
Lord Bute	1	Bossiney	1 — Cardiff
Lord Portsmouth	—	—	1 — Andover
Lord Orford	1	Castle Rising	—
Lord Malmesbury	1	Christchurch	—
Lord Hardwicke	1	Ryegate	1 — Cambridgeshire
Lord Somers	1	Ryegate	—
Lord Townshend	1	Tamworth	—
Lord Harrowby	2	Tiverton	—
Lord Darlington	1	Winchelsea	—
Lord Bulkeley	1	Beaumaris	—
Lord Powis	1	Montgomery	—
Duke of Bolton	—	—	1 — Totness
Lord Spencer	—	—	{ 1 — Oakhampton }
Lord Falmouth	2	Truro	{ 1 — St. Alban's }
Lord Thanet	1	Appleby	—
Lord Guildford	1	Banbury	—
Lord Camden	—	—	1 — Bath
Lord Powlett	—	—	2 — Bridgewater
Lord Grosvenor	—	—	2 — Chester
Lord Bathurst	—	—	1 — Cirencester
Lord Shaftesbury	—	—	1 — Dorchester
Lord Berkeley	—	—	1 — Gloucestershire
Lord Brownlow	—	—	1 — Grantham
Lord Pembroke	2	Wilton	—
Lord Oxford	—	—	{ 1 — Radnorshire }
Duke of Manchester	—	—	{ 1 — New Radnor }
Lord Pelham	—	—	1 — Huntingdonshire
Duke of Portland	—	—	1 — Lewes
Lord Uxbridge	1	Milborne Port	1 — Nottinghamshire
Lord Exeter	—	—	{ 1 — Anglesea }
Lord Warwick	—	—	{ 1 — Carnarvon }
Lord Petre	—	—	2 — Stamford
Lord Clarendon	—	—	2 — Warwick
Lord Bolingbroke	—	—	1 — Thetford
Lord Carlisle	—	—	1 — Wootton Bassett
Lord Onslow	—	—	1 — Wootton Bassett
Lord Walpole	—	—	2 — Morpeth
Lord Grimston	—	—	1 — Guildford
Duke of Leeds	—	—	1 — Lynn
—	—	—	1 — St. Albans
—	—	—	1 — Penryn
71 Peers nominate 88	—	influence 75	Total 163
The Treasury <i>nominates</i> 2 for Queenborough			2
Ditto	—	<i>influence</i>	1 for Dover
Ditto	—	—	1 — Rochester
Ditto	—	—	1 — Plymouth
Ditto	—	—	2 — Windsor
71 peers & the treas. nom. 90	—	influ. 80	Total 170
PATRONAGE			

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATIONS.	INFLUENCE.	Commoners. returned by Total memb.
Wm. Drake, esq. <i>nominate</i>	2 for Agmondesham <i>influences</i>		2
Lord Clive	2 for Bishops castle	1 for Ludlow	3
Rev. Mr. Holmes	{ 2 for Newport (Ha.) 1 for Yarmouth (Ha.) }		3
Sir J. St. Aubyn, bart.	1 for Helstone		1
— Rogers, esq.	1 for Helstone		1
W. Pultney, esq.	—	{ 4 for Weymouth, &c. 1 for Shrewsbury }	5
R. Barwell, esq.	{ 2 for Tregony 1 for Winchelsea }		3
P. C. Crespigny, esq.	2 for Aldborough (Suff.)		2
— Trefusis, esq.	{ 2 for Callington 1 for Ashburton }		3
Sir H. Bridgman, bart.	—	{ 1 for Wenlock 1 for Wigan }	2
J. Buller, esq.	{ 2 for Saltash 2 for West Looe }		4
— Buller, esq.	2 for East Looe		2
Sir Francis Buller, bart.	—	1 for Totness	1
Sir R. Clayton, bart.	2 for Blechingly		2
Sir T. Dundas, bart.	2 for Richmond		2
Sir E. Deering, bart.	2 for Romney		2
Sir T. Frankland, bart.	2 for Thirke		2
Sir H. Burrard, bart.	2 for Limington		2
Sir H. Calthorpe, bart.	1 for Bramber	1 for Hindon	2
Sir F. Basset, bart.	—	{ 1 for St. Michael's 1 for Penryn }	2
Sir J. Honeywood, bart.	2 for Steyning		2
Sir F. Sykes, bart.	—	2 for Wallingford	2
Sir J. Vanneck, bart.	1 for Dunwich		1
Sir F. Barrington, bart.	1 for Newtown (Hants.)		1
Sir R. Worsley, bart.	1 for Newtown (Hants.)		1
Sir C. Hawkins, bart.	—	1 for St. Michael's	1
Sir R. Palke, bart.	1 for Ashburton		1
Sir G. Yonge, bart.	—	1 for Honiton	1
Sir C. Davers, bart.	—	1 for Bury	1
Sir S. Fludyer, bart.	—	1 for Chippenham	1
Sir W. W. Wynne, bart.	—	1 for Denbighshire	1
Lord Westcote	1 for Bewdley		1
Lord Middleton	1 for Whitechurch		1
Sir C. Gould Morgan	—	1 for Brecon	1
W. Joliffe, esq.	2 for Petersfield		2
J. Robinson, esq.	2 for Harwich		2
— Wilkins, esq.	2 for Malsbury		2
R. Troward, esq.	2 for Ilchester		2
W. Praed, esq.	—	2 for St. Ives	2
T. P. Leigh, esq.	2 for Newtown (Lanc.)		2
W. C. Meddlycott, esq.	1 for Milbourne Port		1
J. Calcraft, esq.	2 for Wareham		2
J. B. Church, esq.	2 for Wendover		2
Lady Irwin	2 for Horsham		2
Mrs. Allanson	2 for Rippon		2
45 Commoners nominate	61	influence 22	Total 83

NAMES

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 97

NAMES OF PATRONS.	NOMINATIONS.	INFLUENCE.	Total memb. returned by Commoners.
Brought forward	61	22	83
Sir Jonathan Phillips <i>nom.</i>	2 for Camelford	<i>influences</i> —	2
Thomas Lister, esq.	1 for Clitheroe	—	1
P. A. Curzon, esq.	1 for Clitheroe	—	1
John Mortlock, esq.	—	2 for Cambridgetown	2
C. Anderson Pelham, esq.	—	2 for Grimsby	2
J. F. Luttrell, esq.	—	2 for Minehead	2
B. Barne, esq.	1 for Dunwich	—	1
J. Bond, esq.	1 for Corfe castle	—	1
H. Bankes, esq.	1 for Corfe castle	—	1
E. Lascelles, esq.	1 for Northallerton	—	1
H. Pierce, esq.	1 for Northallerton	—	1
R. Ladbroke, esq.	1 for Gatton	—	1
W. Currie, esq.	1 for Gatton	—	1
W. P. Ashe A'Court, esq.	1 for Heytesbury	—	1
B. Howard, esq.	1 for Castle Rising	—	1
George Hunt, esq.	1 for Bodmin	—	1
Lord Milford	—	1 for Haverfordwest	1
C. Forester, esq.	—	1 for Wenlock	1
J. C. Jervoise, esq.	1 for Yarmouth (Hants)	—	1
C. Sturt, esq.	—	1 for Bridport	1
G. Rose, esq.	1 for Christchurch	—	1
W. Evelyn, esq.	—	1 for Hythe	1
Sir C. Radcliffe	—	1 for Hythe	1
T. W. Coke, esq.	—	1 for Derby	1
T. Anson, esq.	—	1 for Litchfield	1
W. Lee Antónie, esq.	—	1 for Marlow	1
T. Williams, esq.	—	1 for Marlow	1
R. Middleton, esq.	—	1 for Denbigh	1
Philip Rashleigh, esq.	—	1 for Fowey	1
C. Tudway, esq.	—	1 for Wells	1
J. Dawkins, esq.	—	1 for Chippenham	1
H. Penton, esq.	—	1 for Winchester	1
R. Peel, esq.	1 for Tamworth	—	1
James Sutton, esq.	—	2 for Devizes	2
— Whitaker, esq.	—	2 for Shaftesbury	2
Sir Peter Burrell, bart.	—	1 for Boston	1
Jos. Iremonger, esq.	—	1 for Andover	1
W. Beckford, esq.	—	1 for Hindon	1
Sir J. Carter	—	2 for Portsmouth	2
E. Bastard, esq.	—	2 for Dartmouth	2
Edward Milward, esq.	2 for Hastings	—	2
Thomas Lamb, esq.	2 for Rye	—	2
P. Stephens, esq.	—	1 for Sandwich	1
Lord Mulgrave	—	1 for Scarbro'	1
R. Gammon, esq.	—	1 for Winchester	1
Lord Bateman	—	1 for Leominster	1
91 Commoners <i>nominate</i>	82	<i>influence</i> 57	Total 139

ABSTRACT.

71 Peers, and the Treasury, return by Nominations and Influence	—	170
91 Commoners return by Nominations and Influence	—	139

Total of Members returned by Private Patronage for England and Wales, exclusive of the forty-five for Scotland } 309

FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

*Freemason's Tavern, Saturday,
May 25, 1793.*

AT an extraordinary and numerous Meeting of the *Society of the Friends of the People*, associated for the purpose of obtaining a *Parliamentary Reform*, held this day,

E. B. CLIVE, esq. in the chair,
Resolved,

That the following address to the people of Great Britain be printed and published :

THE immediate duty of this society is to state briefly to the people of the kingdom, for whose benefit we have acted, in what situation the cause of reform, and they who are engaged in it, are left by the late transaction in Parliament. In so good a cause, it is honourable to have contended, and with a firm conviction that on its success depend the happiness and liberties of the nation, we can never suffer ourselves to despair. We are not deterred or disappointed by the present decision of the house of commons, for neither is this decision final, nor is it a question, in which we were particularly entitled to expect, that truth and reason would be supported by superior numbers. We are not discouraged by this defeat. It would, indeed, be a ground of discouragement to us, if we could believe that the people of England were really unwilling to promote a change in the construction of the house of commons, or indifferent about it. Such, however, is the conclusion drawn by our opponents, from the silence of the principle cities and counties on the present occasion. We trust

that we shall be furnished with a practical answer to this objection by numerous and strong declarations and petitions from a great majority of the kingdom. These are the means and the only means by which we expect or desire to succeed. If the country in general will unite with us in demanding a reform of Parliament, we have no doubt of its being obtained in a regular parliamentary way, without hazard of any kind. If, on the contrary, it should appear, after a fair and sufficient trial of the disposition of the country, that the measure has utterly lost its popularity, and that the nation, whether adverse or indifferent, will not take an active part in support of it, then, indeed, it will become us to abandon all thoughts of an useless vexatious perseverance in so deserted a cause; and having appealed to the highest tribunal, by which a national question can be determined, that of the people themselves, we must submit with patience to their ultimate decision. Individuals may adhere to their principles, but it will be in vain for them to persist in their endeavours. The duty that survives hope will never be performed with energy or effect. On the other hand, some circumstances encourage us to persevere. We have reason to believe that the intervention of the war with France, and the alarms, whether well or ill-founded, which have prevailed throughout England, during the last winter, and which we have no doubt were excited and inflamed for the special purpose of checking the disposition of the country in favour of a reform, and of calumniating the characters of those who promoted it: These, we

we believe, are the true causes of that silence and inactivity on the part of the nation which have been objected to us in parliament.

We are therefore of opinion, that the sense of the country has not yet been declared on this great question, and that their final decision of it has not been given. The temper of the house of commons is evidently moderated since the subject was agitated last year. The members, who stand for the public on this occasion, are treated, as in all cases the representatives of a great popular interest, and of the popular will ought to be, with some degree of decorum. Declarations made by persons of great authority in the house, though ambiguous or unfavourable, suppose and admit the possibility, at least, of their reverting hereafter to former professions, and of their concurring with us at some future uncertain period. When such men keep the opinions they deliver, within the reach of recal, it is to be presumed that others who have no opinions at all, will see the imprudence of binding themselves by unqualified declarations which they may not be able to abandon or retract, however careless of character and consistency, and though urged to it hereafter by the only motives that ever influence their conduct.

The ground we have gained by the reception of our petition, appears to us to be important, and the station it gives us, impregnable. It is not a circumstance of little moment to the cause of reform, that a petition stating to the house

of commons itself, such facts and such arguments, with a direct offer on the part of the petitioners, to establish every one of their allegations by sufficient evidence, should be received without dispute, and recorded for ever on the votes and journals of the house. No objection was made to the form or terms of the petition. No part of its contents was denied, or even questioned. The motion to bring up the petition was not opposed by any man. The house heard it distinctly read. They ordered it to lie on their table; and, after a debate of two days, refused to appoint a committee to take it into consideration. We state the fact to the world, and leave it without any further observation.

In the conduct of this business hitherto, we are not conscious of having omitted any thing that could be expected from the efforts of a few individuals, to rouse and engage the attention of the people to their own essential interest. They who think we have been deficient in any part of our duty, or that we ought still to proceed with activity and vigour, are bound to instruct us by their example, or at least, to strengthen us by their assistance. We have taken our station, and we shall not abandon it. The nation shall at all times find us at our post alert, prepared, and determined, whenever we are called upon by the public voice to renew and to continue our efforts.

In name, and by order of the society,

E. B. Clive, chairman.

A GENERAL BILL OF CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

FROM DECEMBER 11, 1792, TO DECEMBER 10, 1793.

Christened { Males 9750 } 19108. Buried { Males 11132 } 21749.
 { Females 9358 } { Females 10617 }
 Increased in the burials this year 1536.

Died under 2 years	- 6987	20 and 30	- 1448	60 and 70	- 1630	100 - 2
Between 2 and 5	- 2549	30 and 40	- 1947	70 and 80	- 1101	103 - 1
5 and 10	- 920	40 and 50	- 2172	80 and 90	- 433	104 - 1
10 and 20	- 668	50 and 60	- 1827	90 and 100	- 63	.

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.			
A Bortive and still-born	778	Diabetes	1	Measles	248	B Broken limbs	4
Abscess	33	Dropsey	970	Miscarriage	0	Bruised	4
Aged	1309	Evil	7	Mortification	223	Burnt	9
Ague	5	Fever, malignant fe-		Palsy	119	Cboaked	2
Apoplexy	87	ver, scarlet fever, Pleurisy			24	Dropped down dead	2
Asthma and Phthi-		spotted fever, and Quinsy			8	Drowned	115
sic	449	purples	2426	Rash	0	Excessive drinking	6
Bedridden	15	Fistula	2	Rheumatism	4	Executed *	7
Bleeding	11	Flux	9	Rickets	0	Extracting a bone	
Bloody flux	1	French pox	30	Rising of the lights	0	from the throat	1
Bursten and rup-		Gout	96	Scurvy	3	Found dead	10
ture	13	Gravel, strangury, & stone	28	Small-pox	2382	Fractured	2
Cancer	60	Grief	5	Sore throat	26	Frighted	1
Canker	1	Head-ach	0	Sore and ulcers	16	Killed by falls and	
Chicken pox	1	Headmouldshot,		St. Anthony's fire	2	several other acci-	
Childbed	190	horse-shoehead, & mach		Stoppage in the Sto-	14	dents	67
Cold	5	water in the head	77	Suddenly	147	Killed themselves	35
Colick, gripes, twist-		Jaundice	60	Surfeit	0	Murdered	1
ing of the guts	14	Imposthume	1	Swelling	0	Poisoned	2
Consumption	5474	Inflammation	364	Teeth	447	Scalded	5
Convulsions	4788	Itch	1	Thrush	48	Smothered	1
Cough and hooping-		Leprosy	3	Tympany	0	Stabbed	1
cough	352	Lethargy	2	Vomiting and loose-		Starved	3
Croup	12	Livergrown	1	ness	1	Suffocated	6
		Lunatick	67	Worms	5		
						Total	284

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 25 ; of which number 7 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

The proposed augmentation and equalization of the Land Tax, rendering it a subject of much interest to the public, it may not be unacceptable to many of our readers

to be informed, that the cause of the disproportion of its operation proceeds from its having been originally a kind of voluntary contribution, levied for the service of the

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 101

the state in the reign of king William.— The sum agreed to be raised by it, viz. (2,000,000*l.*) was divided into five hundred and thirteen parts, being the number of the members for England and Wales, and it was left to the option of the several counties to pay as many of those parts as they thought proper, or could afford; the consequence was, that some of them, celebrated for their loyalty, took upon them the payment of immense sums, while others, although equally capable of bearing the burden, contributed very sparingly indeed.

For instance, Middlesex agreed to pay eighty parts, Essex and York twenty-four each, and Norfolk and Kent twenty-two each; whereas Westmoreland and Cumberland would subscribe only one each, Rutland two, and Dorset three. In this manner it has ever since been voted from year to year, down to the present time.

The following Table shews the quantity of land in the several counties, the number of members returned by each, and the parts paid by them, together with the amount of their produce.

Counties.	Acres.	Memb.	Parts.	Produce.
Yorkshire	3770000	30	24 or	£ 92631 4 0
Devonshire	1920000	26	21 —	81052 6 0
Lincoln	1440000	12	19 —	73333 0 8
Northumberland	1370000	8	1 —	15438 10 8
Hants	1312000	26	8 —	30877 1 4
Kent	1248000	18	22 —	82911 18 8
Essex	1240000	8	24 —	92631 4 0
Lancashire	1150000	14	14 —	54034 10 4
Norfolk	1148000	12	22 —	84911 18 8
Sussex	1140000	28	16 —	64754 2 8
Cumberland	1040000	6	1 —	3859 12 8
Suffolk	995000	16	20 —	77192 13 4
Cornwall	960000	44	8 —	30877 1 4
Salop	890000	12	7 —	27017 8 8
Wilts	876000	34	13 —	50175 4 8
Gloucester	800000	8	12 —	46315 12 0
Dorset	772000	20	9 —	34730 14 0
Cheshire	720000	4	7 —	27017 8 8
Derby	680000	4	6 —	23057 16 0
Warwick	670000	6	10 —	38596 6 8
Herefordshire	660000	8	5 —	19290 3 4
Nottinghamshire	632100	8	7 —	27017 8 8
Durham	610000	4	3 —	11578 18 0
Surry	592000	14	18 —	69473 8 0
Cambridge	570000	6	6 —	23157 16 0
Leicester	560000	4	9 —	34736 14 0
Northampton	550000	9	12 —	40315 12 0
Worcester	540000	9	9 —	34736 14 0
Oxford	534000	9	10 —	38596 6 8
Berks	527000	9	10 —	38796 6 8
Westmorland	510000	4	1 —	3859 12 8
Herts	451000	6	11 —	42455 19 4
Bucks	441000	14	12 —	46315 12 0
Bedford	247000	4	7 —	27017 8 8
Middlesex	240000	8	80 —	308770 13 4
Huntingdon	240000	4	4 —	15438 10 8
Stafford	100000	10	7 —	27017 8 8
Somerset	175000	18	19 —	73333 0 8
Monmouth	160000	3	3 —	11578 18 0
Rutland	110000	2	2 —	7719 5 4
South Wales	3210000	24	11 —	42455 19 4
North Wales	2160000			

513

513

£2000000 0 0

Note. Before the union with Scotland, England sent five hundred and thirteen representatives to parliament: and by the act of union, forty-five Scotch were added

to them, which, if they had gone by the land-tax, ought not to have been so many.— The whole kingdom of Scotland pays but 47,054*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* towards the land-tax.

102 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce of the TAXES for one Year, ended the 5th Day of January 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
Customs - - - - -	3857743	7	10
Excise - - - - -	7361617	8	8½
Stamps - - - - -	1206842	0	10
	<u>£12426202</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>4½</u>

INCIDENTS.

Consolidated letter money, 1787 - -	156000	0	0
Ditto salt - - - - -	365993	4	0½
Seizures since October 25, 1760 - -	23097	5	2
Proffers ditto - - - - -	637	19	8
Letter-money ditto - - - - -	203484	3	9½
Alum mines, October 25, 1760 - -	960	0	0
Compositions, ditto - - - - -	1	6	8
Fines and forfeitures, ditto - -	500	0	0
Rent of a light house, ditto - -	6	13	4
Alienation duty, ditto - - - -	2272	15	4
Sixpence deducted on pensions 24th June, 1721 -	41290	0	0
One shilling ditto salaries, &c. April 5th, 1758 -	32117	1	4
Houses and windows, Oct 10, 1766 - -	331276	3	4½
Inhabited houses, 1779 - - - -	148328	18	4½
Hawkers and pedlars, 1710 - - - -	3130	0	0
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1st August, 1711 -	9100	0	0
Ditto, 1784 - - - - -	1210	0	0
Male servants, 1785 - - - - -	98372	9	5
Female ditto, ditto - - - - -	28426	2	8½
Horses, ditto - - - - -	125932	14	8½
Four-wheel carriages, 1785 - - - -	153896	14	2½
Two-wheel ditto, ditto - - - -	34259	15	4½
Waggons, ditto - - - - -	13589	1	10
Carts, ditto - - - - -	8015	13	1½
Shops, ditto - - - - -	955	14	3½
First-fruits of the clergy - - - -	4339	10	1½
Tenths ditto - - - - -	9902	14	3½
Men servants, 1777 (arrears) - - -	4	13	0
Houses and windows, 1747, 1762, and 1764 (arrears) - - - -	1	2	0
	<u>£1857991</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>

DUTIES Anno 1791.

Sugars, customs - - - - -	182880	17	8½
British spirits, excise - - - - -	112294	0	0
Foreign ditto - - - - -	142286	0	0
			Malt

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 103

	£.	s.	d.
Malt - - - - -	90956	0	0
Bills and receipts - - - - -	196552	12	5
Game duty - - - - -	17171	16	7
Ten per cent. on assessed taxes - - - - -	90619	8	3½
	<u>£832760</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0½</u>
Total of customs, excise, and stamps - - - - -	12426202	17	4½
Total of incidents - - - - -	1857991	16	3
Total of duties anno 1791 - - - - -	<u>832760</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0½</u>
Grand total	<u>£15116955</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER For the Year 1793.

N. B. *The highest and lowest Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer stood in each Month is set down.*

	Days.	Barometer.	Days.	Thermometer.	Rain.
					Inches.
January -	{ 12 - - 28—98	- - -	{ 4 - - 28 }	-	1,565
	{ 19 - - 30—52	- - -	{ 28 - - 48 }	-	
February -	{ 3 - - 29—29	- - -	{ 19 - - 30 }	-	1,581
	{ 24 - - 30—22	- - -	{ 24 - - 52 }	-	
March -	{ 8 - - 30—21	- - -	{ 14 - - 52 }	-	1,162
	{ 18 - - 29—7	- - -	{ 29 - - 33 }	-	
April -	{ 5 - - 29—22	- - -	{ 20 - - 33 }	-	1,095
	{ 8 - - 30—27	- - -	{ 23 - - 60 }	-	
May -	{ 1 - - 29—24	- - -	{ 12 - - 69 }	-	0,865
	{ 26 - - 30—29	- - -	{ 29 - - 44 }	-	
June -	{ 14 - - 30—20	- - -	{ 1 - - 47 }	-	0,427
	{ 26 - - 29—68	- - -	{ 3 - - 72 }	-	
July -	{ 6 - - 30—30	- - -	{ 1 - - 54 }	-	0,616
	{ 19 - - 29—74	- - -	{ 7 - - 89 }	-	
August -	{ 17 - - 29—34	- - -	{ 3 - - 80 }	-	1,315
	{ 21 - - 30—28	- - -	{ 26 - - 52 }	-	
September	{ 15 - - 29—41	- - -	{ 14 - - 66 }	-	2,452
	{ 26 - - 30—45	- - -	{ 22 - - 42 }	-	
October -	{ 15 - - 30—48	- - -	{ 13 - - 65 }	-	1,137
	{ 31 - - 29—22	- - -	{ 31 - - 35 }	-	
November	{ 13 - - 29—5	- - -	{ 8 - - 31 }	-	2,104
	{ 30 - - 30—36	- - -	{ 19 - - 56 }	-	
December	{ 1 - - 30—38	- - -	{ 4 - - 30 }	-	1,809
	{ 11 - - 28—72	- - -	{ 18 - - 53 }	-	
Mean height } whole year	29—93		50,8		17,128

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the
Year 1793.

N A V Y.

December 20, 1792		£.	s.	d.
For 25000 men including 5000 marines	-	1300000	0	0
February 11, 1793.				
For an addition of 20000 men	- - -	1040000	0	0
March 5.				
Ordinary, including half pay	- - -	669205	5	10
Extraordinaries	- - -	387710	0	0
March 12.				
Towards paying off the navy debt	- - -	575000	0	0
		£3971915 5 10		

A R M Y.

December 26, 1792.				
For 17,344 men, as guards and garrisons	-	579174	18	1½
Forces in the Plantations, Gibraltar, and New South Wales	- - - - - }	351385	1	10
Difference between British and Irish establishments	-	11559	17	11
Forces in the East Indies	- - -	8323	17	10½
Recruiting contingencies of land forces	-	117500	0	0
General and staff officers	- - -	6409	8	0
Full pay to supernumerary officers	- - -	13940	8	11
Allowances to the paymaster general, &c.	-	52964	6	7
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	-	156797	18	4
Reduced horse-guards	- - -	202	1	8
Officers late in the service of the states-general	-	3000	0	0
Reduced officers of British American forces	-	55092	10	0
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	-	4907	10	0
Widows pensions	- - -	9313	6	3
Chelsea pensioners	- - -	177995	2	1
		Scotch		

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 105

	£.	s.	d.
Scotch roads and bridges - - -	4500	0	0
Embodied militia - - - -	278122	14	2
Contingencies for ditto on account - -	72000	0	0

February 21, 1793.

For 9945 men, additional guards and garrisons	437837	1	11
For 100 independent companies - -	130950	0	0
Additional general and staff officers - -	32520	0	0
Embodied militia - - - -	285458	2	6
Contingencies for ditto - - - -	65000	0	0
A corps of light dragoons for Jamaica, &c. -	15639	5	11

March 18.

Hanoverian troops - - - -	238253	14	8
Levy money for ditto - - - -	238253	14	8
Fencible regiments - - - -	109682	16	9
Cloathing of militia, on account - -	140000	0	0
Army extraordinaries - - - -	337865	1	2
Augmentation to dragoon-guards, &c. -	59066	3	7

£3993715 2 11

ORDNANCE.

December 26, 1792.

Land service, previous to December 31, 1783, not } provided for - - - -	320	6	9
Ditto, not provided for in 1791 - - - -	15095	16	3
Ditto 1792 - - - -	6826	15	4
Sea service, not provided for in 1791 - -	32068	15	4
Land service for 1793 - - - -	448374	19	9

March 18, 1793.

Further charge for land service - - -	281079	18	8
---------------------------------------	--------	----	---

£783766 12 1

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

February 28, 1793.

To discharge exchequer bills - - -	5500000	0	0
------------------------------------	---------	---	---

March 5.

Civil establishment of Upper Canada - -	6700	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia - - - -	5135	0	0
			Ditto

106 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

	£	s.	d.
Ditto of New Brunswick	4400	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island	1900	0	0
Ditto of Cape Breton	1800	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	1182	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands	4250	0	0
Chief Justice of the Bermuda islands	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales	4657	18	0½
Address money	37657	17	3
Charges of inquiring into the emoluments of officers of the customs	500	0	0
Board of land revenue	1600	0	0
America and East Florida sufferers	276542	4	10
Provisions, &c. to New South Wales	56370	15	8
Prosecution of Mr. Hastings	3787	12	0
Convicts on the Thames	11031	4	5
Ditto at Langstone and Portsmouth	12407	1	4½

March 12.

Toward the reduction of the national debt	200000	0	0
---	--------	---	---

March 18.

Relief of American civil officers, &c. loyalists	26000	0	0
Removing black people to Sierra Leone	15643	4	6
Provision for the highland emigrants at Nova Scotia	386	15	6
Assessments on the salaries of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts	1068	4	0
To satisfy a bill drawn for the use of the duke of York at Berlin	5897	5	0
Expences of the commissioners to inquire into the state of the Isle of Man	1146	8	0
American loyalists, settlers in Upper Canada	13900	15	0
African forts	13000	0	0
British Museum	3000	0	0

March 20.

For works done for better ventilating and warming the house of commons	1453	16	4½
To reimburse losses sustained by persons concerned in the Nova Scotia whale fishery	1420	3	0
For repairing damages done to the Cobb at Lyme by a storm	9802	5	0

April 11.

Exchequer bills	1500000	0	0
-----------------	---------	---	---

£7793830 19 11½

DEFICIENCY.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 107

DEFICIENCY.

	March 18.			£.	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1792	-	-	-	225325	2	4
Navy	-	-	3971915	5	10	
Army	-	-	3993715	2	11	
Ordnance	-	-	783766	12	1	
Miscellaneous services	-	-	7723830	19	11½	
Deficiency	-	-	225315	2	4	
			£16698553	3	1½	

WAYS and MEANS for raising the SUPPLIES for 1793.

	January 8.					
Surplus of consolidated fund on January 5	-	-	-	435696	1	7½
	Jan. 31.					
Land tax and malt duty	-	-	-	2750000	0	0
	March 12.					
Consolidated fund	-	-	-	3209000	0	0
	March 18.					
Exchequer bills	-	-	-	4000000	0	0
Annuities 100l. 3 per cents. for every 72l. subscribed	-	-	-	4500000	0	0
	May 24.					
Profit of a lottery, 50,000 tickets, at 13l. 10s.	-	-	-	175000	0	0
Consolidated fund	-	-	-	255000	0	0
Duties of 1791 continued	-	-	-	832760	15	0½
				£16157456	16	7½

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1793.

The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank 3 per Stock c. red. cens.	4 per c. con.	5 per cent.	Long ann.	Short ann.	India Stock ann.	India bonds,	S. Sea stock ann.	Old ann.	New ann.	Navy bills.	Exch. bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 177 1/2 79 168 1/2 74 1/2 173 75 1/2 161 1/2 71 1/2 176 78 163 1/2 73 1/2 180 — 166 1/2 — 168 1/2 76 1/2 161 1/2 73 1/2 171 1/2 77 1/2 167 76 1/2 177 78 171 77 1/2 180 79 173 76 1/2 175 75 1/2 173 73 173 75 1/2 166 73 170 74 1/2 165 72 1/2 169 74 1/2 165 73	79 1/2 73 1/2 75 1/2 77 1/2 78 1/2 72 1/2 81 75 1/2 77 1/2 76 1/2 73 1/2 74 1/2 77 1/2 78 1/2 79 1/2 75 1/2 73 1/2 75 1/2 73 1/2 75 1/2 73 1/2 74 1/2 72 1/2 74 1/2 73 1/2	92 1/2 88 1/2 90 1/2 85 1/2 89 88 90 89 1/2 89 1/2 87 1/2 91 89 1/2 94 91 95 93 90 89 1/2 89 1/2 90 1/2 88 1/2 90 1/2 87 1/2	106 1/2 103 1/2 104 1/2 100 20 1/2 111 21 1/2 103 21 1/2 111 22 1/2 106 21 1/2 109 22 1/2 106 21 1/2 109 22 1/2 109 21 1/2 110 22 1/2 108 22 1/2 110 22 1/2 107 22 1/2 107 22 1/2 105 21 1/2 106 21 1/2 106 21 1/2 109 21 1/2 106 20 1/2 109 21 1/2 108 21 1/2	10 1/2 21 1/2 21 1/2 20 1/2 21 1/2 21 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 22 1/2 21 1/2 21 1/2 21 1/2 21 1/2 20 1/2 21 1/2 21 1/2	187 74 1/2 178 71 1/2 198 69 178 67 207 1/2 194 1/2 203 1/2 214 75 208 1/2 73 1/2 213 — 207 1/2 77 1/2 211 1/2 — 207 1/2 — 211 1/2 — 207 1/2 — 208 1/2 — 203 — 208 1/2 — 211 1/2 — 204 1/2 — 206 1/2 — 210 1/2 — 208 1/2 —	15 5 12 1 16 pre. 2 dis. Par. 11 dis. 17 4 15 10 2 pre. 16 dis. 17 6 17 6 25 11 25 20 29 19	— — 81 1/2 — 85 1/2 81 1/2 88 82 1/2 83 1/2 80 1/2 — 84 1/2 82 1/2 85 83 80 1/2 79 80 1/2 80 1/2 80 78 1/2 80 1/2 79 1/2	78 77 75 1/2 71 1/2 74 1/2 73 1/2 77 76 1/2 74 1/2 77 1/2 76 1/2 77 1/2 78 1/2 79 76 1/2 74 1/2 75 73 1/2 73 74 1/2 73 1/2 74 1/2 73 1/2	74 1/2 — 74 1/2 74 1/2 77 1/2 72 1/2 77 1/2 76 1/2 77 75 1/2 — 77 1/2 77 1/2 78 1/2 76 1/2 74 1/2 — 74 1/2 74 1/2 75 74 1/2 76 1/2 75 1/2	7 1/2 5 1/2 8 1/2 6 1/2 8 1/2 6 1/2 9 1/2 7 10 1/2 9 9 1/2 9 5 10 7 10 1/2 8 10 9 1/2 74 1/2 75 74 1/2 77 1/2	31 25 25 15 15 5 14 4 25 2 40 25 Par. 15 dis. 3 pre. Par. 2 pre. 1 dis. 5 pre. Par. 3 pre. 3 21 6	16 10 0 15 3 0 15 7 0 15 0 0 — — — — — 13 18 0 13 17 0 14 6 0 13 17 6 14 3 0 14 0 6 13 7 0 14 10 6 14 6 6 15 11 6 14 7 6 16 5 6 15 11 0

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 109

Public Acts passed in the third Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

JAN. 8.

An act for establishing regulations respecting aliens.

An act to prohibit the circulation of promissory notes, &c. issued in the name of any public authority in France.

An act for indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in advising or carrying into execution an order of council respecting the exportation of wheat, &c.

An act to enable his majesty to restrain the exportation of naval stores, &c.

An act for the further relief of debtors, &c.

FEB. 28.

Land tax act.

Malt duty act.

Marine mutiny bill.

MARCH 6.

Mutiny bill.

Act to provide for the families of militia-men.

MARCH 28.

Act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices, &c.

American commercial intercourse bill.

Act to prevent certain acts of parliament from taking effect from a time prior to the passing thereof.

APRIL 30.

Act for raising a sum of money by way of annuities, to be charged on the consolidated fund, and to perpetuate certain duties.

Two acts for raising a sum of money by exchequer bills.

The militia cloathing bill.

Act for the better supply of seamen on board his majesty's ships of war, merchant ships, &c.

Act for granting 200,000*l.* towards the reduction of the national debt.

Act for the better preventing of forgeries and frauds in the transfer of the several funds transferable at the bank of England.

MAY 7.

Act more effectually to prevent during the present war all traitorous correspondence.

Act to establish certain regulations respecting officers serving in the fencible regiments in North Britain.

MAY 10.

Act for relief of the captors of prizes.

JUNE 3.

Act requiring a certain form of oath of abjuration from the Roman Catholics of Scotland.

JUNE 11.

Act for continuing in the East India company for a further time, the possession of the British territories in India, &c.

JUNE 17.

Act to raise a certain sum by way of lottery.

Act for further settling the annuity granted to the late lord Rodney unto his male issue, unto whom the barony of Rodney shall descend.

Act for repealing the duties on coals,

coals, &c. carried coastwise to Scotland, &c.

Act for the encouragement of seamen, and the better manning of the navy.

Act to enable the post-master general to send the mail to the dominions of his Catholic majesty, on board any vessel authorised by his Catholic majesty to carry the same.

Act to permit commodities of the growth or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, legally imported into Ireland, to be exported thence into Great Britain.

Act to continue the act for regulating the slave trade.

JUNE 21.

Act for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

Act to enable justices of the peace to impose fines upon constables, &c. for neglect of duty.

Abstract of an Act for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in this Kingdom, or resident, in certain cases.

1. It is enacted, that the master of a vessel arriving in any port of this kingdom shall immediately specify in writing, to the collector of such port, the number, names, rank, and occupation, of any foreigners which shall be on board his vessel.

2. Under the penalty of 10*l.* for every foreigner on board the vessel whom he shall have neglected or refused to declare.

3. That every alien arriving in any port in this kingdom, on or after the 10th day of January 1793, shall immediately declare in writing, to the collector of such port,

his or her name, rank, and occupation, or, if servants, the name, &c. of their masters or mistresses, or shall verbally make such declaration to such officer to be reduced by him into writing; and shall also declare the country where they have principally resided for six months preceding their arrival; and every alien neglecting to make such declaration, or making a false declaration thereof, shall be adjudged to depart out of this realm, and, if afterwards found in this realm, shall be transported for life.

4. That every alien, arriving as aforesaid, shall obtain from the collector of such port a certificate of such declaration in writing.

5. Exception of foreign mariners employed in such ships certified by the master to the collector.

6. No alien to import any weapons, arms, gunpowder, or ammunition whatever, other than as merchandize according to law; and any officer of the customs may seize such weapons, &c. taking an account thereof.

7. In case his majesty shall, by proclamation or order, direct that aliens shall not be landed in this kingdom, or shall only be landed at particular places, then the master of every ship, having aliens on board, shall not suffer them to land contrary to such proclamation or order (unless by express permission of his majesty), under the penalty of 50*l.* for every alien so landing, and forfeiture of the ship.

8. No alien shall depart from the place of his arrival (except to make the declaration aforesaid) without obtaining a passport from the mayor or other chief magistrate of such place, or from one justice of peace for the district, containing the

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 111

the name, rank, and occupation of such alien, and the town to which he purposes to go.

9. Aliens (except servants of British subjects attendant on their masters), arrived in this kingdom since the first of January 1792, or arriving in future, desirous of changing their residence, or of quitting the town at which they have arrived by virtue of their first passport, shall obtain from the mayor, or a justice of peace for the district, a passport expressing the name and description of such alien, and also the name of the town to which such alien proposes to remove.

10. Magistrates may grant passports to alien merchants to pass to and from all parts of the kingdom.

11. The mayor of any town, or a justice of peace of any district, may require of any alien arrived after the 1st of January 1792, or arriving in future (except servants as aforesaid), who shall be passing through or found in such town or district, to exhibit his passport; and in default thereof, or if he is not in the way to the town therein expressed, or if such mayor, &c. shall see cause to suspect that he is not, *bona fide*, proceeding to such town, or has landed contrary to such proclamation as aforesaid, such mayor, &c. may commit such alien to gaol until notice be sent to his majesty's secretary of state; and, unless his majesty shall signify his pleasure for the discharge of such alien, he shall be detained in gaol without bail until delivered by course of law.

12. Every alien who shall refuse to shew his passport, or who shall be found not proceeding to the town therein expressed, or who

shall land contrary to his majesty's order, shall be imprisoned for any time not exceeding one month, and afterwards shall depart the realm.

13. Any person forging or altering a passport, or obtaining such passport under any other name than that which he shall have declared to such custom-house officer, &c. or falsely pretending to be the person mentioned in such passport, shall be punished as in the preceding section.

14. Notice of these regulations to be printed in different languages, and affixed in the different ports, and delivered to all foreigners; but proof of such delivery not to be necessary to the conviction of any alien offending against this act.

15. Any alien neglecting to depart the realm when ordered by his majesty so to do, to be committed to the county gaol.

16. Any alien, disobeying such proclamation or order of his majesty, shall be imprisoned for a month, and then to depart the realm within a time to be limited; and if found within the realm after such time, to be transported for life.

17. Any secretary of state, who shall apprehend that immediate obedience will not be paid to such proclamation, may give any alien in charge to one of his majesty's messengers, to be conducted out of the kingdom.

18. His majesty, by order in council, or order under the royal sign manual, may order any alien arrived since the 1st of January 1792, or arriving hereafter (except alien merchants and servants of British subjects), to reside in such districts as his majesty shall think necessary; and aliens disobeying such

such order, to be committed to the county gaol.

19. Every alien who has arrived in England since the 1st of January 1792, shall, within ten days from the 10th of January 1793, and every alien arriving in future shall, within ten days after his arrival at the place expressed in his passport, deliver to the chief magistrate where he shall be, or, if no chief magistrate, to a justice of peace of the district, an account in writing of his name, rank, occupation, and place of abode, and the place of his residence for six months preceding, and take a certificate thereof; and in case of neglect or refusal to make such declaration, or of delivering a false account, to be imprisoned.

20. Magistrates may summon aliens, suspected of not having delivered such accounts, before them, and cause them to be arrested.

21. Any justice of the peace, mayor, or chief magistrate, may, by notice in writing, require of any housekeeper within their district an account in writing of the names, rank, and occupation, of all aliens resident in their houses.

22. Copies of accounts delivered to custom-house officers, &c. and of passports and certificates granted by magistrates, to be transmitted to one of the secretaries of state.

23. The justices of the courts of Westminster may admit aliens to bail.

24. As may also any justice of peace, by authority of the secretary of state.

25. All aliens, arrived in this kingdom since the 1st of January 1792, shall, if within the limits of the bills of mortality, or the parishes of Marybone, Pancras, and Chelsea, on the 10th of January

1793, or if out of those limits, within ten days from the said 10th of January, and every alien arriving in future shall, within ten days after his arrival, give to some neighbouring magistrate an account of all weapons, arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, in their possession, and shall, within three days from such notice, deliver up to such magistrate all such weapons, &c. except such only which they shall have licence to keep from one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. And it shall not be lawful for any such alien, after such delivery, to buy, or to have in his possession, or in the possession of others for his use, any weapons, &c. And any person, neglecting or refusing to obey the above directions, shall, on conviction, be judged to depart this realm, and if found therein after such time, shall be transported.

26. Magistrates may require aliens resident in their jurisdictions, or passing through the same, to deliver up all weapons, &c. in their possession, under pain of being ordered to depart the realm.

27. Any of his majesty's secretaries of state, or any two justices of peace, or any mayor or chief magistrate, may cause any house, rented or occupied by any aliens, (except alien merchants), and any house in which any alien shall be a lodger or inmate, to be searched in the day-time, in the presence of a peace-officer, in order to discover any weapons, &c. and to seize the same.

28. And may require, from housekeepers where aliens may lodge, an account in writing of all weapons, &c. in their houses.

29. His majesty may send out of the

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 113

the realm any alien who shall have been committed to any gaol as aforesaid for any offence against this act.

30. If any alien so sent out of the realm shall return, he shall, on conviction thereof, be transported for life.

31. In all questions respecting offences against this act, the proof to lie on the party accused.

32. No person to be deemed an alien merchant, except he shall be *bona fide* engaged in carrying on trade, and seeking his living thereby.

33. Foreign ambassadors and their servants duly registered, and persons naturalized, excepted out of this act.

34. Aliens not fourteen years old excepted.

35. Certificates and passports to be given *gratis*.

36. Fresh passports or certificates may be granted where the former ones are lost or mislaid.

37. Persons adjudged to be transported, to be sent to such places as his majesty shall direct.

38. If any person, ordered or adjudged to be transported, shall be found at large within this realm, or, after sentence of transportation pronounced, he shall be guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy.

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1793.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
January	5 10	3 8	2 2	4 4
February	5 9	3 8	2 2	4 2
March	6 1	3 10	2 5	4 5
April	6 3	3 11	2 4	4 5
May	6 7	3 11	2 7	4 7
June	6 5	4 1	2 9	4 6
July	6 4	3 11	3 0	4 9
August	6 4	4 0	2 11	4 11
September	6 0	4 0	2 9	4 10
October	5 7	4 0	2 7	4 10
November	5 10	3 8	2 6	4 9
December	6 0	4 4	3 1	5 1
Gen. Average	6 1	3 11	2 7½	4 7½

STATE PAPERS.

Note sent by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville.

THE undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honour to communicate to his excellency Lord Grenville, the instructions which he has received from the executive council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic majesty's secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, in case he should believe that he could not sufficiently soon obtain an interview with that minister.

The French government, by continuing, since the recall of lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London its minister plenipotentiary, conceived that it gave his Britannic majesty an unequivocal proof of the desire it had to continue to live upon good terms with him, and to dispel those clouds which the events, necessary and inherent to the internal regulations of France, appeared at that time to have occasioned. The intentions of the executive council of France, with regard to England, have not ceased to be the same; but it has not been able to see with indifference the public conduct which the British ministry maintains at present towards France. It is with regret that it has remarked in this con-

duct a character of ill-will, to which it is yet unwilling to give credit. It has however felt, that its duty to the French nation required it no longer to leave it in a state of uncertainty, into which it had been thrown by several measures recently adopted by the British government—an uncertainty which must be shared by the British nation, and which is equally unworthy of both countries.

The executive council of the French Republic has, in consequence, authorised the minister of France at London to demand with openness of the ministers of his Britannic majesty, if France ought to consider England as a neutral power, or as an enemy; and it has especially charged him to obtain a definitive answer upon this point.

But, in asking from the ministers of his Britannic majesty a frank and open explanation as to their intentions with regard to France, the executive council is unwilling that they should have the smallest remaining doubt as to the disposition of France towards England, and as to its desire of remaining in peace with her: it has even been desirous of answering beforehand all the reproaches which they may be tempted to make in justification of a rupture.

On reflecting what may be
the

the reasons which may determine his Britannic majesty to break with the French republic, the executive council has been able to find no other than a false interpretation, which is, perhaps, given to the decree of the national convention of the 19th of November. If a real alarm has been occasioned by this decree, it can have arisen only for want of understanding its true sense. The national convention never meant that the French republic should favour insurrections, should espouse the quarrels of a few seditious persons, or in a word, should endeavour to excite disturbances in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by all the French. It cannot be imputed to the national convention without doing it injustice. —This decree then is applicable only to those people who, after having acquired their liberty by conquest, may have demanded the fraternity, the assistance of the republic, by the solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will.

France ought and will respect, not only the independence of England, but even that of those of her allies with whom she is not at war. The undersigned has therefore been charged formally to declare, that she will not attack Holland so long as that power shall, on its side, confine itself towards her within the bounds of an exact neutrality.

The British government being thus set at its ease upon these two points, no pretence for the smallest difficulty could remain, except as to the question of the opening of the Scheldt; a question irrevocably decided by reason and by justice, of small importance in itself, and

on which the opinion of England, and perhaps of Holland itself, is sufficiently known, to render it difficult seriously to make it the single subject of a war. Should, however, the British ministry avail itself of this last motive, as a cause of declaring war against France, would it not, in such case, be probable, that its secret intention must have been, at all events, to bring on a rupture, and that it made use, at the present moment, of the vainest of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression, long ago determined upon?

On this unfortunate supposition, which the executive council rejects, the undersigned would be authorised forcibly to support the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmness, that this free and powerful people will accept the war, and repel with indignation an aggression so manifestly unjust, and so little provoked on its part. When every explanation, calculated to demonstrate the purity of the intentions of France, when all peaceable and conciliatory measures shall have been exhausted by her, it is evident that all the weight, all the responsibility of the war, will fall sooner or later on those who shall have provoked it. It will, in fact, be nothing but a war of the administration alone against the French republic; and, if this truth could for a moment appear doubtful, it would not perhaps be impossible for France speedily to convince of this a nation which, in bestowing its confidence, has never renounced the exercise of its reason or its respect for truth and justice.

Such are the instructions which

the undersigned has received orders to communicate officially to his excellency lord Grenville, inviting him, as well as the whole council of his Britannic majesty, to weigh, with the most serious attention, the declarations and the demands which they contain. It is evident that the French nation is desirous of maintaining peace with England; she affords a proof of this, by lending herself frankly and openly to dissipate all the suspicions which so many different passions and prejudices are unceasingly at work to raise up against her; but the more she shall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of her views, and of the justice of her intentions, the more will she have a right to expect no longer to be misunderstood.

The undersigned has orders to demand a written answer to the present note. He hopes that the ministers of his Britannic majesty will be brought back, by the explanations which it contains, to ideas more favourable to the reunion of the two countries, and that they will not have occasion, for the purpose of returning to them, to consider the terrible responsibility of a declaration of war, which will incontestibly be their own work, the consequences of which cannot be otherwise than fatal to the two countries, and to human nature in general, and in which a generous and free people cannot long consent to betray their own interests, by serving as an auxiliary and a reinforcement to a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed) "F. CHAUVELIN.
Portman Square, Dec. 27, 1792,
the first year of the republic."

Answer of Lord Grenville to the preceding Note.

Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1792.

I HAVE received, sir, from you a note, in which, styling yourself minister plenipotentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's secretary of state, the instructions which you state to have yourself received from the executive council of the French republic. You are not ignorant, that since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the king has thought proper to suspend all official communication with France. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the king, than in the name of his most christian majesty. The proposition of receiving a minister accredited by any other authority or power in France, would be a new question, which, whenever it should occur, the king would have the right to decide according to the interests of his subjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general system of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, sir, in express and formal terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of a minister from his most christian majesty, and that consequently, you cannot be admitted to treat with the king's ministers in the quality, and under the form stated in your note.

But observing that you have entered into explanations of some of the circumstances which have given to England such strong grounds of uneasiness and jealousy, and that you speak of these explanations, as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer, I have been unwilling to convey to you

you the notification stated above, without at the same time explaining myself clearly and distinctly on the subject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

Your explanations are confined to three points:

The first is that of the decree of the national convention of the 19th of November, in the expressions of which all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you represent as injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the convention itself. And the application of these principles to the king's dominions has been shewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since on several different occasions.

Yet, notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumstances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations, and such a conduct, as would have satisfied the dignity and honour of England, with respect to what has already passed, and would have offered a sufficient security in future for the maintenance of that respect towards the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

Neither this satisfaction, nor this security, is found in the terms of an explanation which still declares to the promoters of sedition in every country, what are the cases in which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France; and which reserves to that country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs whenever she shall judge it proper, and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage disorder and revolt in every country. No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the respect which is reciprocally due from independent nations, nor how repugnant to those principles which the king has followed, on his part, by abstaining at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France. And this contrast is alone sufficient to shew, not only that England cannot consider such an explanation as satisfactory, but that she must look upon it as a fresh avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an uneasiness and jealousy.

I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general dispositions of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of the convention and its officers relative to the Scheldt. The declaration which you there make, "that France will not attack Holland so long as that power shall observe an exact neutrality," is conceived nearly in the same terms with that which you was charged to make in the name of his most christian majesty in the month of June last.

Since

Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be employed in the service of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic, in going up the Scheldt to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithstanding the determination of the Government not to grant this passage, and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was made, the convention has thought itself authorized to annul the rights of the republic, exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the same treaties by which her independence is secured. And at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the same terms the promise of respecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

It is not, certainly, on such a declaration as this, that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

But I am unwilling to leave, without a more particular reply, what you say on the subject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant, that here the utmost importance is attached

to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them; and that not only those principles, and those consequences, will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force.

France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

England will never consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments,

governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

With respect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the conduct of England towards France, I cannot discuss it, because you speak of it in general terms only, without alleging a single fact. All Europe has seen the justice and the generosity which have characterised the conduct of the king: his majesty has always been desirous of peace: he desires it still, but such as may be real, and solid, and consistent with the interests and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general security of Europe.

On the rest of your paper I say nothing.—As to what relates to me and to my colleagues, the king's ministers owe to his majesty the account of their conduct; and I have no answer to give you on this subject, any more than on that of the appeal which you propose to make to the English nation. This nation, according to that constitution by which its liberty and its prosperity are secured, and which it will always be able to defend against every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign powers connexion or correspondence, except through the organ of its king; of a king whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an instant separated his rights, his interests, and his happiness, from the rights, the interests, and the happiness of his people.

(Signed)

“GRENVILLE.”

Official Note of the Executive Power of France, in Answer to that of the British Minister.

Paris, Jan. 7, 1793.

Second year of the republic.

THE provisory executive council of the French republic, previous to their answering, in a more particular manner, each of the heads comprised in the note which has been remitted to them on the part of the ministry of his Britannic majesty, shall begin by renewing to the said ministry the most express assurances of their sincere desire of preserving peace and harmony between France and England.

The sentiments of the French nation towards the English have been manifested, during the whole course of the revolution, in so constant, so unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the smallest doubt of the esteem which it has vowed them, and of its desire of having them for friends. It is, therefore, with the greatest repugnance the republic would see herself forced to a rupture, much more contrary to her own inclination than her interest. Before we come to such an extremity, explanations are necessary; and the matter is of so high an importance, that the executive council did not think it proper to trust it to the ever-unacknowledged ministry of a secret agent; hence they have deemed it to be expedient in all points to charge citizen Chauvelin with it, though he be no otherwise acknowledged before his Britannic majesty than on the late king's account.

The opinion of the executive council was justified on this occasion,

sion, by the manner in which our negotiations were at the same time transacted in Spain, where citizen Burgoing was exactly in the same situation as citizen Chauvelin at London; yet this did not prevent the ministers of his catholic majesty from treating with him for a convention of neutrality, the declaration of which is to be exchanged at Paris between the minister for foreign affairs and the Spanish chargé d'affaires. We will even add, that the prime minister of his catholic majesty, in writing officially on this subject to citizen Burgoing, did not forget to give him his title of Minister Plenipotentiary from France. The example of a power of the first order, such as Spain, induced the executive council to hope to find the same facility at London. However, the executive council freely own, that this demand of negotiations has not all the rigour of diplomatic form, and that citizen Chauvelin is not regularly enough authorized. In order to remove this obstacle entirely, to discard every reproach of having stopped, by a single want of formality, a negotiation on the success of which the tranquillity of two great nations is depending, they have taken the resolution of sending letters of credence to citizen Chauvelin, which would furnish him with the means of treating in all the severity of diplomatic form.

Now, to come to the three points which can alone make an object of difficulty at the court of London, the executive council observe, respecting the first, which is the decree of the 19th of November, that we have not been properly understood by the ministry of his Britannic majesty, when

they accuse us of having given a declaration which announces to the seditious of all nations which are the cases in which they may depend previously on the support and assistance of France. Nothing could be more strange than this reproach to the sentiments of the national convention, and to the construction we have laid on it; and we did not think that it were possible we should be charged with the open design of favouring the seditious, even at the moment when we declare, that *it would be wronging the national convention, if they were charged with the project of protecting mobs, and with the commotions that may break out in any corner of a state, to join the ring-leaders; and to make thus the cause of a few private individuals that of the French nation.*

We have said, and we have to repeat it to you, that the decree of the 19th of November could not have any application, unless in the sole case in which the *general will* of a nation, *clearly and unequivocally expressed*, should call the French nation to its assistance and *fraternity*. Sedition can certainly never be construed into *the general will*. These two ideas mutually repel each other; since a sedition is not and cannot be any other than the movement of a small number against the nation at large; and this movement would cease to be seditious, provided all the members of a society should at once rise, either to correct their government, or to change its form *in toto*, or for any other object.

The Dutch were assuredly not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of shaking off the yoke of Spain, and when the general

general will of that nation called for the assistance of France. It was not made a crime in Henry the Fourth, or in Elizabeth of England, to have listened to them. The knowledge of *the general will* is the only basis of the transactions of nations with each other; and we can only treat with any government whatever on this principle, that such a government is deemed the organ of *the general will of the nation governed*.

Thus, when by this natural interpretation, the decree of the 19th of November is reduced to what it truly implies, it will be found that it announces more than one act of the general will, and that beyond any doubt; and so effectually founded in right, that it was scarcely worth the trouble to express it. On this account the executive council think that the evidence of this right might perhaps have been dispensed with by the national convention, and did not deserve to be made the object of a particular decree. But with the interpretation which precedes it, it can molest no nation whatever.

It appears that the ministers of his Britannic majesty have objected nothing to the declaration relative to Holland, since the simple observation made by them on that subject, belongs to the discussion of the Scheldt. It is this last point, therefore, to which we are confined.

We repeat it, this question is of itself of little moment. The ministers of Great Britain conclude, that "*it only serves to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward merely for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, &c.*" We shall

reply with much less warmth and prejudice, that this question is absolutely indifferent to England; that it is of little importance to Holland; but that it is extremely important to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, it is not necessary to prove; and its trivial import to Holland is evinced by this fact, that the productions of the Belgians flow equally by the canals which terminate at Ostend. Its great importance to the Belgians is proved by the numerous advantages the port of Antwerp presents to them. It is therefore on account of this importance—it is to restore to the Belgians the enjoyment of so precious a right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared herself ready to support them in the exercise of so legitimate a right.

But is France authorised to break the stipulations which are opposed to the liberty of the Scheldt? If the rights of nature and those of nations are consulted, and not France alone, all the nations of Europe are authorised to do it—there can be no doubt of it.

If we consult public law, we shall say, that it ought to be nothing but the application of the principles of the general rights of nations to the particular circumstances in which nations are placed with regard to each other, inso-much that every particular treaty which hurts such principles, can only be regarded as the work of violence. We moreover add, in relation to the Scheldt, that this treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians. The emperor, to secure the possession of the Low Countries, sacrificed, without scruple, the most inviolable of rights.

rights. Master of those fine provinces, he governed them, as Europe has seen, with the rod of absolute despotism; respected only those of their privileges which it imported him to preserve; and destroyed or perpetually struggled against the rest. France enters into war with the house of Austria, expels it from the Low Countries, and calls back to Freedom these people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to slavery; the chains are broken; they re-enter into all the rights which the house of Austria had taken away from them. How can that which they possessed with respect to the Scheldt be excepted, particularly when the right is only of importance to those who are deprived of it? For what remains, France has too good a profession of political faith, to be afraid to avow the principles of it. The executive council declares, not with a view of yielding to some expressions of threatening language, but solely to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not intend to erect itself into *an universal arbitress of the treaties which bind nations*. She well knows how to respect other governments, as she will take care to make her own respected. She does not wish to impose laws upon any one, and will not suffer any one to impose laws upon her. She has renounced, and again renounces, every conquest, and her occupation of the Low Countries shall only continue during the war, and the time which may be necessary to the Belgians to ensure and consolidate their liberties; after which they shall be independent and happy; France will find her recompence in their felicity.

When that nation shall be found in the full enjoyment of liberty, when its general will can legally declare itself without shackles, then, if England and Holland still attach some importance to the opening of the Scheldt, they may put the affair into a direct negotiation with Belgia. If the Belgians, by any motives whatever, consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it; she will know how to respect their independence, even in their errors.

After so frank a declaration, which manifests such a sincere desire of peace, his Britannic majesty's ministers ought not to have any doubt with regard to the intentions of France. If her explanations are yet insufficient, and if we are yet obliged to hear a haughty language; if hostile preparations are yet continued in the English ports; after having exhausted every means to preserve peace, we will prepare for war, with a sense of the justice of our cause, and of our efforts to avoid this extremity:—We will fight the English, whom we esteem, with regret, but without fear.

(Signed)

LE BRUN.

Note from Citizen Chauvelin to Lord Grenville.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French republic has transmitted to the executive council the answer given by lord Grenville to his note of the 27th of December. He thought that he ought not to wait for the instructions which would be the necessary

necessary result of that communication, to transmit to that minister the new orders, which he has received from the executive council. The declaration made by lord Grenville, that his British majesty did not acknowledge him as a minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, he considered ought not to prevent him. This declaration could not in any respect alter or annul the quality of delegate of the French government, with which the undersigned was evidently invested, or preclude him, especially in circumstances so decisive, from addressing to the ministers of his Britannic majesty the following note, in the name of the French people, of whom he is the organ:—

The executive council of the French republic is informed, that the British parliament are preparing a law respecting foreigners, the rigorous regulations of which will subject them to the most arbitrary measures, as it will be in the power of the secretaries of state of his Britannic majesty, either to relax or extend them according to their own views and pleasure.—The executive council, knowing the religious fidelity of the English people in fulfilling their engagements, ought to have supposed that the French would be positively exempted from this law. The treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in 1786 between the two nations ought formally to have guaranteed them. This treaty article 4th, enacts, "That it should be free for subjects and inhabitants of the respective states of the two sovereigns to come and go freely, and in security, without any permission or passport, general or special, either by land or sea, and

to return, to sojourn, or to pass, and also to purchase or acquire as they shall choose, all things necessary for their subsistence and for their use, and they shall be treated reciprocally with all sort of kindness and favour, provided nevertheless," &c. &c. &c.

But instead of finding in the proposed bill a just exception in favour of France, the executive council is convinced, by the positive declarations in the two houses of parliament, by the explanations and interpretations of ministers, that this law, under a general designation, is chiefly directed against the French.

When they have proposed a law which would thus positively violate the treaty of commerce, when they have loudly manifested their intention of carrying it into execution against the French alone, their first care ought to have been without doubt, to endeavour to cover this extraordinary measure with an appearance of necessity, and to prepare beforehand a justification, sooner or later necessary, by loading the French nation with reproaches; by representing them to the English people as enemies to their constitution, and to their tranquillity; by accusing them, without being able to furnish any proof, and in terms the most injurious, of having endeavoured to foment disturbances in England. The executive council have already repulsed with indignation such suspicions. If some persons, driven from France, have taken refuge in Great Britain, with a criminal intention of exciting the people, and inducing them to revolt, has not England laws to protect the public order? Cannot it exercise proper severity against them?

The

The republic surely has not interfered in their favour. Such men are not Frenchmen.

Reproaches so little founded, imputations so insidious, will scarcely be able to justify in the eyes of Europe a conduct which, when contrasted with that which France has constantly held with respect to Great Britain, will be sufficiently proved to be unjust and malevolent. Not only the French nation, since it became free, has sufficiently testified by every form its desire of being on a good understanding with the English people, but have realized this wish as far as they could, by uniting to themselves as allies and brothers all the individuals of the English nation. Amidst the combat of liberty and despotism, amidst the most violent agitations, they have, to their honour, observed the most religious respect to all foreigners residing among them, and particularly all Englishmen, whatever were their opinions, their conduct, their connexions with the enemies of liberty: 'every where they have been aided and succoured with all sort of benevolence and favour.' And in recompense of this generous conduct, the French find themselves subjected to an act of parliament, by which is granted to the English government against foreigners the most arbitrary latitude of authority: to an act which obliges them to have permission or passports to enter, depart, and remain in England;—which empowers secretaries of state to enforce against them, without any motive, and upon a mere suspicion, the most odious forms; to fix the bounds of their residence, beyond which they cannot pass; and even

to expel them at their will from the territory of Britain.

It is evident that all these clauses are contrary to the letter of the treaty of commerce, the fourth article of which extends to all Frenchmen indiscriminately; and there is but too much reason to fear that, in consequence of the determination which his Britannic majesty has formed of breaking off all communication between the governments of the two countries, even the French merchants will find it impossible for them to enjoy the exception which the bill has established in favour of those who *shall prove that they have come to England* for the purpose of commerce. It is thus that the British government have first attempted to break a treaty to which England owes a great part of its present prosperity, disadvantageous to France, obtained by address and management from the ignorance or corruption of the agents of that government which they have now destroyed; a treaty which nevertheless they have religiously observed: at the very moment when France has been accused in the British parliament of violating treaties, the public conduct of the two governments presents a contrast which authorises them vigorously to retort the accusation.

All the powers of Europe will undoubtedly have a right to complain of the rigour of the bill, if it ever obtain the force of a law; but it is France especially, the inhabitants of which, guaranteed from its penalties by a solemn treaty, appear nevertheless to be exclusively menaced by these penalties, which has the right to demand a satis-

satisfaction the most speedy and complete. The executive council might immediately have accepted the rupture of the treaty, which the English government seems to have offered; but they were unwilling to precipitate any of their measures, and before publishing their definitive resolution, were desirous to afford to the British ministry an opportunity of a frank and candid explanation. In consequence the undersigned has received orders to demand of Lord Grenville, to inform him by a clear, speedy, and categorical answer, if, under the general denomination of foreigners in the bill preparing by parliament, upon the proposition of a member of administration, the government of Great Britain mean likewise to include the French.

(Signed) CHAUVELIN.

*Portman-square, Jan. 7, 1793.
Second Year of the French Republic.*

*Reply by Lord Grenville to Mons.
Chauvelin.*

AFTER the formal notification which the undersigned has had the honour of making to M. Chauvelin, he finds himself obliged to send back to him the paper which he received this morning, and which he cannot consider otherwise than as totally inadmissible, M. Chauvelin assuming in it a character which is not acknowledged.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

*Letter from Lord Grenville to M.
Chauvelin.*

Whitehall, Jan. 18, 1793.

IHAVE examined, Sir, with the utmost attention, the paper you

remitted to me on the 13th of this month. I cannot help remarking, that I have found nothing satisfactory in the result of it. The explanations which it contains are nearly reduced to the same point which I have already replied to at length. The declaration of wishing to intermeddle with the affairs of other countries is therein renewed. No denial is made, nor reparation is offered, for the outrageous proceedings I stated to you in my letter of December 31; and the right of infringing treaties, and violating the rights of our allies, is still maintained, by solely offering an illusory negotiation upon this subject, which is put off, as well as the evacuation of the Low Countries by the French armies, to the indefinite term, not only of the conclusion of the war, but likewise of the consolidation of what is called the liberty of the Belgians.

It is added, that if these explanations appear insufficient to us, if you should again be obliged to hear an haughty tone of language; if hostile preparations should continue in the ports of England—after having tried every effort to preserve peace, you will then make dispositions for war.

If this notification, or that relative to the treaty of commerce, had been made to me under a regular and official form, I should have found myself under the necessity of replying to it, that to threaten Great Britain with a declaration of war, because she judged it expedient to augment her forces, and also to declare that a solemn treaty should be broken because England adopted, for her own safety, such precautions as already exist in France, would only be considered,
both

both the one and the other, as new grounds of offence, which, as long as they should subsist, would prove a bar to every kind of negociation.

Under this form of extra-official communication, I think I may yet be permitted to tell you, not in a tone of haughtiness, but of firmness, that these explanations are not considered sufficient; and that all the motives which gave rise to the preparations still continue. These motives are already known to you by my letter of December 31, in which I marked, in precise terms, what those dispositions were which could alone maintain peace and a good understanding. I do not see that it can be useful to the object of conciliation to enter into a discussion with you on separate points under the present circumstances, as I have already acquainted you with my opinion concerning them. If you have any explanations to give me under the same extra official form, which will embrace all the objects contained in my letter of the 31st of December, as well as all the points which relate to the present crisis with England, her allies, and the general system of Europe, I shall willingly attend to them.

I think it, however, my duty to inform you, in the most positive terms, in answer to what you tell me on the subject of our preparations, that under the present circumstances all those measures will be continued which may be judged necessary to place us in a state of protecting the safety, tranquillity, and the rights of this country, as well as to guarantee those of our allies; and to set up a barrier to those views of ambition and aggrandizement, dangerous at all

times to the rest of Europe, but which become still more so, being supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

From M. Chauvelin, to Lord Grenville.

*Portman square, 17th Jan.
1793, 2d Year of the
French Republic.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour of addressing myself to you, to beg of you to grant me an interview. I shall proceed to explain the motives of this request, and you will judge them to be such as will not admit of delay. I shall first desire of you, my lord, security for my communications with the French government. Whatever may be the character which you acknowledge me to possess, you have, at least, never doubted of the authenticity of the declarations which I have transmitted to you in the name of the French nation. I will therefore propose to you, my lord, either absolutely to refuse hearing me, or to give orders for my couriers to be respected, and the secrecy of my letters, as well as those sent as received, to be observed.

I will then, my lord, require to be informed, whether his Britannic majesty will receive my letters of credence, and if he be satisfied with the declarations contained in the paper which I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship last Sunday. I have not only received fresh orders from the executive council of France, to insist upon a speedy and definitive answer; but there is yet another reason which urgently presses for the decision of his

his Britannic majesty. I have learnt this day, that the law relating to foreigners obliges them to make their declaration within ten days after the 10th of January; and, in case of any foreigner, who is amenable to this law, neglecting or refusing to make such declaration, the magistrates of this country would be authorized not only to require him to do so, but even to imprison him. I know, my lord, and all those who understand the rights of nations know it also, that I cannot be implicated in this law. The avowed and acknowledged organ of a government which executes laws to which 25 millions of men have submitted themselves, my person is, and ought to be, sacred; and even under my diplomatic character, my lord, I could not be ranked among the general common class of foreigners, until his Britannic majesty should have definitively rejected the letters of credence which he knows I have received for him.

But had I been implicated in this law, I owe to the government of a free and powerful nation, which I represent, this declaration, that it would be impossible for me to submit to it; and that all the persecutions which it might please his Britannic majesty to make me endure, would fall upon the French nation, in whose cause and for whose sake it would be my glory to suffer.

After this candid declaration, my lord, thinking myself entitled to an equal sincerity on your side, I will desire of you, in the conversation which I solicit, to inform me, what is the conduct which his Britannic majesty's ministers mean to hold with respect to me, and with

respect to the persons who compose my household, in consequence of the law against foreigners.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

From Lord Grenville, to M. De Chauvelin.

Whitehall, Jan. 20, 1793.

Sir,

I HAVE received your letter of the 17th instant. I have already apprized you, that his majesty has reserved to himself the right of deciding, according to his judgment, upon the two questions of acknowledging a new form of government in France, and of receiving a minister accredited on the part of some other authority in France than that of his most Christian majesty. In answer to the demand you now make, whether his majesty will receive your new letters of credence, I have to inform you, that under the present circumstances his majesty does not think proper to receive them.

The request you make of me is equally incompatible with the form of an extra-official communication, and that character in which you have hitherto been known as minister of his most Christian majesty.

Nothing then remains for me to say, relative to the subject of your former letter, particularly after what has just happened in France, than to inform you, that as an agent charged with a confidential communication, you ought certainly to have attended to the necessary measures taken by us to secure your letters and couriers; that as minister of his most Christian majesty you would have enjoyed all those exceptions

exceptions which the law affords to public ministers properly acknowledged as such; but, that as an individual, you can only be considered amongst the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

(Sig:ed) GRENVILLE.

Letter from the same to the same, ordering his immediate departure from the realm, Jan. 24.

I AM charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his most Christian majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

The king can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His majesty has thought fit to order, that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his majesty in his privy council has given to this effect.

I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister plenipotentiary from his most Christian majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Message from his Majesty to the Houses of Lords and Commons, Jan. 28.

GEORGE R.

HIS majesty has given directions for laying before the

house of commons copies of several papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; and likewise copies of an order made by his majesty in council, and transmitted by his majesty's command to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

In the present situation of affairs, his majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the house of commons, to enable his majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition, on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are particularly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

G. R.

Protest in the House of Lords against the Address, voted in answer to the preceding Message, Feb. 1.

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE the immediate tendency of the address is to plunge the nation into war.

2. Because we consider war as an evil of such magnitude, that nothing

thing but absolute necessity can justify it.

3. Because we have not heard of any danger to this country which renders war necessary.

4. Because the observance of good faith towards our allies does not require us to engage in war, his majesty's ministers having admitted that Holland has not demanded our interference, and it being notorious, that Prussia has been the aggressor against France.

5. Because, though we feel the utmost horror at the atrocious act of cruelty and injustice mentioned in the address, we think that no injustice, however flagrant, committed in a foreign state, and having no relation to other countries, is a just ground for making war.

6. Because we are more likely to obtain the objects, whether of policy or principle, in the way of negotiation, than war; the aversion of France to break with this country, which has lately stood the test of repeated provocations, putting it in our power at this moment to give peace to all Europe: whereas by entering into the war, we shall put all at stake; we shall be to join a league, whose duration cannot be depended on; our marine will be to act against armed vessels only, and that of the French against a trade which covers every quarter of the globe.

7. Because, in no view of policy can we discover any advantage to be obtained to this country by war, however successful. The experience of our two last wars, has taught us the little value of foreign acquisitions; for having lost America in the last of them, we now enjoy a more beneficial intercourse with it as an independent state,

VOL. XXXV.

than we did when it formed a part of the British dominions.

8. Because we think it the interest of this country to preserve peace with all mankind, but more especially with France.

9. Because, even if it should be thought consonant to the honour and magnanimity of this nation to seek the depression of France, that end will be most effectually promoted, by leaving them to their own internal dissensions, instead of uniting them by a hostile aggression in a common cause, and thus calling forth all their energy.

10. Because, as every war must be concluded by a peace, negotiation must at some time take place, and we must ultimately depend upon the good faith of France, unless we proceed upon a principle of partition, conquest, or extermination.

11. Because the measures now in view will utterly derange our system of finance, our war resources having been applied towards defraying the expence of our peace establishment, in consequence of which our floating unfunded debt, which amounted at the commencement of the American war only to 3,100,000*l.* has accumulated to above ten millions, exclusive of India bonds. Besides which, the additional effect that the late enormous extension of private banking, to an amount unknown; may have upon our public credit, in case of war, is what no one can foresee.

12. Because we dread the increase of those public burthens which already bear so hard on the poorer part of the community, and because we are convinced that nothing can endanger our happy constitution, but an interruption of

K

those

those blessings which it now affords us, by the calamities of an unnecessary war.

LANSDOWNE.
LAUDERDALE.

Dissentient,

For the 1st, 2d, and 3d reasons, and for that part of the 4th beginning with the word (interference); and for the whole of the 5th and 12th reasons.

DERBY.

Protest against a War with France, in consequence of the Rejection of Earl Stanhope's Amendment to the Address to his Majesty moved by Lord Grenville on Friday, Feb. 1, 1793.

Dissentient,

1st, **B**ECAUSE war is a state so unnatural, so barbarous in itself, so calamitous in its effects, so immoral when unnecessary, and so atrocious when unjust, that every friend of humanity should endeavour to avoid it; and the establishment of a pacific system ought to be the first policy of a wise and enlightened nation.

2dly, Because peace is always for the interest of the common people in all countries. And Great Britain and France, from their peculiar situation, have an evident interest to remain at peace with each other.

3dly, Because it is a well-known fact that the people in France are in general extremely desirous to maintain and strengthen, between that country and this, the bonds of amity and friendship. And ever since the overthrow of despotism in France, the commonalty in that nation have such irresistible weight,

that we might rest assured, that as peace with Great Britain is for the interest, and is the wish of the people in France, it would therefore be the constant object of their government, if not first provoked by our ministers, by such acts as the sending away the French ambassador, and expressly refusing to acknowledge their new government.

4thly, Because the old despotic and detestable government in France, from its secrecy, its perfidy, treachery, and restless ambition, has been the fatal cause of many wars in Europe for several centuries past. Therefore any assistance given on the part of our government to any power in Europe that is endeavouring to restore that tyrannical form of government in France, is injurious to the true interests of this country. And the people of France have, moreover, as just a right to enjoy civil liberty as ourselves.

5thly, Because a war with France is at present most impolitic, extremely dangerous to our allies the Dutch, hazardous with respect to the internal peace, and external power of this country, and is likely to be highly injurious to our commerce, which is the great source of our wealth, naval strength, and prosperity; and any material interruption to the trade, manufactures, and industry of this kingdom, may, at this time, be attended with consequences the most fatal. The war may, therefore, prove to be a war against our commerce and manufactures, against the proprietors of our funds, against our paper currency, and against every description of property in this country.

6thly, Because every man of feeling must exceedingly lament the

the numerous taxes and oppressive burthens already borne by the people of this kingdom, and also the present high price of various necessary articles of life; and if an unwise system of policy be pursued, it must inevitably increase those burthens, and eventually put those necessities of life beyond the reach of the laborious part of the community.

And 7thly, Because these misfortunes ought the more to be deprecated, as it clearly appears that it would still be most easy to avoid them, if our ministers were to prefer a mild, just, and pacific system, to the horrors of war, carnage, and devastation.

(Signed) STANHOPE.

Memorial presented by Lord Auckland, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces.

High and mighty lords,

THE undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty hastens, in consequence of the express orders of the king, to lay before your high mightinesses copies of all the papers which have been exchanged from the 27th of December last, to the 20th of this month, betwixt lord Grenville, his Britannic majesty's secretary of state, and M. Chauvelin.

The king, high and mighty lords, is in the firm persuasion, that the sentiments and principles expressed in the name of Great Britain, are perfectly congenial with those

which animate your republic, and that your high mightinesses are disposed to concur fully in those measures, which the actual crisis of affairs requires, and which are a necessary consequence of these sentiments and these principles.

The circumstances which have involved us in this crisis are too recent, and the conduct of the king too well known, to render it necessary for the undersigned to enter at this time into any long details.

It is not yet above four years since some unfortunate individuals, assuming to themselves the name of *philosophers*, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. And in order to realize this *reverie* of their vanity, they thought it became them to overturn and destroy all the received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have been hitherto the safety, the happiness, and the consolation of mankind. Their plans of destruction have succeeded but too well; but the effects of this new system, which they have wished to introduce, have only served to demonstrate the futility and wickedness of its contrivers.—The events which have succeeded each other with so much rapidity, since its beginning, surpass in atrocity all that has yet appeared in history. Property, liberty, security, life itself, have been sacrificed to misguided passions, to the spirit of plunder, to hatred, and the most cruel and unnatural ambition. The annals of mankind do not present an epocha, where, in so short a space of time, so many crimes have been committed, so

many misfortunes have been occasioned, so many tears have been shed; in short, at this time, these horrors appear to have come to their full extent.

During all this period, the king surrounded by his people, who enjoyed by Divine Providence an unexampled prosperity, could not view the misfortunes of others without feeling sentiments of pity and indignation. But true to his principles, his majesty could not allow himself to intermeddle in the internal affairs of a foreign nation. He has never deviated from that system of neutrality which he first adopted. This conduct, which the king has seen with pleasure observed equally by your high mightinesses, the good faith of which all Europe has acknowledged, and which ought to be respected above all other titles, has not been able to put his majesty, his people, and this republic, out of the reach of the most criminal and dangerous designs.

For some months past, projects of ambition and aggrandizement, alarming to the tranquillity and safety of all Europe, have been publicly avowed; attempts have been made to spread, both in the internal parts of England and in this country, maxims subversive of all social order; and the abettors of such designs have not been ashamed to give to these detestable attempts, the name of the revolutionary power. Solemn and ancient treaties, guaranteed by the king, have been broken; and the rights and territory of the republic have been violated.—His majesty now thinks, in his wisdom, that he ought to make preparations pro-

portioned to the nature of circumstances. The king has consulted his parliament; and the measures which his majesty has thought proper to take have been confirmed by the unanimous sentiments of a people, who abhor anarchy and irreligion; who love the king and respect their constitution.

These are, high and mighty lords, the motives of a conduct, the wisdom and equity of which have assured hitherto to the king your concert and your co-operation. — His majesty, in all that he has done, has constantly studied to maintain the rights and security of the United Provinces.

The declaration which the undersigned had the honour to transmit to your high mightinesses on the 13th of November last, and the arrival of a small squadron, destined to protect the rights of the republic, while he was assembling his maritime forces, are sufficient proofs of this. Your high mightinesses have acknowledged these intentions of the king, in so far as his majesty has already acted. They will be found no less honourable in the measures which are preparing. In consequence, his majesty is persuaded, that he shall continue to experience, on the part of your high mightinesses, a perfect conformity of principles and conduct. This conformity will alone give to the united efforts of the two countries, their necessary energy for their common defence, in opposing a barrier to the evils with which Europe is threatened, and preserve from every attempt, the safety, the tranquillity, and the independence of a state, the happiness of which your high mightinesses assure,

sure, by the wisdom and firmness of its government.

Given at the Hague, the 25th
day of Jan. 1793.
(Signed) AUCKLAND.

[Lord Auckland afterwards addressed a second memorial, dated Jan. 28, to the United States, merely to inform them of the manner in which M. Chauvelin was dismissed from this country.]

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, Feb. 11.

GEORGE R.

HIS majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of lords, that the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, declared war against his majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the house of lords, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war; and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the farther progress of a system which strikes at the security

and peace of independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

In a cause of such general concern, his majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe.
G. R.

The Will of Louis the Sixteenth, late King of the French, written by himself.

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, this 21st day of December 1793.

I LOUIS XVI. of that name, king of France, being for more than four months shut up in the tower of the Temple of Paris, by those who were formerly my subjects, and being even deprived of all communications with my family from the first instant, moreover implicated in a trial, the issue of which, from the nature of human passions, it is impossible to foresee, and for which there is no pretence nor justification, in any existing law; having only God to be witness to my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself:

I hereby declare in his presence, my last wishes and sentiments.

I leave my soul to God, my Creator.—I entreat him in mercy to receive it and not to judge it according to its deserts, but according to those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered

offered himself up a sacrifice to God, his father, for us men, however unworthy we might be, and acknowledge myself to be among the most so.

I die in union with our holy mother, the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, which holds its powers in uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ entrusted them; and I believe every thing contained in the symbol and commandments of God and the church, the sacraments and mysteries, as now and ever taught by the Catholic church.—I never pretended to set myself up as a judge of the different modes of interpreting the dogmas which agitate the church of Jesus Christ; but I have always submitted, and shall always submit, should God grant me life, to the decisions which the ecclesiastical superiors, united with the holy Catholic church, have given, or may give, conformably to the discipline of the church; as followed since Jesus Christ. I pity with all my heart, our brethren who may be in error; but I presume not to judge them, nor do I love them less in Jesus Christ, agreeably to the instructions of Christian charity. I pray God to pardon all my sins, which I have endeavoured scrupulously to recollect to express my detestation of them, and humiliate myself in his presence. Deprived of the assistance of a Catholic priest, I entreat of God to receive the confession which I have made to him, and particularly my profound repentance of having signed my name, although strongly against my will, to instruments which may be contrary to the faith and discipline of the Catholic church, to which I have in my heart continued sincere-

ly attached. I pray God to receive my firm resolution, should he grant me life, to avail myself as soon as I can, of the ministry of a Catholic priest, to confess all my sins, and receive the sacrament of repentance.

I entreat all those whom I have inadvertently offended (for I know not of one wilful offence which I have committed against any one), or to those to whom I may have set a bad and improper example, to pardon the evil which they conceive I may have done them.

I entreat all those who have charity, to unite their prayers with mine, to obtain a pardon of God for my sins.

I forgive, from my heart, all those who became my enemies without cause, and I entreat God to pardon them, as well as those, who from false or misguided zeal have done me much injury.

I recommend to God, my wife and my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are connected with me by the ties of blood, or otherwise. I moreover particularly implore God to cast an eye of mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have so long suffered with me, to support them with his grace, should I be destroyed, and as long as they remain in this perishable world.

I recommend my children to my wife. Her maternal tenderness in their behalf I never doubted; but I particularly desire her to make them good and honest christians, not to suffer them to regard the grandeurs of this world, should they be condemned to experience them, otherwise than as dangerous and perishable possessions; and to turn

I recommend to the care of my miserable victims, in their attachment, all those persons who were at present. I also recommend them to

for those attentions, which I have had every reason to applaud, since he has been with me. As he has continued with me to the last, I entreat the gentlemen of the commune to give him my clothes, books, watch, my purse, and other little articles, which were deposited with the council of the commune.

I pardon also most heartily those who guarded me, the ill usage and restraint which they thought it their duty to adopt towards me. I have found some tender and compassionate friends: may they enjoy in their hearts that tranquillity which their mode of thinking always bestows.

I request Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, to receive my utmost acknowledgments and expressions of gratitude, for the care and anxieties they have sustained on my account.

I conclude, by declaring before God, and at the eve of appearing before his tribunal, that I am innocent of the charges alledged, nor have I to reproach myself with any one of the crimes of which I have been accused.

Given in duplicate at the tower of the Temple, the 25th of Dec. 1792.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

A true copy.

Witness,

BAUDRAIS,
Municipal officer.

DECLARATION OF THE REGENT OF FRANCE.

*Lewis Stanislaus Xavier, of France,
Son of France, Uncle to the pre-*

sent King, and Regent of the Kingdom—To all those who may peruse these presents, Greeting.

WHEREAS the most criminal of men have, by the perpetration of the most atrocious of crimes, completed the weight of their iniquities; We, struck with horror on receiving the information, have invoked the Almighty to enable us by his gracious assistance, to suppress the emotions of our just indignation, caused by the sentiments of the profound grief which had overwhelmed us; to the end that we might the better fulfil those essential duties that are, in circumstances so weighty, the first in order among those obligations which the unchangeable laws of the French monarch impose upon us.

The fierce usurpers of the sovereign authority in France, having, on the 21st day of the present month of January, laid violent hands on, and barbarously murdered our dearly-beloved and highly-honoured brother and sovereign the king, Louis the XVIth by name—We declare, that the dauphin, Louis-Charles, born the 27th day of March, the year of our Lord 1785, is king of France and Navarre, under the name of Louis the XVIIth. We furthermore declare, in virtue of our birth-right, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom of France, that we are, and will act as regent of France during the minority of the king, our nephew and sovereign lord.

Thus invested with the exercise of the rights and powers of the sovereignty in France, and of the supreme administration of royal justice throughout the said kingdom,

dom, we, in consequence of our obligations and duties so to do, take upon ourselves the said charge of regent.

We are therefore determined, with the assistance of Divine Providence, and that of our good and loyal subjects of all ranks and orders, aided by the powerful succours of the allied sovereigns for the same purpose, to do our utmost endeavours to recover the liberty of our royal nephew king Louis XVIIIth; of her majesty, his august mother and guardian; of the princess royal, Maria Theresa, his sister and our niece; and of her royal highness the princess Elizabeth, his aunt and our dearest sister; all held in the severest captivity by the chiefs of a faction.

We are likewise determined and resolved to effect the re-establishment of the French monarchy on the unalterable basis of the French constitution, with a reform of those abuses that may have been introduced in the public administration. We will likewise exert ourselves in the restoration of the religion of our forefathers to its original purity, according to the canonical discipline of the church. We will, moreover, re-establish the magistrature, so essential to the revival of good order, and the due and regular administration of justice; we also promise to re-instate all and every description of persons in the full enjoyment of their property, now usurped; and in the free exercise of their lawful rights, of which they may have been illegally deprived. In order to enforce the law, we shall punish crimes with severity, and in an exemplary manner.

In fine, for the fulfilling of this

solemn engagement, we have thought proper to assume the reins of government, in conjunction with our dearest brother Charles Philip of France, count of Artois; to whom are united our dear nephews, grandsons of France, their royal highnesses Louis Anthony, duke of Angoulême, and Charles Ferdinand, duke of Berry; and our cousins, their royal highnesses Louis Henry of Bourbon, prince of Condé; Louis Henry Joseph of Bourbon, duke of Bourbon; and Louis Anthony Henry of Bourbon, duke of Enghien; princes of the blood royal—conformably to the declaration we conjointly addressed to the late king the 10th of September 1791, and every other act signed by us, to be considered as the declarations of our uniform principles and sentiments; and we invariably persist in those our said acts, for the purposes and ends aforesaid.

We therefore order and direct all the natives of France, singly and collectively, to obey the commands they may and will receive from us on the part of the king. We furthermore enjoin all the loving subjects of this our kingdom, to shew obedience to the orders that may and will be issued by our dearest brother, Charles Philip of France, count of Artois, named and constituted by us lieutenant-general of the kingdom, in the name and on the part of the king and regent of France.

In fine, we direct and enjoin all the king's officers, whether military or magisterial, to publish and notify this our present declaration to all those to whom it may pertain, authorising and empowering them to make it known in France; and when

when circumstances permit the several courts of justice to re-assume their functions in their respective jurisdictions, the said declaration, as soon as conveniently may be, is to be immediately legalized, published, and executed.

Given at Ham, in Westphalia, under our seal; which is what we make use of in the signing of sovereign acts, till the seals of the kingdom, destroyed by the reigning faction, are re-made: to be likewise counter-signed by the marshals Broglio and Castries, our ministers of state, the 26th day of January, in the year of grace 1793, and the first of the reign of Louis XVII.

(Signed)

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

Letter Patent issued by the Regent of France, for the naming of a Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier, Son of France, Uncle to the King, and Regent of the Kingdom; to our dear brother, Charles Philip of France, Son of France, Count of Artois, Greeting.

THE God of our fathers, the God of St. Louis, who has so long protected the French monarchy, will certainly not permit its final destruction by the hands of a set of factious men, as execrable by their impious audacity as by the enormity of the crimes they have committed. Heaven has assuredly, and it is our greatest hope, destined us to be the ministers of his justice, to revenge the blood of the king

our brother, which these monsters have dared to spill with the most astonishing ferocity. It is therefore to place our nephew and sovereign on the throne of his father, to reinstate and maintain him in the possession of all the rights and prerogatives of his crown, that we call upon you, Charles Philip of France, count d'Artois, to aid and assist us.

This first act of the regency we assume shews, according to the wish of our heart, the full confidence we have in you.

On these causes, and for these honourable ends and purposes, we have appointed and constituted you by these presents lieutenant-general of the kingdom of France; investing you with all those powers that the regent of France can delegate, and particularly of commanding in our absence, and in our presence under our authority, the armies of the king. Be it understood that all the officers of his majesty in the military line, or magisterial capacity, as well as all Frenchmen, the subjects of the king, are to obey your commands given by you in the name of the king or regent of France. It is our pleasure that you assist at all the councils of state, justice, and administration, and others that it may be judged necessary to establish; the same to be presided by you in our absence; in which powers shall continue in force as long as our regency lasts, unless restrained or annulled by our authority.

In virtue of these presents, all letters patent issued in the ordinary form, and addressed to the courts of justice of the kingdom, when re-established in their respective jurisdictions, are to be there legalized,

galized, unregistered, published, and executed.

Given at Ham, in Westphalia, under our hand and common seal, and countersigned by the marshals Broglie and Castries, our ministers of state, the 28th day of the month of January, anno 1793, and the first year of the reign of his present majesty.

(Signed)

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

(Undersigned, by order of the regent of France)

The Marshal BROGLIE.
Marshal de CASTRIES.

Declaration of War, by the French National Convention, against England and Holland, Feb. 1st.

THE national convention, after having heard the report of their committee of general defence on the conduct of the English government;

Considering, that the king of England has persisted, especially since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being ill-disposed toward the French nation, and of his attachment to the abolition of crowned heads;

That at the period aforesaid, he ordered his ambassador at Paris to withdraw, because he would not acknowledge the provisional executive council, created by the legislative assembly;

That the cabinet of St. James has ceased since the same period to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the hereditary king of the French;

That, since the opening of the national convention, it has refused to resume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the powers of this convention;

That it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credence in its name;

That it has endeavoured to impede the different purchases of corn, arms, and other commodities, ordered in England, either by French citizens, or the agents of the republic;

That it has caused to be stopped several boats and ships laden with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other countries was free;

That in order still more effectually to obstruct the commercial operations of the republic in England, it obtained an act of parliament, prohibiting the circulation of assignats;

That in violation of the 4th article of the treaty of 1789, it obtained another act in the month of January last, which subjects all French citizens residing in, or coming into England, to the most inquisitorial, vexatious, and dangerous forms;

That at the same time, and contrary to the first article of the treaty of 1783, it granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the rebels, but even to the chiefs of the rebels who have already fought against France; that it has maintained with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution; that it has also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West India colonies; That in the same spirit, without any

any provocation, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's has ordered a considerable naval armament and an augmentation of the land force;

That this armament was ordered at a moment when the English minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French constitution in England, and was employing all possible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English nation, and of all Europe;

That the object of this armament, intended against France, was not even disguised in the English parliament;

That although the provisional executive council of France has employed every measure for preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation; and has replied to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of freemen; the English minister has persevered in his system of malevolence and hostility, continued the armaments, and sent a squadron to the Scheldt, to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium;

That, on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the British territory within eight days;

That the king of England has manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his design of supporting, by different resolutions adopted at the moment

of his death, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to parliament for a considerable addition of land and sea-forces, and putting ships of war in commission;

That his secret coalition with the enemies of France, particularly with the emperor and Prussia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with them the first in the month of January; that he has drawn into the same coalition the stadtholder of Holland; that that prince, whose servile obsequiousness to the orders of the courts of St. James's and Berlin is but too well known, has in the course of the French revolution, and notwithstanding the neutrality which he professed, treated with disdain the agents of France, received the emigrants, harassed the French patriots, counteracted their operations, released, in opposition to established usage, and, notwithstanding the demand of the French minister, persons who had been guilty of forging assignats; that in the mean time, with a view to concur in the hostile designs of the court of London, he gave orders for a naval armament, named an admiral, appointed Dutch ships to join the English fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a stop to exportations to France, while he favoured sending supplies of provisions to the Prussian and Austrian magazines;

Considering, in fine, that all these circumstances no longer leave to the French republic any hope of obtaining, by means of amicable negotiation, the redress of their grievances, and that all the acts of the British court, and of the stadtholder, of the United Provinces, are

acts of hostility, equivalent to a declaration of war, the national convention decrees as follows:

Article I. The national convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that, considering the multiplied acts of hostility and aggression of the above-mentioned powers, the French nation is at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of the United Provinces.

II. The national convention charges the provisional executive council to call forth such forces as may appear to them necessary for repelling their aggression, and for maintaining the independence, the dignity, and the interests of the French republic.

III. The national convention authorises the provisional executive council to dispose of the naval forces of the republic in such manner as the interests of the state may appear to them to require; and it revokes all particular dispositions ordered in this respect by preceding decrees.

Manifesto of the States General of the United Provinces, in answer to the following Proclamation of General Dunourier.

"Batavian people,

THE stadtholder, who, upon republican principles, ought only to be your captain general, and who should exercise only for your happiness the powers with which you have invested him, in subordination to the will and decisions of your republic, holds you in oppression and slavery.

"You perfectly understand your rights. You attempted in 1787 to re-conquer them from the ambi-

tious house of Orange. You had then recourse to the French nation—but as at that time France groined under the despotism of a perfidious court, you became the sport of the intriguing miscreants who then governed France.

"A handful of Prussians sufficed to replace the yoke upon you, commanded by that same duke of Brunswick whom I have since chased from Champagne. Some of you have been victims to the vengeance of your despot—some have sought for refuge in France. Since then every hope of liberty was no more, until the period of a revolution, the most astonishing which the history of the universe ever presented; sustained by success the most glorious, has given to you, in the French allies powerful, generous, and free, who will second your efforts for liberty, or who will perish with you.

"Batavians, it is not against you that the French republic has declared war—the friend of all nations, she has for enemies only despots. The English, so proud of their liberty, suffer themselves to be misled by gold, and the falsehoods of a —, of whom they will soon be weary. The more enemies we have, the more shall we propagate our principles—persuasion and victory shall sustain the imprescriptible rights of man, and nations will be tired of exhausting their blood and their treasures for a small number of individuals, who keep discord alive, as the means of deceiving and enslaving the people.

"We enter Holland therefore as friends to the Dutch, but as irreconcilable enemies to the house of Orange. Its yoke appears to you too insupportable for your choice

choice to be doubtful. See you not that this demi-despot, who tyrannizes over you, sacrifices to his personal interest the most solid interests of the said republic? Has he not, in 1782, engaged you to break, with dishonourable perfidy, the treaty of alliance concluded with us? Since then, has he not constantly favoured the English commerce at the expence of yours? Does he not, at this moment, surrender to that perpetual rival, the only nation you can dread, the most important establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, the isle of Ceylon, nay, the whole of your commerce with the Indies? Think you that the English, insatiable of power and wealth, will ever restore you those important places which secure to them the empire of India? No; you will never regain your rank among the first maritime nations until you shall have become free.

"Send back, therefore, into Germany that ambitious house, which, for a century, has sacrificed you to its ambition. Send back that sister of Frederick William, who retains at her command his ferocious Prussians, when you shall attempt to throw off your chains. The calling in of those Prussians is every time an insult to the standard of your brave troops. The house of Orange fears, and with reason, that the spirit of liberty will subdue it. A republican army will not long be subservient to tyrants. Soon the troops of Holland, soon the conquerors on the Dogger bank, will join to the French their armies and their fleets.

"The first who unite themselves under the standard of liberty shall receive, not only the certainty of

those places which they occupy in the service of the republic; but promotion, and at the expence of the slaves of the house of Orange.

"I enter among you surrounded by the generous martyrs of the revolution of 1787. Their perseverance and their sacrifices merit your confidence and mine. They form a committee, which will increase speedily in number. This committee will be very useful in the first moments of your revolution; and its members with no ambition but to be the deliverers of their country, will re-enter the different classes of social order whenever your national convention shall assemble.

"I enter your territories at the head of 60,000 Frenchmen, free and victorious. Sixty thousand more are defending Brabant, ready to follow me if I meet with resistance. We are by no means the aggressors. The Orange party has long waged against us a secret and perfidious war. It is at the Hague that all the attempts have been plotted against our liberty.—We shall seek at the Hague the authors of our woes.—Our wrath and our vengeance are only for them.

"We will pass through your rich provinces like friends and brothers.—You will see the difference of proceeding between freemen who offer you their hands, and of tyrants who inundate and devastate your country.

"I promise the peaceful husbandmen whose harvests are sacrificed to the terror of the tyrant, to indemnify them by the sale of their possessions who have ordered the fruitless inundations. I promise also to deliver into their hands, and to their just vengeance, the persons

persons of those wicked functionaries, magistrates, or military commanders, who shall have ordered those inundations.

" However, to avoid all the ruin they occasion, I exhort all the inhabitants of the country, by the sentiment of liberty they have within them, to oppose them; and I will closely follow up my proclamation, to support the brave and punish the wicked.

" Batavians! have confidence in a man whose name is known to you—who has never failed to fulfil what he promised, and who is leading freemen to battle—before whom have fled, and will fly, the Prussian satellites of your tyrant.

" The Belgians call me their deliverer—I hope speedily to be yours.

" The general in chief of the army of the French Republic,

" DUMOURIER."

THE tenor of this paper, printed at Antwerp in the Dutch and French languages, leads to a presumption that it was intended by general Dumourier to announce and precede the attack with which he has long threatened this republic; to expose to the view of Europe, and, in particular, to that of the inhabitants of these provinces, the aim of this enterprise; and, if it were possible, to justify its motives.

A writing, however, so filled with the grossest falsehoods and absurdities, as well as the most atrocious calumnies, has never perhaps been published in a similar conjuncture. On examining with attention the contents of this proclamation, every attentive reader will, like ourselves, find it difficult

to persuade himself, that it can in reality be ascribed to him whose name it carries; to a man who has the reputation of being enlightened and intelligent, and who makes a profession of uprightness and morality. Thus do we feel no repugnance in abandoning the examination of the offensive sophisms and facts alledged in it, to the good sense of all the well-disposed inhabitants of this country; and with this view we have not hesitated to contribute, ourselves, to the publicity of this piece, by inserting it in the present manifesto. We think it, however, a duty we owe to our honour, to the whole nation, to the present age, and to posterity, not to leave without reply, at a time when these pacific states are threatened by a most unjust invasion, all the falsehoods advanced against us; and certainly, had we sought an occasion to discuss the present subject, we could never have found one presenting more advantages.

The author of the proclamation sets out by representing Monseigneur the prince, hereditary stadtholder, as a tyrant who holds the good people of these provinces in oppression, and as one who possesses no other power than that of captain general. It is impossible to display a more profound ignorance of our constitution, according to which the illustrious charge of captain general, and that of the hereditary stadtholder, are two absolutely distinct dignities. As to what regards the manner in which Monseigneur the prince, hereditary stadtholder, exercises those functions which are confided to him under these two distinct relations, we appeal to the testimony
of

of all our countrymen.—Who among them will honestly maintain, that the nature of the stadtholdership gives to him who is invested with it, the power of oppressing and subjugating the citizens? Is there, besides, any one inhabitant of these provinces, unless he is entirely blinded by a party spirit, who forbears to do justice to the amiable and benevolent disposition of a prince, whose personal character and administration have constantly been marked with the stamp of benevolence, moderation, and the most scrupulous exactness in the fulfilment of his duties.

The other heads of the charge levelled against him, are not less absurd and ridiculous. How can Monseigneur the prince of Orange have broken in 1782 a treaty of alliance which was not concluded till 1785? Who has ever said, or thought seriously, that he either has or could have wished to favour the trade of the English nation at the expence of our own? Is not every mercantile influence absolutely foreign to his powers? and does not commerce open a sufficiently extensive field to employ the industrious activity of two friendly and allied nations? Who among us, lastly, has ever heard mention of the concession to the English of the Cape of Good Hope, or of the island of Ceylon? Who, therefore, does not see that all these reproaches are mere fictions? and how is it possible to alledge them in a paper designed to convey to the whole universe an account of the motives which have engaged a *soi disante* republic to declare a most unjust war against a free and independent state?

With equal falsehood does the paper now before us speak of the revolution of 1797, an event which foreigners, or, if you will, the enemies of our constitution, mistakenly represent as an act of violence and oppression. Every one knows, that the purport of all which was then done, was merely to re-establish and consolidate the ancient and legitimate constitution upon which this republic was founded, has increased from small beginnings, has so long been flourishing and happy, and which the efforts of a few ambitious men threatened with a total subversion.

"It is not against the Batavian nation," says the proclamation in continuation, "that France has declared war: a friend to all nations, she has for her enemies despots only."—Let not our fellow-citizens allow themselves to be dazzled by these lying expressions; let them not lose sight of the signal abuse, now become so common, of the words *liberty, slavery, and oppression*. Those who at present govern France, and who think they have a right to dispose, in so arbitrary a way, of the lot and well-being of nations, have but too clearly proved in what the friendship consists, which they profess to other nations, and what they mean by tyranny and despotism. They testify their friendship to these nations, by sowing among them division and discord, and by violently stripping them of the privileges essential to social order, and sanctioned by their antiquity—privileges, the remembrance of which they even seek to efface, by destroying the charters on which they are founded.—The gifts they offer, under the fine titles of fraternity and liberty,
are

are no other than the very unbridled license, the self-same irreligious spirit in which they glory so openly, and these accompanied by all the evils which result from them, and under which they themselves groan; such as anarchy, murder, pillage, misery, and famine. They blacken with the names of despotism and slavery all those civil and religious institutions which have hitherto been respected by man, because they are indispensable to his happiness, and to the existence of civil society. Men cannot live in society without a government to superintend their well-being; and the principles the French, with arms in their hands, now labour to spread abroad, are calculated to overturn all governments, and to substitute for safety, repose, and good order, anarchy, and all the evils which spring from it.

Among the numerous subjects of astonishment with which the proclamation furnishes us, and the absurdity of which we are more particularly called on to demonstrate to our countrymen, we cannot silently pass over what is said on the subject of the few unknown and despicable men, who, under the title of the Batavian committee, usurp an imaginary power, and who are described to us as being charged with the provisional administration, until we also, we ourselves, shall, after the example of wretched France, have formed our national convention. Shall we then be obliged to renounce the mild authority which governs us, to submit our property, every thing that is dear to us, our lives themselves, to the caprice of a few unknown, contemptible, ignorant individuals,

VOL. XXXV.

who will dispose of us and our's at their pleasure, until the administration shall pass from their hands into those of the *soi-disante* convention, blindly devoted to France, of a complexion with the one we now see in our neighbourhood, and whose authority will necessarily be attended with the same disastrous consequences to us, as those which have taken place in France? How can it have been conceived, that such ideas would be cherished by a wise and sensible people, little inclined by its character to adopt these disastrous inventions of our times, and accustomed to a just and moderate administration?

We also persuade ourselves, that it is not necessary to caution the good inhabitants of this country against paying any attention to the invitation and promises made to them, to engage them to range themselves beneath the standard of this pretended liberty; or to the insignificant threats employed to intimidate them from practising the means of defence with which nature has supplied us. It is impossible that there can be found among them, men so base and so degenerate as to form an union with the enemies of their country, and, conjointly with them, to spread among their fellow-citizens, desolation, despair, and the long chain of irreparable evils, which are a necessary effect of a most cruel rapacity, and which so many countries, subdued by the French, now experience.

We rather expect that all citizens, laying aside any party spirit which disunites them, will unite their efforts to ours, and to those of all the true friends of the country,

L

try, to defend and preserve, under the divine protection, the territory which has given them birth, and in which they have been bred—that they will snatch religion and true liberty, those guarantees of our happiness, from the insupportable yoke of foreign and barbarous hordes. We expect every thing from their courage and bravery; and we are persuaded that they will not suffer themselves to be intimidated by the exaggerated statement of the forces which are represented as advancing against them. We persuade ourselves, that they will neither forget the invincible valour with which our immortal ancestors resisted successfully these very Frenchmen at a time when the greatest powers in Europe did not, as at this day, combat with us, but, on the other hand, were leagued with our enemies;—nor the situation of our country, which, more especially in this season, opposes insurmountable obstacles to an hostile invasion;—nor the diligence and energetic activity of the government, which will neglect nothing to secure the success of our common efforts;—nor, lastly, the efficacious succours we expect in a little time from our faithful allies. If, after so many important considerations, they may still need a motive to confirm them in their resolution to sacrifice every thing in the defence of their dear country, we will place before their view the example of our neighbours the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, who have called on and welcomed as friends, the very general who dares to call himself their deliverer, and those very Frenchmen he commands:—these

Belgians now reap the bitterest fruits of their heedless credulity.

Deign, thou supreme and omnipotent Being! who hast so often extricated this republic from the most imminent dangers, deign to preserve it at this day from such a deliverance, and from such friends!

Thus done and resolved in the assembly of their high mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Provinces, Feb. 20, 1793.

(Paraph.)

(L.S.) W. F. H. VAN WASSENÆR,

By order of the same,
(Signed) W. FAGEL.

Declaration of the Prince of Orange and Nassau, made to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses on Occasion of the present Circumstances.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE very principal part of the public administration which has been confided to me, in my different capacities, as well political as military, by your high mightinesses, and the lords estates of the respective provinces, forbids my preserving silence under the immediate circumstances of the general cause of the country.

Your high mightinesses certainly did justice to my sentiments, and my conduct, when in your letter to the states of the provinces, and in your declaration relative to the manifesto of general Dumourier, you defended this conduct and these sentiments against the calumnies and falsehoods of my enemies. But

I owe

I owe to your high mightinesses, to the states of the provinces, to the Dutch nation, for which my ancestors shed their blood—I owe to the faithful allies of the states, who, at so critical a moment, have flown to our succour to fight with us for the republic—I owe to all Europe, whose attention is fixed on so injurious an attack—and I owe it not less to myself, to make known, not only my views, but likewise the foundation of my confidence.

The state is most unjustly attacked; the territory of the generality is invaded; and the arms of the enemy have unexpectedly met with a success which might extend to the cities having voices in the state, and the consequences of which would be incalculable.

Such, high and mighty lords, are the dangers which either harass us already, or which still menace us. It is not my wish to dissemble them; I do not even wish to flatter myself, that the losses we have already sustained will be the last. It is not surprising that this republic should experience great checks at the commencement of a war; but in the midst of these disasters, she elevates herself, as if her losses awaken her activity, support her courage, and multiply her strength.

As little as the dangers of the state should be dissembled, so little ought her advantages and succours to be misunderstood. The situation of the country, intersected by rivers, canals, and lakes, holds out advantages capable of disputing the ground with the enemy, even were their successes still more considerable. The fidelity of our citizens, their love for their country, is equally efficacious in a republican

state. The troops of the republic are full of courage, and burn with a zeal to try their strength in the defence of their altars and fire-sides. The seamen are animated by the very spirit that has never failed so honourably to distinguish the Dutch, on an element which is natural to them, and on which they have so often confounded the pride of their enemies. I ought, finally, to assure myself, that not only the allies of the state, but also the formidable powers, which, equally with the republic, have but one interest and one common enemy, will unite their efforts to ours, to repel from the frontiers of this republic violence and injustice. But, high and mighty lords, I found my confidence more especially in the sovereign arbiter of the world, who out of nothing has caused this country to attain its present strength, and who has preserved it by miracles, and supported the arm of my courageous predecessors. This God is eternal: his omnipotence, his sagacity are equally so; and he is still desirous of supporting those who repose their trust in him.

Upon these foundations it is that I declare, in the face of the whole universe, that, far from being discouraged, I will watch till my last moment in the defence of the state, and that, notwithstanding a part of my possessions and domains is already occupied by the enemy, what continues to be mine, as well as my blood and my life, is still for the service of the state. With these sentiments I have been educated; they are those which have distinguished my ancestors; and these illustrious examples have been inculcated by myself, and the princess;

any provocation, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's has ordered a considerable naval armament and an augmentation of the land force ;

That this armament was ordered at a moment when the English minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French constitution in England, and was employing all possible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English nation, and of all Europe ;

That the object of this armament, intended against France, was not even disguised in the English parliament ;

That although the provisional executive council of France has employed every measure for preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation ; and has replied to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of freemen ; the English minister has persevered in his system of malevolence and hostility, continued the armaments, and sent a squadron to the Scheldt, to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium ;

That, on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the British territory within eight days ;

That the king of England has manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his design of supporting, by different resolutions adopted at the moment

of his death, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to parliament for a considerable addition of land and sea-forces, and putting ships of war in commission ;

That his secret coalition with the enemies of France, particularly with the emperor and Prussia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with them the first in the month of January ; that he has drawn into the same coalition the stadtholder of Holland ; that that prince, whose servile obsequiousness to the orders of the courts of St. James's and Berlin is but too well known, has in the course of the French revolution, and notwithstanding the neutrality which he professed, treated with disdain the agents of France, received the emigrants, harassed the French patriots, counteracted their operations, released, in opposition to established usage, and, notwithstanding the demand of the French minister, persons who had been guilty of forging assignats ; that in the mean time, with a view to concur in the hostile designs of the court of London, he gave orders for a naval armament, named an admiral, appointed Dutch ships to join the English fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a stop to exportations to France, while he favoured sending supplies of provisions to the Prussian and Austrian magazines ;

Considering, in fine, that all these circumstances no longer leave to the French republic any hope of obtaining, by means of amicable negotiation, the redress of their grievances, and that all the acts of the British court, and of the stadtholder, of the United Provinces, are

acts of hostility, equivalent to a declaration of war, the national convention decrees as follows:

Article I. The national convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that, considering the multiplied acts of hostility and aggression of the above-mentioned powers, the French nation is at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of the United Provinces.

II. The national convention charges the provisional executive council to call forth such forces as may appear to them necessary for repelling their aggression, and for maintaining the independence, the dignity, and the interests of the French republic.

III. The national convention authorises the provisional executive council to dispose of the naval forces of the republic in such manner as the interests of the state may appear to them to require; and it revokes all particular dispositions ordered in this respect by preceding decrees.

Manifesto of the States General of the United Provinces, in answer to the following Proclamation of General Dumourier.

"Batavian people,

THE stadtholder, who, upon republican principles, ought only to be your captain general, and who should exercise only for your happiness the powers with which you have invested him, in subordination to the will and decisions of your republic, holds you in oppression and slavery.

"You perfectly understand your rights. You attempted in 1787 to conquer them from the ambi-

tious house of Orange. You had then recourse to the French nation—but as at that time France groined under the despotism of a perfidious court, you became the sport of the intriguing miscreants who then governed France.

"A handful of Prussians sufficed to replace the yoke upon you, commanded by that same duke of Brunswick whom I have since chased from Champagne. Some of you have been victims to the vengeance of your despot—some have sought for refuge in France. Since then every hope of liberty was no more, until the period of a revolution, the most astonishing which the history of the universe ever presented; sustained by success the most glorious, has given to you, in the French, allies powerful, generous, and free, who will second your efforts for liberty, or who will perish with you.

"Batavians, it is not against you that the French republic has declared war—the friend of all nations, she has for enemies only despots. The English, so proud of their liberty, suffer themselves to be misled by gold, and the falsehoods of a —, of whom they will soon be weary. The more enemies we have, the more shall we propagate our principles—persuasion and victory shall sustain the imprescriptible rights of man, and nations will be tired of exhausting their blood and their treasures for a small number of individuals, who keep discord alive, as the means of deceiving and enslaving the people.

"We enter Holland therefore as friends to the Dutch, but as irreconcilable enemies to the house of Orange. Its yoke appears to you too insupportable for your choice

armies all their energy, as well as to the cause of the nation all the justice by which it ought to be characterised. These memorials were thrown aside, and you are perfect strangers to them. Cause them to be again presented to you, and you will find in them the prediction of all that has befallen us. You will also discover in them the remedy of the other dangers which surround us, and which threaten our growing republic.

The Belgic armies united in the territories of Aix-la-Chapelle and Liege, have not only suffered privations of every description without murmuring, but been gradually deprived at the same time by disease, by skirmishes with the enemy, and by the numerous desertions of officers and soldiers, of more than one half of their strength. It was not till the entry of general Beurnonville into the ministry that the recruiting of these armies and the supply of their wants were attended to. This was, however, so short a time ago, that we still experience, in its fullest latitude, the disorganizing scourge of which we have been the victims.

Such was our situation when, on the first of February, you thought that you owed to the national honour the declaration of war against England and Holland. From that moment, I sacrificed all my chagrins, and thought no longer of my resignation, which you will find announced in my four memorials. I now made the enormous dangers and the safety of my country my sole objects; I sought to anticipate our enemies; and the distressed army, I have described to you forgot all its sufferings to attack Holland.

Whilst aided by new supplies of troops from France, I took Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg. Preparing to push these conquests still further, the Belgian army, under the command of generals, filled with courage and civism, undertook the bombardment of Maestricht. In this expedition every thing was needed; the new administration was not yet established, and the old one was both criminal and vicious. Money was in abundance; but the new forms established at the royal treasury prevented cash being forwarded to any department of the service. I cannot as yet enter on a detail of the causes of the check our armies have received, since I am but just arrived; the hope, however, of obtaining possession of Maestricht has not only been abandoned, but the armies have retired with loss and confusion. The magazines of every description which we had begun to collect at Liege, as well as a part of the old army and some new battalions, have fallen into the hands of the enemy. This retreat has drawn upon us new enemies; and it is expedient in this place that I should develop to you the moral causes of our evils.

In human events there exists at all times a recompense for virtues and a punishment for vices. Individuals may escape this providence, which you may term what you please, because such points are too delicate for our perceptions. Whilst our cause was just we vanquished our enemies! As soon as avarice, and injustice guided our steps we destroyed ourselves, and our enemies took the advantage of us.

You

You are flattered; you are deceived; and I will now remove the veil. We have oppressed the Belgians by every species of vexation; have violated the sacred rights of their liberty; and have imprudently insulted their religious opinions. By a robbery but little lucrative, the instruments of their sacred worship have been profaned; and their character and intentions have been misrepresented to you. The union of Hainault to the republic was effected by sabres and muskets; and that of Brussels by a handful of men who could exist in trouble only, and by a few sanguinary men assembled to intimidate the citizens. Attend to the history of the Netherlands; you will there find that the Belgians are good, frank, brave, and impatient under any yoke. The duke of Alva, the most cruel of the satellites of Philip the Second, caused eighteen thousand of them to perish by the hands of hangmen. The Belgians revenged their cause by thirty years spent in civil wars; and their attachment to the religion of their ancestors could alone subject them once more to the yoke of Spain.

Your finances were exhausted when we entered Belgium. Your specie had either disappeared, or was purchased for its weight in gold. Cambon, who perhaps is an honest citizen, but certainly is in talents beneath the confidence you have placed in him in the department of the finances, saw no other remedy than the possession of the riches of this fertile country. He proposed to you the fatal decree of the 15th of December; you accepted it unanimously; notwithstanding each among you to whom

I have spoken on the subject, has told me that he disapproved of it, and that the decree was unjust. One of my four memorials was directed against this decree—it was not read in the convention; and the same Cambon endeavoured to render my remonstrances odious and criminal, by observing at the tribunal, that I opposed a *veto* to the decree of the convention. This decree you confirmed by that of the 30th of December, and charged your commissioners to see it strictly executed. Conformably to your orders, the executive power sent at least thirty commissioners—the choice was bad, if we except a few honest men, whose civism is perhaps doubted, because they seek to lessen the odiousness of their functions. The greater part are either rash, tyrannical, or men without reflection, whom a brutal and insolent zeal has constantly led beyond their functions. Agents of tyranny have been spread over the whole surface of Belgium. The military commandants, in obedience to the decree, have been obliged to employ, at their request, the forces entrusted to them; and these exactions exasperated to the utmost height the dispositions of the Belgians. Hence terror, and perhaps hatred, were substituted to that mild fraternity with which our first steps in Belgium were accompanied; and at the moment of our ill successes these agents were most violent and unjust.

You have been misled with respect to the union of several parts of Belgium to France. You deemed it voluntary because your information was untrue. Hence you thought you could carry off the superfluous

superfluous church-plate, without doubt to defray the expences of the war. You regarded the Belgians from the time as Frenchmen; but had they even been so, it would still have been necessary to wait, until the abandonment of this plate should be a voluntary sacrifice, without which, to carry it off by force became in their eyes a sacrilege. This is just what has happened. The priests and monks have profited by this act of impudence, and we have been regarded as robbers flying from our foes, insomuch that the commonalties of the villages are every where arming against us. This is not a war of aristocracy, for our revolution favours the peasants, and still the peasants are arming against us, and the *tocsin* sounds in every direction. To them it is a sacred war; to us a criminal one. We are at this moment surrounded by enemies, as you will see by my reports to the war minister. You will at the same time see the first steps necessity has obliged me to take, to save the French army, the national honour, the republic itself!

Representatives of the nation, I invoke your duty and your probity. I invoke the sacred principles maintained in the declaration of the rights of man, and impatiently wait your decision. At this moment you hold in your hands the lot of the empire, and I am persuaded, that truth and virtue will guide your decisions, and that you will not suffer your armies to be tarnished by crimes of which they must become the victims.

The general in chief of the northern army,

DUMOURIER.

General Dumourier to the French Nation.

SINCE the commencement of the revolution, I have devoted myself to the maintenance of the liberty and honour of the nation.

The services I rendered in the year 1792, are the most memorable. Minister of foreign affairs during three months, I elevated and sustained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe. I was calumniated by an odious cabal, by whom I was charged with having plundered six millions of livres destined for secret services. I have proved, that of this sum I did not expend half a million.

Having quitted the career of politics towards the close of the month of June, I commanded a small army in the department of the north. This department I was ordered to quit with my troops, at the very time the Austrians entered in force that part of the republic, I disobeyed the order, saved the department, and an attempt was made to come on me by surprise, for the purpose of conveying me to the citadel of Metz, where I was to be condemned by a council of war to suffer death.

On the 28th of August I took upon me, in Champagne, the command of an army of twenty thousand men, weak, and without either discipline or organization. I arrested the progress of eighty thousand Prussians and Hessians, and forced them to retreat after they had sacrificed the one half of their army. I was then the saviour of France; and then it was that the most wicked of men, the opprobrium of Frenchmen—in a word, Marat, began to calumniate me

me without any mercy. With a part of the victorious army of Champagne, and some other troops, I entered on the 5th of November, the Belgic provinces, where I gained the for-ever-memorable battle of Jemappe; and after a succession of advantages, entered Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle towards the close of that month. From that moment my destruction was resolved on; and I have been accused of aspiring, now to the title of *Duke of Brabant*, now to the *Stadtholdership*, and again to the *Dictatorship*. To retard and crush my successes, the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than twenty-five thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger!

I transmitted to the national convention very strenuous remonstrances, which I followed up by repairing in person to Paris, to engage the legislators to apply a remedy to the evil: they did not even condescend to read the four memorials I delivered in. During the twenty-six hours I spent in Paris, I heard almost every night bands of pretended federates demand my head; and calumnies of every description, as well as menaces and insults, followed me even into the country house to which I retired.

Having delivered in my resignation, I was retained in the service of my country, because it was pro-

posed to me to negotiate the suspension of the war against England and Holland, which I had conceived as indispensable to the safety of the Netherlands. Whilst I negotiated, and that successfully, the national convention itself hastened to declare war, without making any preparations, and without either power or means for its support.

I was not even advised of this declaration, and learned it through the medium of the gazettes only. I hastened to form a small army of new troops, who had never fought; and with these troops, whom confidence rendered invincible, I made myself master of three strong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the disaster of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raising of the siege of Maestricht, and the sad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly summoned—I abandoned my conquests to fly to its succour; and considered that we could be extricated from our difficulties by speedy success only. I led my companions in arms to the enemy. On the 16th of March, I had a considerable advantage at Tirlmont. On the 18th, I brought the enemy to a general action; and the centre and right wing, under my charge, were victorious. The left wing, after having attacked imprudently, fled. On the 19th, we retreated honourably with the brave men that were left together; for a part of the army disbanded itself. On the 21st and 22d, we fought with the same courage; and to our firmness was owing the preservation of the remains of an army which breathes solely

solely for liberty, for the reign of the laws, and for the extinction of anarchy.

It was then that the Marats, the Robespierres, and the criminal sects of Jacobins at Paris, plotted the fall of the generals, and more especially of mine. These villains, bribed with the gold of foreign powers to complete the disorganization of the armies, caused almost all the generals to be arrested. They kept them in the jails of Paris, to Septemberize them; for thus it is that these monsters have coined a word, to hand down to posterity the remembrance of the horrid massacres of the first six days of September.

Whilst I was employed in re-composing the army, in which employment I laboured night and day, on the 1st of April (yesterday) four commissioners of the national convention reached me, with a decree, purporting that I should be brought to the bar of the convention itself. The war minister, Bournonville, (my pupil) was weak enough to accompany them, to succeed me in my command. The persons who were in the suites of these perfidious emissaries, informed me themselves, that different groups of assassins, either fugitives from or driven out of my army, were dispersed on the road to kill me before I could reach Paris. I spent several hours in endeavouring to convince the commissioners of the imprudence of this arrest.—Nothing could shake their pride; and I therefore arrested the whole of them, to serve me as hostages against the crimes of Paris. I instantly arranged with the Imperialists a suspension of arms, and marched towards the capital to extinguish, as speedily as possible, the lighted embers of civil war.

My dear countrymen! it is expedient that a true and brave man remove for you the veil which covers all our crimes and misfortunes. In 1789, we made great efforts to obtain liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people. Our principles were consecrated in the declaration of the rights of man; and there have resulted from the labours of our legislators, 1st, The declaration which says that *France* is and shall remain a monarchy.—2dly, A constitution to which we swore fealty in 1789, 90, and 91.

This constitution might, and indeed must have been imperfect; but it ought and might have been believed, that with time and experience its errors would be rectified, and that the necessary strife between the legislative and executive powers would establish a wise equilibrium, which would prevent either of these powers from seizing the whole of the authority, and attaining despotism. If the despotism of a single individual is dangerous to liberty, how much more odious must be that of seven hundred men, many of whom are void of principles, without morals; and who have been able to reach that supremacy by cabals or crimes alone!

Licentiousness and excess soon rendered it impossible to support the yoke of a constitution that gave laws. The tribunes influenced the assembly of representatives, and were themselves awed by the dangerous club of the Jacobins at Paris. The strife between the two powers became at length a deadly combat. Then was the equilibrium destroyed—France ceased to have a king; and the victory of the 10th of August was foiled by the atrocious crimes of the first days of September.

All the departments, but more especially the wretched city of Paris, were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proscriptions, and massacres. No Frenchman, the assassins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in security ! The consternation of slavery was augmented by the clamorous *orgies* of villains : hands of pretended federates ran through and laid waste the departments ; and of the seven hundred individuals who composed this despotic and anarchical body, four or five hundred groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, exposed to the exterminating sword of the Marats and Robespierres. It was thus that the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth perished, without a judicial trial, and without a tribunal ; and it is thus that the decree of the 19th of November has provoked all nations, by holding out to them our aid, provided they will consent to disorganize themselves. It is thus that the unjust and impolitic decree of the 15th of December has alienated from us the hearts of the Belgians, has driven us from the Netherlands, and would have brought about the massacre of our whole army by this nation, provoked at our outrages and our crimes, if I had not saved that very army by my proclamations. It is thus that a decree established the bloody tribunal which places the lives of the citizens at the mercy of a small number of iniquitous judges, without recourse or appeal to any other tribunal. It is thus that during the last month all the decrees have been marked by the stamp of insatiable avarice, by the blindest pride, and more especially by the desire of maintaining power,

by calling to the most important posts of the state no other than daring, incapable and criminal men, by driving away or murdering men enlightened and of a high character, and by supporting a phantom of a republic, which their errors in administration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. These seven hundred individuals despise, detest, calumniate, and revile each other ; and have already, and that frequently, thought of poignarding the one or the other. At this moment their blind ambition has impelled them to coalesce afresh ; and bold criminality allies itself to feeble virtue, to preserve a power as unjust as it is unsteady. In the mean time, their committees devour every thing, that of the national treasury absorbing the public funds, without being able to render any account of the expenditure.

What has this convention done to maintain the war it has provoked against all the powers of Europe ?

It has disorganized the armies, instead of re-inforcing and recruiting the troops of the line, and the ancient battalions of national volunteers, which would have formed a respectable army. Instead of recompensing these brave warriors by promotion and praises, these legislators have left the battalions incomplete, naked, disarmed, and discontented. In the same way have they treated the excellent cavalry ; and the brave French artillery is in the same manner exhausted, abandoned, and in want of every necessary. They notwithstanding create new corps, composed of the satellites of the second of September, and commanded by men

men who have never served, and who are in no other way to be dreaded, unless by the armies they surcharge and disorganize. The convention sacrifices every thing to these satellites of tyranny, to these cowardly *head-loppers*. The choice of officers, and that of administrators, are in every particular the same: we see throughout the tyranny which flatters the wicked, because the wicked alone can support tyranny: And, in its pride and its ignorance, this convention orders the conquest and disorganization of the whole universe: it says to one of its generals, Go and take Rome—and to another, Sally forth and subdue Spain—to the end that despoiling commissioners, similiar to those horrid Roman proconsuls against whom Cicero declaimed, may be sent thither. In the worst season of the year it sends the only fleet it possesses into the Mediterranean to split and founder on the rocks of Sardinia, whilst it exposes the fleets of Brest to the fury of the storms, by sending them in quest of an English fleet that has not yet left its port.

In the mean time, a civil war spreads through all the departments. Some of the insurgents are excited by fanaticism, the necessary effect of persecution; others by an indignation at the tragical and fruitless end of Louis the sixteenth; and others, finally, by the natural principle of resisting persecution.

Arms are every where taken up; murders every where committed; and every where are pecuniary supplies and provisions intercepted. The English foment these troubles, and will, by their succours, supply fuel to them at their pleasure. Soon will every one of our corsairs

disappear on the ocean; soon will the southern department cease to receive supplies of corn from Italy and Africa; and already have those from the North and from America been intercepted by the squadrons of the enemies. Famine will annex itself to all our other scourges; and the ferocity of our cannibals will but increase with our calamities!

Frenchmen! we have a rallying-point which can stifle the monster of anarchy: 'tis the constitution we swore to maintain in 1789, 90, and 91: it is the work of a free people; and we shall remain free, and shall recover our glory, by resuming our constitution.

Let us display our virtues, more especially that of mildness: too much blood has already been spilled. If the monsters by whom we have been disorganized, choose to fly, let us leave them to meet their punishment elsewhere, if they do not find it in their own corrupted hearts; but if they wish to support anarchy by new crimes, then shall the army punish them.

In the generosity of the enemies we have so grievously outraged, I have found the security of external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded, sick, and prisoners, who fall into their hands—and all this in despite of the calumnies spread by our agitators to render us ferocious—but they engage to suspend their march, not to pass our frontiers, and to leave to our brave army the termination of all our internal dissensions.

Let the sacred torch of the love of our country awaken in us our virtue and our courage! At the bare name of the constitution, civil war will cease, or can no longer exist

exist unless against certain malevolent men who will no longer be supported by foreign powers. These have no hatred to any others among us, except our factious criminals, and desire nothing more fervently than to restore their esteem and friendship to a nation whose errors and anarchy disturb and trouble all Europe. Peace will be the fruit of this resolution; and the troops of the line, as well as the brave national volunteers, who, for the space of a year, have offered themselves as willing sacrifices to liberty, and who abhor anarchy, will repose in the bosom of their families, after having accomplished this noble work.

As to myself, I have already made an oath, and I repeat it before the whole nation, and in the presence of all Europe, that immediately after having effected the safety of my country by the re-establishment of the constitution, of peace and good order, I shall abandon every public function, and shall seek in solitude the enjoyment of the happiness of my fellow-citizens.

The general in chief of the French army,

DUMOURIER.

*Baths of St. Amand,
April 2, 1793.*

[This address was sanctioned by one issued by the prince de Saxe-Cobourg on the 5th; in which he declares his intention to co-operate with Dumourier's army, "to restore to France *her constitutional king*; the constitution she has chosen."

On the 9th, the prince issued another declaration; by which he

expresses his regret at the necessity of annulling the former declaration of an armistice, and announcing his attention of renewing the war with energy and vigour.]

Second Proclamation of General Dumourier to the French Nation.

AT the time I published my first proclamation, I had sounded the sentiment of all the corps of the army under my command, and all of them seemed penetrated with the miseries which an anarchical tyranny, exercised in the name of the national convention, had entailed on our country.—All of them acknowledged unequivocally that we could not live without laws; and appeared to me to agree in opinion, that the re-establishment of the constitution would restore to us peace and good order, without which it was impossible for us longer to exist.

I had not as yet reason to expect, that there could be the least wavering from an opinion so well founded, and which also appeared unanimous; and, indeed, who could have conceived that the generals themselves would have sought, through their ambition, or by a spirit of infatuation, to alter the resolution of the army? Dampierre, Stetenhoff, La Morliere, Rosiere, Changel, Ferrand, have conspired against their country, against a good cause, against their companions in arms, and against me, to whom they made repeated assurances that they entertained the same principles with ourselves. I shall not reproach them with ingratitude—their consciences will one day punish them sufficiently; but

but shall confine myself to this observation, that not one of them esteems the miscreants whom they now serve. The Jacobins will, in their blind fury, exercise vengeance on them—for several of the number are of the persecuted sect; and the anarchists will impute to them the disasters that cannot fail to accompany the rash and sanguine plans which that assemblage of factious criminals will oppose to the regular plans of attack of the combined powers.

The revolt arranged by these traitors has for a moment changed the face of affairs. Whilst the commissioners of the convention assembled at Valenciennes and Lille have employed measures worthy of themselves to mislead the army, and stifle the pretended conspiracy which we all regard as a necessary act of virtue, since it is the only means of saving France, they have employed the arms of miscreants and cowards.

On the third of this month, six fanatical volunteers came to St. Amand, to poignard me: I protected them from the fury of the soldiers, and sent them to keep company with the four commissioners—they will augment the number of the hostages.

On the fourth three battallions of national volunteers deserted the camp, without orders, to throw themselves into Valenciennes. I met them on the road between St. Amand and Condé, at the distance of about half a league from the latter place. I was then without escort, as a father in the midst of his children (for such was the tender name the whole army had bestowed on me). I had, at the most, fifteen or eighteen persons with me on horseback—when these batta-

lions were so dastardly as to assail me with a discharge of musquetry. They killed several of my suite, as well as several horses.

They cut off the road to the camp, to which I wished to retreat; and I was forced to save myself with a part of the officers who accompanied me, by crossing the Scheldt in a boat, to repair to the first Imperial post. As it was not our intention to emigrate, and as we were assured that the army expressed a strong indignation against these assassins, as well as an attachment to the re-establishment of peace and good order, we repaired at day-break to the camp. There, however, amidst the reiterated protestations of attachment to the principles that determined us, we remarked a mute and sullen agitation, which made us judge that strong dissensions in opinion prevailed. I addressed each corps, and from each corps received a reply tantamount to that made on the preceding days.

Wishing, however, after the remark we had made, to repair to the head-quarters at St. Amand, we learned that the corps of artillery had formed the design of conveying their great park to Valenciennes; and that the plot of the factious men who mislead them was, to seize on us, to convey us thither, and to make a merit of sacrificing us to the vengeance of our tyrants. We had then one expedient only left, that of repairing to the Imperial army, which we ought to regard as our ally, after the frank and noble proclamation of the general in chief by whom it is commanded.—Several corps of cavalry have already joined us; several bands of infantry have done the same;

same; and as soon as the Imperialists shall have entered the territory of France, not as vanquishers, and as wishing to dictate laws, but as generous allies, who come to aid us in re-establishing the constitution, which can alone stay the progress of the crimes and calamities that menace France, many other corps will prepare to unite themselves to their brothers in arms.

I know the disposition of the army, and more especially that of the troops of the line. Their principles are at the bottom pure. They may for a moment allow themselves to be hurried away by the exaggerated opinions inculcated to them; but as the invincible courage they have displayed during the present war, must necessarily be accompanied by the desire of possessing the laws they cannot find unless in the constitution, which will destroy the odious tyranny of anarchists, they will be jealous of the public esteem. They will blush at having, even for a moment, been capable of annexing their colours to those of criminal licentiousness. They will rally beside the brave troops who have only accompanied me in my momentary retreat to re-enter France within two days at farthest, and to put an end to the vile disorders which cover all France with mourning and terror.

I swear in the name of my companions, that we will not lay down our arms until we shall have succeeded in our enterprize; and our sole design is, to re-establish the constitution, and constitutional royalty; that no resentment, no thirst after vengeance, no *ambitious* motive, sways our purposes; that no foreign power shall influence our opinion; that wherever anarchy

shall cease at the appearance of our arms and those of the combined armies, we will conduct ourselves as friends and brothers; that wherever we shall meet with resistance, we shall know how to select the culpable, and spare the peaceable inhabitants, the victims of the infamous wiles of the Jacobins of Paris, from whom have arisen the horrors and calamities of the war;—that we shall in no way dread the poignards of Marat and the Jacobins; that we will destroy the manufacture of these poignards, as well as that of the scandalous writings by which an attempt is made to pervert the noble and generous character of the French nation;—and, finally, in the name of my companions in arms, I repeat the oath, that we will live and die free.

The general in chief of the
French army,
DUMOURIER.

Memorial presented to the States-General by Lord Auckland, the British Ambassador, and Count Starhemberg, Imperial Envoy Extraordinary.

High and Mighty Lords,

IT is known that towards the month of September in the last year, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses have conjunctively given a solemn assurance, that in case the imminent danger which at that time threatened the lives of their most Christian majesties and their family should be realized, his majesty and their mightinesses would not fail to take the most efficacious measures to prevent the persons who could be guilty

guilty of so atrocious a crime, from finding an asylum in their respective states.

This event, which was anticipated with so much horror, has taken place, and the divine vengeance appeared not to have been tardy in its pursuit. Some of those detestable regicides are already in a situation to be reached by the sword of the law. Others are as yet in the midst of the people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils; to which famine, anarchy, and a civil war, are now about to superadd new calamities.—Every event which we witness, concurs to make us believe, that the end is not far distant of those unfortunate men, whose madness and whose atrocities have penetrated with astonishment and indignation all those who adhere to the principles of religion, of morality, or of humanity.

In consequence, the undersigned submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of their high mightinesses, whether it may not be found proper to employ all the means which are in their power to forbid the entrance of their estates in Europe, or their colonies, to all the members of the self-styled national convention, or of the pretended executive council, who have taken part, directly or indirectly, in the crime before alluded to, and if they should be discovered and arrested, to cause them to be delivered into the hands of justice, that they may be made to serve as a lesson and example to the human race!

AUCKLAND,

LOUIS C. DE STARHENBERG,
Hague, April 5, 1793.

Reply to the Memorial delivered to their High Mightinesses on the 5th of April 1793, by Lord Auckland, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, and the Count of Starhemberg, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor.

THEIR high mightinesses perfectly well recollect the solemn declaration they made in the month of September of the last year, in reply to a requisition on the part of the count Starhemberg, relative to those who might be culpable of the highest of crimes towards his most Christian majesty, or his royal family.

They have since partaken, with all honest minds, the general and profound sensation of terror and indignation which the horrible event that has taken place in France has spread throughout all Europe; and they are as determined as they ever were, to attend to the execution of the measures they at that time resolved on.

The states general are the more persuaded of the necessity which exists in every well-regulated state, of efficaciously opposing the audacity of those who seek to destroy the happiness of civil societies, by tearing asunder all the bonds of a just subordination to the legitimate authority of an established government, because this republic has been taught by her own experience the bad effects of so criminal a project. Indeed it is at this time notorious, that a small number of inhabitants, emigrated from these provinces, and usurping the name and rights of sovereignty, have had

the audacity to attack their country with arms in their hands, and publicly to threaten with death the members of the legitimate government, and all those who were employed in the defence of the state, provided they would not abandon their posts.—And although these acts of rebellion are neither in their nature nor in their consequences to be compared to the crimes which have been committed in France, they, notwithstanding derive their origin from the same causes. The states general, in consequence, expect from the equity and wisdom of all the governments of Europe, and more especially from their majesties the emperor and the king of Great Britain, that they will take good care not to grant an asylum in their states to those who have taken on them to make such enormous attempts against the government of this republic, and who, by proclamations and manifestoes, signed by them, have snatched their names from the oblivion which ought to have been their lot;—but that on the contrary, should they be discovered, they will be apprehended, to the end that they may be pursued by justice, and punished with all the severity of the law.

Declaration and Decree of War against the French, by his Catholic Majesty, directed to his Council of State, of Castile, of War, Indies, Inquisition, &c. &c.

AMONG the objects to which I have principally attended, since my exaltation to the throne, is the preservation of peace and tranquillity in Europe, in which,

VOL. XXXV.

by contributing to the general good of humanity, I have given my subjects a particular proof of the paternal vigilance with which I attend to every thing conducive to the happiness I sincerely wish them, and to which they have every claim from their distinguished loyalty, and their noble and generous character.

Notorious as is the moderation with which I have proceeded in respect to France, since the development of those principles of impiety and anarchy which are now convulsing and annihilating that unhappy kingdom, it is almost superfluous to mention it. I shall only advert to the occurrences there within these last months, without enumerating the horrid and multiplied crimes of the French, and one of the most atrocious, and the most painful to my reflection. My principal views in regard to the French only went to discover if there was any possibility of bringing them to act on a rational system, capable of restraining their boundless ambition, and preventing the calamities of a general war throughout Europe, and likewise to obtain the liberty of their king, Louis XVI. and that of his family, prisoners in a tower, and daily exposed to the repetition of the most shocking insults and dangers. Impressed with these sentiments, and solicitous to compass any views so necessary to universal tranquillity, and not less agreeable to the laws of humanity than correspondent to the ties of blood, and the lustre of my crown, I ceded to the reiterated instances of the French ministry, and ordered the engrossment of two notes, in the one of which a neutrality was stipulated, and in the

M

other,

other, the retiring of the troops from the respective frontiers.— When it was necessary, as a consequence of agreement, that both notes should be admitted, they did not attend to the one relative to the retiring of their troops, and proposed leaving a part of theirs in the vicinity of Bayonne, under the specious pretext of their dreading an invasion from the English, but in reality more for the purpose of awing us into an acquiescence with their measures, obliging us thereby to maintain an equal and expensive armament on our frontiers, to prevent the pillage and insult of an undisciplined and mutinous soldiery. In the same note they were studious to speak affectedly often in the name of the French republic, meaning thereby to oblige us to acknowledge it, by the very act of admitting that document. Having instructed my chargé d'affaires in Paris to make the most efficacious interference in behalf of the king and his unhappy family, on presenting the notes drawn up here, I did not stipulate their enlargement as an express condition, fearing to injure thereby a cause, in the interest of which I took such a lively and natural issue; and being moreover convinced, that without a consummate bad faith in the French ministry, that an earnest recommendation and interference on delivering the notes had with them the most intimate though tacit connection, and that they must have known it was impossible to separate the one from the other, and that the not expressing it was a pure effect of delicacy and attention to them, that they might have an opportunity of availing of it with the various factions by which

France was and is deceived, and give them the merit of effectuating a good to which we ought to think them propitious; but their treachery soon became manifest, for whilst they disregarded the recommendation and interference of the sovereign of a great and generous nation, they urged the admission of the notes they had uttered, accompanying every instance with threats, that if not admitted, their chargé d'affaires should have orders to retire. Whilst they continued their solicitations, mixed with threats, they were proceeding in the most cruel and outrageous of their crimes, *the assassination of their sovereign*; and when my heart and that of all my subjects was wrung with anguish and horror at this atrocious act, they still pretended to continue their negotiations: not that they thought them admissible, but in order to outrage the more my honour, and that of my subjects, for they well knew, that under such circumstances every new instance on their part was but an ironic mockery, to which I could not give leave without forgetting my own dignity and decorum. Their chargé d'affaires asked for, and received his passport; at the same time a French vessel captured a Spanish one, on the coast of Catalonia, on which account the commandant general ordered reprisals, and contemporary with this received the news of their having made other prizes, and that in Marseilles and the other ports of France, they have detained and embargoed several of our vessels. Finally, on the 7th current, they declared war, which they were already waging against us, since the 26th of February, by the date of letters of marque, found aboard their

their privateer *Le Renard*, capt. J. B. La Lann, captured by our sloop of war the *Higero*, capt. Don Juan De Dios Copete.

In consequence of which conduct, and the hostilities commenced by the French even prior to any declaration of war, I have given the necessary orders to detain, repulse, and attack the enemy by sea and land, as occasion requires, and I have resolved, and ordered that war be forthwith declared in this court against France; its possessions and inhabitants, and that in all parts of my dominions, provisions and preparations be made conducive to the defence of them, and of my subjects, and to the offence of my enemy.

Given at Aranjuez, the 23d March, 1798.

Note delivered by Prince Colloredo, Vice-Chancellor of the Germanic Empire, in the name of the Emperor, to M. Durns, the Palatine Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna, relative to the neutral conduct hitherto observed by the Elector Palatine and of Bavaria.

HIS majesty the emperor, as chief of the Germanic empire, observes no other motive, in judging the duties of the states of the said empire, than the objects of the universal interests of the Germanic constitution, and of the first fundamental law of the empire, before which every private convenience must vanish.

The invasion of the French during last year, has already rendered it necessary, by virtue of the fundamental imperial laws, to impose a junction of arms as a duty upon

the states. The orders of the imperial executive government, which do not only provide for the internal maintenance of peace, but also for the safety of the empire from abroad, make it already an obligation incumbent upon the states to give assistance at the approach of danger.

The imperial conclusion of the 23d of November last ordaining that junction of arms, is indeed nothing else but a repetition of the fundamental laws ascertaining the duties of the states.

Whether the elector palatine has or not acquiesced in those laws, his majesty the emperor shall leave to his highness's own conscience, to the impartial Germanic public, and to posterity.

His majesty could not but see with sorrow and displeasure, that private interest was separated from the common weal, interested plans preferred to the duties of the states towards their oppressed neighbouring colleagues, and the public safety built upon unconstitutional political principles of neutrality, instead of preparing, with true Germanic manhood, for a vigorous resistance.

His imperial majesty was still more displeased at finding the means concerted to give the oppressed empire obstructed, the operations rendered difficult, and the success of the good cause materially affected.

The present offer of his electoral highness to furnish, on certain conditions, 3000 men from the garrison of Mannheim for the imperial service, is not a sufficient discharge of his duties as a state of the empire, since the elector, instead of furnishing his triple contingent, offers

only small subsidies, quite inadequate to the extent of his dominions.

His majesty the emperor expects therefore in a serious manner, that the elector will no longer elude his duty under frivolous pretences, but furnish his complete contingent, and thus blot out, by a conduct correspondent with his oath of allegiance, all the unfavourable impressions which his conduct has hitherto made upon the German public, and save to his imperial majesty the unpleasant trouble of breaking off his personal friendship, and of letting the empire proceed in judgment upon his late conduct.

(Signed) PRINCE COLLOREDO.
Done at Vienna,
April 30, 1793.

*Letter written by the Elector of
Mentz to General Dumourier.*

Cologne, May 16, 1793.

I HAVE received, Sir, your letter of the 12th instant, and am strangely surprised to find that you still reside at Mergentheim. I once had hopes you would have made a better use of the indulgence which I had shewn in the orders given to my governor, to induce you to seek some other place of residence. But it appears that you want, by your letter, a farther declaration of my sentiments, which I will not delay giving you.

France, whose interior parts were shaken by divers profligate factions, inspired me at first with nothing but compassion: a horde of ruffians have since changed that sentiment, by their iniquitous deeds, into abhorrence. I beheld the events

which then occurred, as the madness of the moment; and although myself, and the teutonic order of which I am director, sustained great losses by them, yet I considered the whole as mere catastrophes, and flattered myself with confidence, to see a new order of things, from the moment their minds should have recovered from their phrenzy. All spirit of order and constitution was destroyed in France, but the rest of the world remained quiet. To your ministry alone, Sir, the greatest part of Europe stands indebted for its participation in those unlucky events. You was the first that advised France to invade foreign countries, to attack neighbours, and to spread among them all the horrors which convulsed your own country. All the blood which has been spilt, all the cruel extortions and oppressions which so general and disastrous a war brings not only upon France, but upon all the world, reflect upon you, its first author and promoter; and the signal and splendid successes of your generalship can neither palliate nor obliterate the injury you have committed upon mankind.

I will forbear speaking of the manner in which you quitted the army: my judgment, which, as a private man, is only founded on a sense of candour and rectitude, would not please you; and I congratulate you upon your interpreting as a token of regard, the curiosity which the people manifested when they saw you, the author of their misfortunes, and the object of their apprehensions, deprived of the power of ill-treating them in future. Nay, it is not your principles, but the times alone which are altered; and if the powers of Eu-

rope

rope are of opinion that you might be of service to them, or if you imagine they owe you thanks, I assure you, on the contrary, that, as a simple private individual, whom some countries have chosen for their chief and governor, I neither can reconcile myself to such a thought, nor have any direct or indirect connexion with you; I rather find myself under the necessity of renewing the orders to my governor to urge your departure from my dominions.

With these sentiments I am,

FREDERICK CHARLES JOSEPH.
*Baron von Erthal, primate of
all Germany, archbishop and
ELECTOR OF MENTZ.*

*Letter from General Dumourier to
Lord Grenville.*

Saturday, June 15, 1793.

My Lord,

I CHARGE Monsieur de Lacoste, a merchant of Brussels, to deliver to your excellency this letter, and two passports from the archduke Charles; the one under the name of Charles Peralta, the other under my real name. I found great inconvenience in travelling through Germany without this precaution; and it was by the advice of Messrs. de Metternick and de Mercy, together with their friends, that I took an Italian name.

My intention is not to stay in London, being too well known there to make my situation agreeable. I seek a house at a distance from London, where I can remain quiet, and wait the end of the troubles of my unfortunate country. If the greatest statesman in Europe, Mr. Pitt, and you, my lord, will

agree to this, so necessary for my safety and my repose, I shall remain in the greatest privacy.

My lord Auckland will acquaint your excellency of what the chevalier de Maulde informed him during the negociation. My lord Gower will also give you an account of my conduct towards England during my ministry; but it is not for these that I claim the generosity of the English nation.

Your lordship will see that it was necessity alone that made me change my name when I come to seek an asylum in England. I respect the laws. The fiction I made use of when at Dover was merely local, and I hasten to repair it by a true declaration of myself.

If my request can be granted, I will comply with whatever the prudence of the minister shall require of me. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) DUMOURIER.

Lord Grenville's Answer.

Whitehall, June 16, 1793.

I RECEIVED, Sir, this morning, the letter you did me the honour to address to me. It is the business of the secretary of state for the home department to take the orders of his majesty relative to the residence of strangers in this kingdom, and to notify the same officially; but as it is to me that you have addressed yourself on this occasion, I could not do otherwise than acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and answer the demand contained therein.

Your stay in England will be subject to too many inconveniences, to make it possible for the govern-

government of this country to permit it. I cannot but regret, that you had not gained information in this particular before you came to England. If your wish had been made known to me before you undertook the journey, I would have informed you without reserve, that it would have been a useless one. It remains now with me to point out to you my opinion, that you must conform, without delay, to the decision I have been under the necessity to communicate to you by this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

M. Dumourier.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 21.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
THE firmness, wisdom, and public spirit by which your conduct has been eminently distinguished on the many important occasions which have arisen during the present session, demand my peculiar acknowledgments.

Your firm determination to support the established constitution, and the zealous and general concurrence in that sentiment which my subjects have so strongly and seasonably manifested, could not fail to check every attempt to disturb the internal repose of these kingdoms; and you will, I doubt not, in your several counties encourage the continuance of the same vigilant attention to that important object.

The rapid and signal successes which in an early period of the campaign have attended the operations of the combined armies; the

respectable and powerful force which you have enabled me to employ by sea and land, and the measures which I have concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war, afford the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged; it is only by perseverance in vigorous exertions, and by endeavouring to improve the advantages already acquired, that we can hope to obtain the great end to which my views are uniformly directed, the restoration of peace on such terms as may be consistent with our permanent security, and with the general tranquillity of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the cheerfulness and dispatch with which you have granted the necessary supplies, and I am happy to reflect that you have enabled liberally to provide for the exigencies of the public service in a manner so little burthensome to my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The arrangements which you have formed for the government of the British territories in India, and for the regulation of our commerce with that part of the world, will, I doubt not, secure and augment the important benefits which we have already derived from these valuable possessions. It has been impossible for me to see without concern the embarrassment which has lately arisen in the state of commercial credit; but the steps which you have taken to prevent the progress of that evil appear ready to have been productive of very

very salutary consequences; and while they have afforded a striking instance of your attention to the interests of my people, their effect has furnished additional reason to believe that the distress which has been felt proceeded from a concurrence of temporary causes, and not from any diminution of the real wealth, or any failure in the permanent resources, of the country.

I have much satisfaction in reflecting on the effectual protection which I have been enabled to afford to the trade of my subjects since the breaking out of the war; I am at the same time persuaded, that if our commercial interests had unavoidably been affected to a more considerable extent, it would not have been forgotten that we are contending for our future security, and for the permanent preservation of advantages the most striking and the most valuable which any nation has ever, by the blessing of Providence, been permitted to enjoy.

Proclamation of Gen. Ricardos, commanding the Spanish army against France.

THE army over which the king has been pleased to give me the command, does not enter France with hostile intentions. His majesty, a constant friend of the French monarchy and nation, only proposes to himself to deliver her from the horrid despotism with which she is oppressed and tyrannized by an unlawful, usurping, and unruled assembly, who, after having subverted and trod upon religion, laws, and the safety of public and individual property, after having committed and or-

dained, in cold blood, the most unheard-of murders on the most respectable and innocent persons, have filled the measure of their iniquities by shedding the blood of their lawful and well-meaning sovereign.

For these reasons the king orders me to declare, as I do declare in his name, that all good Frenchmen who, abhorring the erroneous and perverse maxims that have produced, and are productive of an overthrow, as fatal as it is disastrous, shall declare themselves to be attached to their monarchy, will find in his majesty every kind of protection and support; that the troops whom I have the honour to command, shall observe the most scrupulous discipline; and shall in no manner attack the safety nor property of any body; that the speediest justice shall be done to every Frenchman who shall make a well-founded complaint against any individual whatever of the Spanish army; and that the troops shall pay ready money for whatever is sold or furnished to them. On the contrary, all those who have persecuted who, perverting religious principles, or deluded by the attraction of an illusory liberty, shall side with the pretended national convention, and act against the good cause, either in a hostile manner by advice, or by suggestions; and all such shall be treated as rebels and traitors to religion, their sovereign, and native country.

(Signed) RICARDOS.

Manifesto of the City of Marseilles to the French Nation.

YOU know the dangers which threaten the public cause; they are such that we must hasten to

guilty of so atrocious a crime, from finding an asylum in their respective states.

This event, which was anticipated with so much horror, has taken place, and the divine vengeance appeared not to have been tardy in its pursuit. Some of those detestable regicides are already in a situation to be reached by the sword of the law. Others are as yet in the midst of the people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils; to which famine, anarchy, and a civil war, are now about to superadd new calamities. —Every event which we witness, concurs to make us believe, that the end is not far distant of those unfortunate men, whose madness and whose atrocities have penetrated with astonishment and indignation all those who adhere to the principles of religion, of morality, or of humanity.

In consequence, the undersigned submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of their high mightinesses, whether it may not be found proper to employ all the means which are in their power to forbid the entrance of their estates in Europe, or their colonies, to all the members of the self-styled *national convention*, or of the pretended *executive council*, who have taken part, directly or indirectly, in the crime before alluded to, and *if they should be discovered and arrested, to cause them to be delivered into the hands of justice, that they may be made to serve as a lesson and example to the human race!*

AUCKLAND.

LOUIS C. DE STARHEMBERG.
Hague, April 5, 1793.

Reply to the Memorial delivered to their High Mightinesses on the 31st of April 1793, by Lord Auckland, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, and the Count of Starhemberg, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor,

THEIR high mightinesses perfectly well recollect the solemn declaration they made in the month of September of the last year, in reply to a requisition on the part of the count Starhemberg, relative to those who might be culpable of the highest of crimes towards his most Christian majesty, or his royal family.

They have since partaken, with all honest minds, the general and profound sensation of terror and indignation which the horrible event that has taken place in France has spread throughout all Europe; and they are as determined as they ever were, to attend to the execution of the measures they at that time resolved on.

The states general are the more persuaded of the necessity which exists in every well-regulated state, of efficaciously opposing the audacity of those who seek to destroy the happiness of civil societies, by tearing asunder all the bonds of a just subordination to the legitimate authority of an established government, because this republic has been taught by her own experience the bad effects of so criminal a project. Indeed it is at this time notorious, that a small number of inhabitants, emigrated from these provinces, and usurping the name and rights of sovereignty, have had

the audacity to attack their country with arms in their hands, and publicly to threaten with death the members of the legitimate government, and all those who were employed in the defence of the state, provided they would not abandon their posts.—And although these acts of rebellion are neither in their nature nor in their consequences to be compared to the crimes which have been committed in France, they, notwithstanding derive their origin from the same causes. The states general, in consequence, expect from the equity and wisdom of all the governments of Europe, and more especially from their majesties the emperor and the king of Great Britain, that they will take good care not to grant an asylum in their states to those who have taken on them to make such enormous attempts against the government of this republic, and who, by proclamations and manifestoes, signed by them, have snatched their names from the oblivion which ought to have been their lot;—but that on the contrary, should they be discovered, they will be apprehended, to the end that they may be pursued by justice, and punished with all the severity of the law.

Declaration and Decree of War against the French, by his Catholic Majesty, directed to his Council of State, of Castile, of War, Indies, Inquisition, &c. &c.

AMONG the objects to which I have principally attended, since my exaltation to the throne, is the preservation of peace and tranquillity in Europe, in which,

VOL. XXXV.

by contributing to the general good of humanity, I have given my subjects a particular proof of the paternal vigilance with which I attend to every thing conducive to the happiness I sincerely wish them, and to which they have every claim from their distinguished loyalty, and their noble and generous character.

Notorious as is the moderation with which I have proceeded in respect to France, since the development of those principles of impiety and anarchy which are now convulsing and annihilating that unhappy kingdom, it is almost superfluous to mention it. I shall only advert to the occurrences there within these last months, without enumerating the horrid and multiplied crimes of the French, and one of the most atrocious, and the most painful to my reflection. My principal views in regard to the French only went to discover if there was any possibility of bringing them to act on a rational system, capable of restraining their boundless ambition, and preventing the calamities of a general war throughout Europe, and likewise to obtain the liberty of their king, Louis XVI. and that of his family, prisoners in a tower, and daily exposed to the repetition of the most shocking insults and dangers. Impressed with these sentiments, and solicitous to compass any views so necessary to universal tranquillity, and not less agreeable to the laws of humanity than correspondent to the ties of blood, and the lustre of my crown, I ceded to the reiterated instances of the French ministry, and ordered the engrossment of two notes, in the one of which a neutrality was stipulated, and in the

M

other,

to unite in a body to effect the annihilation of the factious in their den, the Marseillais, who want to terminate the revolution they began, and to propagate the example they gave, invite to them all citizens desirous of meriting well of mankind. They adopt this mode only on account of the urgency of the case, and submitting their measures to the examination and approbation of all the members of the sovereignty, and without pretending to set bounds to the zeal of the generous defenders of their country, who wish spontaneously to reinforce the phalanx of liberty, they hope it will increase in its passage, and will be joined by all citizens desirous of doing good.

That in the colours of this army the soldiers of their country will read the completion of every good law; the republic one and indivisible; respect to persons and property—consoling words already engraven in their hearts.

That we appeal to God and to our arms, on account of the crimes committed against the integrity of the national representation; the insults offered to the individual liberty of our extraordinary deputies; the *liberticide* plots from which a miracle of Providence has saved us, and the accomplices of which, charged with executing the horrid deed within our walls, Marseilles is now prosecuting. A popular tribunal, to which it owes its peaceful and awful existence, is trying the conspirators, notwithstanding the obstacles which have been thrown in the way. Invested with the confidence of the people, and defended by it, the most imperious of laws, those of the pre-

sent circumstances, determine the activity and the people of Marseilles. Instead of being refractory to the law, by employing the sword of it to strike the guilty, discharge the principal of social duties, which is, the speediest distribution of justice.

Thus the city of Marseilles joins in the motives drawn from the common safety of the republic, which legalizes its determination, a representation of the painful grievances which afflict it, and the necessity it is under of silencing its calumniators, who, despairing of being able to kindle among us the torch of discord, date to prevent it to the national convention the light of truth.

Republicans, the signal has been given—the moments are precious and decisive measures are necessary! Let us march—let the law enter Paris along with us; and if you are not acquainted with the roads to it, follow the traces of the blood of your brethren; they will conduct you to the bottom of its walls, from which have proceeded those murderous scourges, the sanguinary plots and destructive manœuvres, the sources of all our misery.

There you will restore liberty to good citizens, and dignity to the national representation. The villains will disappear, and the republic will be saved.

Deliberated in the general committee of the thirty-two sections of Marseilles, June 12, 1793, the second year of the French republic.

(Signed) PELOUX, President,
CASTELLANET, } Secretaries,
PINATEL,

Preliminary Declaration by Admiral Lord Hood to the Inhabitants of Toulon.

IF a candid and explicit declaration in favour of monarchy is made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts provisionally at my disposition; so as to allow of the egress and regress with safety, the people of Provence shall have all the assistance and support his Britannic majesty's fleet under my command can give; and not an atom of private property of any individual shall be touched, but protected; having no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation upon just, liberal, and honourable terms; this must be the ground-work of the treaty. And whenever peace takes place, which I hope and trust will be soon, the port, with all the ships in the harbour, and forts of Toulon, shall be restored to France, with the stores of every kind, agreeable to the schedule that may be delivered.

Given on board his Britannic majesty's ship Victory, off Toulon, the 23d of August, 1793.
(Signed) HOOD.

Proclamation by Lord Hood to the Inhabitants in the Towns and Provinces in the South of France.

DURING four years you have been involved in a revolution which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you a prey to factious leaders; after having destroyed your government, tram-

pled under foot the laws, assassinated the virtuous, and authorised the commission of crimes, they have endeavoured to propagate throughout Europe their destructive system of every social order. They have constantly held forth to you the idea of liberty, while they have been robbing you of it. Every where they have preached respect to persons and property, and every where in their name it has been violated; they have amused you with the sovereignty of the people, which they have constantly usurped; they have declaimed against the abuses of royalty, in order to establish their tyranny upon the fragments of a throne still reeking with the blood of your legitimate sovereign. Frenchmen! you groan under the pressure of want, and the privation of all specie; your commerce and your industry are annihilated, your agriculture is checked, and the want of provisions threatens you with a horrible famine. Behold, then, the faithful picture of your wretched condition; a situation so dreadful sensibly afflicts the coalesced powers; they see no other remedy but the re-establishment of the French monarchy. It is for this, and the acts of aggression committed by the executive power of France, that we have formed in conjunction with the other coalesced powers. After mature reflection upon these leading objects, I come to offer you the force with which I am intrusted by my sovereign, in order to spare the further effusion of human blood, to crush with promptitude the factious, to re-establish a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europé. Decide, therefore, definitively, and with precision.

precision. Trust your hopes to the generosity of a *loyal and free nation*. In its name I have just given an unequivocal testimony to the well-disposed inhabitants of Marseilles, by granting to the commissioners sent on board the fleet under my command a passport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great town now stands so much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your succour, in order to break the chain which surrounds you, and to be the instrument of making many years of happiness succeed four years of misery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved.

Victory, off Toulon, the 23d day of August, 1793.

(Signed) HOOD.

By command of the admiral,

(Signed) J. M'ARTHUR.

Declaration made to Admiral Lord Hood.

THE general committee of the sections of Toulon, having read the proclamation of admiral lord Hood, commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's squadron, together with his preliminary declaration; and after having communicated these two papers to all the citizens of the town of Toulon, united in sections; considering that France is torn by anarchy, and that it is impossible to exist longer a prey to the factions with which the country is agitated, without its total destruction; considering that the southern departments, after having made long efforts to resist the oppression of a party of factious men, who have conspired to ruin them, find themselves drained and

deprived of all resources to annihilate this coalition of the evil-disposed: considering, in short, that, determined not to submit to the tyranny of a convention that has sworn to ruin the nation, the people of Toulon, and those of Marseilles, would have recourse to the generosity of a loyal people, who have manifested the desire of protecting the true Frenchmen against the anarchists who wish to ruin them;

Declare to Admiral Hood,

1. That the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Toulon is, to reject a constitution which does not promote their happiness; to adopt a monarchic government, such as it was originally by the constituent assembly of 1789; and, in consequence, they have proclaimed Louis XVII. son of Louis XVI. king; and have sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer suffer the despotism of the tyrants which at this time govern France.

2. That the white flag shall be hoisted the instant the English squadron anchors in the road off Toulon, and it will there meet the most friendly reception.

3. That the ships of war now in the road will be disarmed according to admiral Hood's wishes.

4. That the citadel and the forts of the coast shall be provisionally at the disposal of the said admiral; but, for the better establishing the union which ought to exist between the two people, it is requested that the garrison shall be composed of an equal number of French and English, and that nevertheless the command shall devolve to the English.

5. The people of Toulon trust the English nation will furnish speedily a force sufficient to assist in

in repelling the attacks with which they are at this moment threatened by the army of Italy, which marches towards Toulon, and by that of general Carteau, who directs his forces against Marseilles.

5. That the people of Toulon, full of confidence in the generous offers of admiral Hood, trust that all those who hold civil and military employments shall be continued in their places, and shall not be annoyed in their respective occupations.

7. That the subsistence and succours of every kind, of which Toulon stands so much in need, will be assured to the inhabitants by the combined fleet of the powers coalesced.

8. That, when peace shall have been re-established in France, the ships and forts which will be put into the hands the English shall be restored to the French nation, in the same state they were in when the inventory was delivered.

It is according to this declaration, if approved of by admiral Hood, that the Toulonese will regard themselves, with good heart and will, as belonging to the English and the other powers coalesced, and by whose succour will be brought about that peace after which they have panted so long.

(Signed) *Beaudeal*, president; *Rehoul*, vice-president; *Reynaud*, secretary; *La Poype Vertrieux*; *Deydier Cadon*; *Andrew*; *Vialle*; *Barthelemy*, commissary of the department; *Posselle Fourrier*; *Grival*; *Bre Devant*; *Antoine Gabert*; *Porte*; *Jeffre*, commissary of the municipality; *L. Cadier*, commissary of the municipality; *G. Garibow*; *Bouillement*; *For-*

rand; *Chaussegros*, commandant of arms; *Burgues*; *Richaud*, president of the municipality; *Bertrand*; *Sicard*.

Proclamation by the Right Hon. Samuel Lord Hood, Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Squadron in the Mediterranean, &c. on taking possession of Toulon, Aug. 28, 1793.

WHEREAS the sections of Toulon have, by their commissioners to me, made a solemn declaration in favour of monarchy, have proclaimed Louis XVII. son of the late Louis XVI. their lawful king, and have sworn to acknowledge him; and no longer suffer the despotism of the tyrants which at this time govern France, but will do their utmost to establish monarchy, as accepted by their late sovereign in 1789, and restore peace to their distracted and calamitous country.

I do hereby repeat, what I have already declared to the people of the south of France, that I take possession of Toulon, and hold it in trust only for Louis XVII. until peace shall be re-established in France, which I hope and trust will be soon.

Given on board his Britannic majesty's ship *Victory*, off Toulon, the 28th of August, 1793.

(Signed) HOOD.

By command of the admiral,

(Signed) J. M'ARTHUR, Sec.

Note delivered by Mr. Keene, Chargé d'Affaires from his Britannic Majesty,

jeſty, to the Members of the Cabinet of the King of Sweden.

THE undersigned chargé d'affaires of his Britannic majesty has orders to communicate to the ministers of his majesty the king of Sweden, a copy of the orders issued out by his Britannic majesty, in his privy council, concerning several measures relative to the trade and navigation of neutral nations during the present war.

The minister of Sweden will no doubt observe, that the rules prescribed in these orders are more favourable to Sweden than those stipulated in the treaty existing between the two courts, as in the treaty all transports of provisions to an enemy are declared contraband, and subject to confiscation.

The exception in favour of Sweden, in the article of these regulations concerning blocked-up ports, is founded upon the same treaty, the principles of which are perfectly consistent with the precriptions given to the commanders of his majesty's armed vessels. It can certainly not be imagined that the object of this treaty has been to permit to the vessels belonging to neutral powers to renew their attempts of entering into blocked-up ports as many times till they succeed in throwing provisions into them; they have only been exempted from the punishment of confiscation upon the first attempt.

His majesty does not doubt but that the court of Sweden will consider the particular attention which his Britannic majesty, on this occasion, paid to the interests of Sweden, and of which this present communication is not less a proof.

His majesty therefore expects, on the part of Sweden, the strictest observance of the said treaty; and that, according to the conditions expressed in the thirteenth article, orders will be given, that no vessels or goods, taken by the enemy from British subjects, should be permitted to enter into the Swedish ports; and to prevent, in case an enemy's vessel should carry any vessels or goods belonging to British subjects, that captured goods of vessels should be sold in the states of Sweden; and that all British sailors, prisoners, &c. carried into the ports of Sweden, as well as the enemy's vessels themselves, shall not be permitted to make any stay in these ports; and all the British sailors, masters of vessels, and all prisoners at their arrival in any Swedish port, shall immediately be set at liberty.

The following is the Answer of M. Bergstedt, the Chargé d'Affaires from the Court of Stockholm to that of London, delivered to the Minister of his Britannic Majesty.

HIS royal highness the duke regent of Sweden, having been instructed of the contents of the note which the chargé d'affaires of his Britannic majesty at Stockholm transmitted, by order of his Britannic majesty, on the 26th of last month, to his excellency the great chancellor of the Swedish empire, baron Von Sparre, has given orders to the undersigned chargé d'affaires of his Swedish majesty at the court of London, by means of this present official note, to the minister of his Britannic majesty, to declare that his royal highness

highness the duke regent of Sweden observed, with inexpressible pleasure, that he had not been mistaken in the favourable opinion which he ever entertained of the principles of justice by which the steps of the court of Great Britain are guided, and of its religious observance of treaties; his royal highness assuring at the same time, that all the points of these treaties shall be observed on his side with not less strictness.

The undersigned, moreover, has special orders from his royal highness the duke regent, to give the strongest assurances on his part, that not only the strictest orders will be given in the name of his majesty of Sweden, respecting the punctual execution of the articles of the treaties of neutrality, but likewise that his royal highness shall always think it his duty to seize every opportunity to convince his Britannic majesty of the friendship of the court of Sweden, and of his constant desire to preserve and strengthen the harmony and the mutual good understanding which is reigning between the two empires.

(Signed) J. VON BERGSTEDT.

Note delivered on the 30th of July to the High Chancellor of Sweden, by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires.

WHEREAS the undersigned chargé d'affaires of her imperial majesty of all the Russias refers to the amicable and confidential overtures which his excellency count Sticksberg, the Russian ambassador, was charged to make to the ministers of his Swedish majesty in the beginning of this year, and in concert with the emperor

other courts interested in the present war; he has the honour to declare to the said ministers, that her imperial majesty, in consequence of an arrangement made with his Britannic majesty, has resolved to set sail a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, and some frigates, which is destined to cruise in the north and east seas, to check and cut off the navigation of the French rebels, and to protect the coasts of those seas from their privateers and robbers.—The instructions with which the commander of this fleet is provided, prescribe to him to seize and capture all the ships bearing the pretended French flag, or any other flag which they may dare to hoist; and to stop also, and to compel all neutral ships bound to or freighted for France, according as they shall deem it most expedient, either to sail back, or enter some neutral harbour. After all the proofs which her imperial majesty has given of her magnanimous and most disinterested care to secure the rights of neutral states in time of war, by a code of maritime laws, which most powers have, by solemn treaties, sealed with their approbation, she cannot possibly be suspected of wishing to infringe upon this beneficent and salutary system, as it is no ways applicable to the present circumstances.

In order to prove and establish this assertion, it will suffice to mention; that the usurpers of the government in France, after having published all orders, and having embraced their murderous policy, the blood of their victims is on their hands; and that they intend to continue the friendship and protection of all those who shall consent to the same.

rors and excesses against their own government in other states; and they have not only promised them succours and every assistance, but even attacked, by force of arms, most of the adjacent powers.

By so doing, they put themselves into an immediate state of war with all the powers of Europe; and from that period, neutrality could only take place where prudence prescribed, to conceal the resolution prescribed by the general interest. But this motive exists no longer, since the most formidable powers have joined in league to make theirs one common cause against the enemy of the safety and prosperity of nations. If there be any whose situation does not allow such strong and decisive efforts as the other powers have recourse to, it is but justice that they should join the common cause by other means which are wholly in their power, and especially by breaking off all commerce and intercourse with the perturbator of public rest. Her imperial majesty thinks herself the more entitled to propose these measures, as she first set the example of them, and introduced them in her dominions, notwithstanding the temporary prejudice which resulted therefrom to the exportation and sale of the productions of her empire.—She has but too well foreseen the inconveniencies to which the public weal would be exposed, if the common enemy had been permitted, by means of a free supply of provisions and naval stores, to foster and prolong anarchy. She has but too well foreseen those inconveniencies to hesitate about sacrificing some momentary advantages—the least which so great a cause exacts. Equally confident of

the justice of these reasons, and of the friendship of his Swedish majesty the empress does not delay to renew her urgent representation to the king her ally, to induce him to persevere in his friendly as well as salutary intentions, having given orders to his admiralty to refuse convoys to all Swedish ships, which, in the present juncture, are bound for France; and to prescribe to all others bound to other harbours, to submit to their being searched by the ships of war of her imperial majesty, which is at present a point absolutely necessary, and compatible with the indulgence and respect that ought to take place between allies and neighbouring powers.

(Signed)

NOTBEK.

Stockholm, July, 30, 1793.

Declaratory Memorial to the Court of Denmark, respecting its Navigation during the War with France, delivered by the British Minister at Copenhagen.

NO one can be mistaken, how much the circumstances of the present war differ from those upon which the law of nations introduced among the powers of Europe, and its usual customs, are founded. It can be as little denied, that this difference must have an important and essential influence upon the exercise of the privileges which belong to the neutral powers, by virtue of the universal law of nations, or by separate treaties.

At present there exists no government in France, which is acknowledged either by the belligerent powers, or even by those who still adhere to neutrality. The court of Denmark has no minister at Paris; and since the tragical end of

of his late most Christian majesty, it has received none from France. This court has taken great care not to acknowledge the existence of a legitimate authority in France; and indeed there exists none in that country: and although special causes have prevented this court from entering into the war, yet it cannot consider France as a power with whom it would find it possible to preserve the former treaties of amity and neutrality.

If, therefore, in usual cases, as neutral powers continue to carry on commerce with two nations engaged in war with each other, and in friendship with the said neutral power, the path of negotiations ever open, as well as the acknowledged usages of all the jurisdictions in Europe, constantly offer to the said neutral power means of ascertaining whether or not the neutrality kept by one of those nations is also observed by the other in the like manner: the said neutral power may ascertain whether that neutrality is not misused by one of those powers to the prejudice of the other, and the impartial friendship thereby violated—a friendship to which both nations have an equal claim; and if, by unforeseen circumstances, the usual mode of exercising the neutral commercial privileges, should become especially and more detrimental to one of those powers than the other, the injured power might, by friendly representations, render valid this principle with the latter, and renounce without difficulty a right which ceases to be any longer consistent with that neutrality.

None of these circumstances is admissible in the present case. Den-

VOL. XXXV.

mark, while she preserves all her neutral privileges of commerce with regard to England—privileges which are secured to her in the usual cases by the universal law of nations and her separate treaties—she can in no respect be assured of the observance thereof in France, where that neutrality has already been and is still daily violated—where his Danish majesty has no minister to enforce his rights and the rights of his subjects—where his Danish majesty acknowledges no lawful authority—and where there are indeed no other laws nor tribunals except the will of a licentious populace.

His Danish majesty will also find it impossible to treat with France in an amicable manner, and as a neutral power, respecting the means of introducing those measures of precaution, upon the observance of which the other belligerent powers have so great a right to insist, in order that the prerogative neutral commerce, especially the corn and grain trade, be not abused at a time when so many circumstances perfectly new have acceded. It is a fact of universal notoriety, that the corn trade of France with foreign countries is no longer a mere private trade, but that, contrary to all custom, it remains almost entirely in the hands of the pretended executive council, and of the different municipalities. It can, therefore, no longer be considered as a mere combination of private speculations, of which the individuals of other nations partake, but as a business immediately carried on by the above-mentioned pretended government which has declared war against us.

N

It

It is equally notorious, that at the present moment, one of the most essential expedients to compel those who have declared war against us to equitable terms of peace, consists in their being prevented by importation to prevent that want, which is a necessary consequence of what they have done, in order to arm the whole labouring class of the people of France against the other governments and the general tranquillity of Europe. It is a principle allowed by all the writers upon the public right, that importation may be prevented, if there are hopes that by so doing one can conquer an enemy, and especially so, if the want of that enemy has been occasioned by those measures which they took to injure us: and it is incontrovertible, that this case, quite new in its kind, cannot be judged by the principles and rules which were only made for wars carried on according to the customs introduced among the sovereigns of Europe.

It is farther to be observed that his Danish majesty, if he gives reception in his ports to French privateers with their prizes, cannot secure to himself that security which is requisite, according to the laws of nations, for the validity of their letters of marque, and for the regularity of their conduct. The courts of justice cannot, without involving themselves in a manifest contradiction, acknowledge the legality of any patent or letter of marque that is derived from a government which his majesty does not acknowledge to be sovereign. On account of this non-acknowledgment, prizes can neither be

condemned, nor British subjects and British property be retained, in the ports belonging to a friendly power, whose protection they are entitled to claim, without a direct violation of the treaties; and it is, above all, impossible to apply, in this case, the usual laws of an impartial neutrality, since there is no acknowledged authority in France which can give to privateers the proper instructions respecting their conduct, and to which a neutral power might apply to bring them to punishment, whenever they deviate from those instructions, on the non-observance of which they are not to be considered as legal privateers, but only as pirates.

(Signed)

HANLES.

Answer returned by the Court of Denmark to the Memorial lately delivered by the British Minister.

HIS majesty the king of Denmark feels always the liveliest concern whenever he finds himself under the absolute necessity of contending with the principles of the powers in alliance or friendship with his majesty, or of complaining with regard to their proceedings. His majesty was in hopes, that the most conscientious observance of the strictest neutrality, and his intention of acting in conformity to his treaties, would spare him those unpleasant sensations. But the unexpected contents of the note which Mr. Hankey ambassador extraordinary of the Britannic majesty, has delivered, and which has been supported by

by count Von Goltz, ambassador extraordinary of his Prussian majesty, will allow the king no longer to remain silent. The principles which his majesty opposes to those laid before him, are contained in the enclosed memorial. It is not the desire of supporting an opinion once declared, which induces his majesty to abide by his own. The conviction of the most momentous interests, the desire of his subjects of preserving the peace of which they stand in need, have fixed that opinion. His majesty is convinced that he is addressing himself to friends, to just and equitable sovereigns; his majesty speaks therefore with frankness, and without subterfuge.

It is not required here to illustrate rights. The rights of Denmark are not problematical; and the king, sir, appeals in this point to the feelings of the sovereigns his friends, whether it must not be a painful task for him to enter into negotiations respecting the performance of his plain, acknowledged, and allowed treaties? His majesty flatters himself, that it will never be adopted as a principle, or be enforced as such in this respect, by the assertion that the different nature of a war can alter the nature of a mutual contract, or that mutual allowances can be considered as favours or privileges, or that any two powers shall make regulations at the expence of a third power, or that belligerent states shall ease the burthen inseparable from war by throwing it upon their innocent neighbours. These objects might furnish matter of explanation: but his majesty thinks he would give offence to the respective courts to

which he appeals, were he to apprehend that those courts, after having heard his counter-representations, would persevere in those principles; and still less that they would employ preponderant violence, and substitute it for arguments and proofs, or for the concessions necessary to the parties interested. His majesty having made no separate agreement with the other neutral powers, he does not know their sentiments on this head; but his majesty is convinced that their opinion and resistance will be unanimous, and that they will also perceive that it is impossible to combine the system of neutrality with measures which wholly destroy it.

The king is not afraid of there being any room of complaint against him. His majesty has demanded nothing but what is strictly conformable to the treaties. His majesty has remained faithful to his stipulations and neutrality. He is the injured party; but he cannot conceive how his majesty the king of Great Britain could, without the consent of his Danish majesty, give fresh instructions to the commanders of the British ships of war, which are absolutely contrary to the former instructions, and to his treaties with Denmark. The king entertained hopes that those instructions would only have extended to those states to which England is not tied by decisive conventions.

But since his majesty can no longer admit of this declaration, he finds himself obliged, against his will, to protest against those instructions, as an open infringement of the treaties; and of the most sacred law which exists between men, to preserve all his rights, and most

urgently to request his Britannic majesty to do away this recent rupture, by giving only such instructions as are consistent with the spirit of the existing and manifestly binding engagements. This is not done because his majesty feels indifference at the pleasure of manifesting his friendship to the king of Great Britain, and likewise to the king of Prussia, and their allies, by violating his rigorous duties. The king will do every thing which is possible, provided it does not compromise the neutrality and prosperity of the Danish nation. His majesty consents to consider as blockaded, all those French ports, opposite and near which there shall be a superior naval force of England or of her allies. His majesty will neither enter, nor favour the entering, into a contract with the French government, for supplying its marine or its armies.—His majesty will not suffer in his dominions the sale of prizes made by French ships; nor will his majesty cease to claim in France the effects of the English subjects, and of the subjects of the allies of England, entrusted to the protection of the Danish flag; and he will exert himself in the recovery thereof, in the same manner as if they were Danish property. In short, his majesty will omit nothing of that which can cement his connexions with the powers whose friendship and esteem he has always requested, or which can manifest his fidelity with regard to his alliances, and his respect of the fundamental principles of society and of the public weal.

(Signed) A. P. VON BERNSTORFF.
Foreign Office, Copenhagen,
July 28, 1793.

Counter Declaration of the Court of Denmark, in Reply to the Memorial delivered by the British Minister.

THE law of nations is unalterable. Its principles do not depend on circumstances. An enemy engaged in war can exercise vengeance upon those who do not expect it; but in this case, and without violating the rigid law, a fatal reciprocity may take place: but a neutral power which lives in peace, cannot admit of, nor acknowledge, such a compensation; it can only screen itself by its impartiality and by its treaties. It is not pardonable for her to renounce its rights in favour of any belligerent power. The basis of its rights is the universal and public law, before which all authority must vanish; it is neither a party nor a judge; nor do the treaties give room to privileges and favours. All these stipulations constitute the perfect law: they are mutual obligations. That would be a very unnatural agreement, which any of the contracting parties might at pleasure suppress, interpret, or restrain. In this manner all treaties would in general become impracticable, because they would be useless. What becomes of equity, fidelity, and safety? and how much more unjust must become opposition when it sets aside the infringement of sacred duties, the advantages of which have been enjoyed, but only acknowledged as long as they suited self-interest?

Denmark will surely never attempt to justify the present government in France, its nature and origin; but she will not give her judgment,

judgment, and her neutrality will not permit her to express her mind on this subject. We only confine ourselves to the lamenting the disasters which have befallen that country, and, on its account, all Europe; and to the wishing to see them brought to a speedy termination. But this is not the moment to own or acknowledge a form of government which we have always refused to acknowledge.—The nation is there, and the authority which it acknowledges is that to which application is made in cases concerning single individuals. The commercial connexions subsist likewise in the same manner as they did between England and France, as long as the latter chose to preserve peace. The nation has not ceased to acknowledge her treaties with us; at least she conforms herself agreeable to those treaties. As she appeals to them, so do we appeal to them—and frequently with good success, both for ourselves, and in favour of those subjects of the belligerent powers who commit their effects to the protection of our flag. In cases of refusal and delay, we have frequently been obliged to hear often and reluctantly, that they only used to make reprisals, since the nations with whom they were at war shewed as little regard for their treaties with us; and thus the neutral flag becomes the victim of errors which it cannot reproach itself with. The path of justice still continues open in France. The consuls and the mandataries of private individuals are heard. No one is prevented from applying to the tribunals of commerce. This is sufficient in ordinary cases. No fresh negotiations are required for

the maintenance of existing treaties. Ministers become quite superfluous in this respect; there are judges, and this is sufficient.

These considerations are already violated by the observation, that our grievances are frequently heard in France, and that there is no possibility of getting them redressed. The municipalities, to whom application must be made, are certainly not alike equitable; the sentences of the tribunals of commerce are not founded upon uniform principles; the extreme means of refuge to a medium of power is totally removed; and these circumstances occasion at times grievous acts of injustice. In this respect none are greater sufferers than the neutral powers; and it would be very unequitable to punish them doubly, and also on the part of those powers who cry aloud against those unjust proceedings, and yet seem to justify it by their own imitation.

A negotiation between a neutral and a belligerent power, which would have for its object that the latter should not make use of neutrality to the detriment of the former, cannot be thought of. A neutral power has fulfilled all its duties, if it has never receded from the strictest impartiality, and from the acknowledged sense of its treaties. In case the neutrality should prove more advantageous to one of the belligerent powers than to the other, this becomes foreign to the neutrality, and does not concern it. This depends on local situations and circumstances, and does not remain alike. The detriments and advantages are compensated and balanced by time. All that which does not absolutely depend on a neutral power, ought to have no influence

influence upon its neutrality; otherwise a partial, and frequently but momentary, interest would become the interpreter and judge of existing treaties.

The distinction between private speculations and those made by the government and the municipalities, seems to us to be as new as it is totally unknown. As this case cannot at all find place here, it would be superfluous to discuss the question, whether a contract between a neutral government and a belligerent power, respecting supplies of provisions for armies, garrison towns, or of ships of war, can be contrary to a treaty in which no such exception has been mentioned? The only question here is respecting speculations which might be made by private individuals—respecting the sale of products quite harmless in their nature, the disposal of which is not less important to the vender, than the possession of them is to the purchaser—respecting the use of the ships of the nation which must chiefly seek her subsistence in navigation and the corn trade. Nor is the question here about ports of war, but about ports of commerce; and if it be lawful to reduce, by famine blockaded harbours, it would not be quite so just to accumulate the misery upon so many others, where it befalls the innocent, and may even reach provinces in France which have not deserved this increase of wretchedness, either on the part of England or on that of her allies.

The want of grain, as a consequence of the failure of domestic productions, is not something unusual, which might only take place in the present moment, or which

might be occasioned by the grounds which constitute the difference so often alleged between the present and former wars. France is almost constantly able to make imports from abroad—Africa, Italy, America, furnish her with much more corn than the Baltic. In the year 1709, France was more exposed to famine than it is now: and yet England would not then avail herself of the same grounds. On the contrary, when, soon after, Frederick IV. king of Denmark, on account of his war with Sweden, which required almost constantly importations from abroad like France, could believe that he might adopt the principle that exportation can be lawfully prevented, one has hopes to conquer an enemy by so doing, and he intended to apply, with regard to a whole country, this principle, which is only considered as valid with regard to blockaded ports; all the powers remonstrated, especially Great Britain, and unanimously declared this as new and inadmissible; so that the king, convinced to the contrary, desisted from it. A war can scarcely differ from others with regard to its occasion, tendency, necessity, justice, or injustice. This can be a most important concern to the belligerent powers. It can and must have influence upon the peace, upon the indemnification and other accessory circumstances. But all this is absolutely of no concern to the neutral powers. They will, upon the whole, give the utmost preference to those on whose side justice seems to be; but they have no right to give way to this sentiment. Where a neutrality is not quite perfect, it ceases to be neutrality.

The

The ships bearing the British flag, like those which bear that of the allies of England, find in all the harbours of his majesty every possible safety, assistance, and protection; but those cannot be reckoned among their number which have been captured by their enemies. The French privateers cannot be considered as pirates by the neutral powers, as long as England does not consider and treat them as such. In England the prisoners are deemed to be prisoners of war: they are exchanged; and negotiations have even been entered into for this purpose. The usual laws of war are there observed in all respects; and by this rule alone we ought to go. The tri-coloured flag was acknowledged in Denmark at a period when it was acknowledged every where else. Every alteration in this respect would be impossible, without involving ourselves into a war, or without deserving one.

The admittance of privateers in Norway is a consequence of this neutrality, before which all regard must vanish. It has found place in all the maritime wars which ever befel Europe. All the nations in their turn have availed themselves of and desired it. The local description allows no general prohibition. It would only bring us into dilemmas, because we could not abide by it in a remote country, where there are coasts of immense extent, numberless harbours and anchoring places, and only a small number of inhabitants. The prohibition would therefore be illusory, and even dangerous, as the French, in virtue of their decrees, would then destroy the ships which they would no longer hope to put in a state of safety. The subject is

otherwise of small importance; and the means against it are numerous, and easily to be applied.

(Signed)

A. P. VON BERNSTORFF.

Answer of the Court of Denmark to the Note delivered on the 10th of August ult. to the same Purport as that delivered to the High Chancellor of Sweden by the Imperial Russian Ambassador.

WHEREAS I have given an account to the king, my master, of the note which the ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of her majesty the empress of all the Russias, baron de Kruedener, delivered on the 10th of August 1793. I have received his majesty's command to answer, That his majesty sees, with the greatest sorrow, how much the principles contained in the said note militate at this time against his own; that his majesty expected no intimation that manifested doubts which his majesty had not deserved; that it could not but be known to her imperial majesty, that the king had resolved to give no convoys to the Danish ships bound to France, and that his majesty never had pretended to send naval stores into that country; that his majesty could not of course guess the meaning of a declaration which did not concern him, nor of a proceeding which applied the principles and rights of a blockade to situations which precluded every idea of that kind; that the restricted commerce in grain, as it now subsisted, was a quite insignificant circumstance for the cause which

her

her Imperial majesty had espoused; but that it was not so with regard to Denmark, as it involved the sacrifice of her rights, her independence, and her treaties; that his majesty did not permit himself to enter into a proper inquiry in this respect, since her Imperial majesty had rejected the only judge whom his majesty could acknowledge, namely, the universal and special law of nations; that his majesty being no longer at liberty to appeal to this law, would only appeal to the friendship and equity of her Imperial majesty, which had been manifested by so many years, and so many proofs; that his majesty acted thus with the greater confidence, as he thought to have evinced his by so many reciprocal and decisive proofs, as his majesty did not make any use of his incontestible rights to claim, with regard to the liberty of his navigation, the protection due to him in virtue of the most solemn treaties—a protection which her Imperial majesty had herself proposed.

(Signed)

A. P. VON BERNSTORFF.

*Foreign Office, Copenhagen,
Aug. 23, 1793.*

*Proclamation of Admiral Langara
to the French at Toulon, on the
27th of October.*

Frenchmen,
A SCANDALOUS address, published by your pretended legislators, has just reached our hands. This writing, unworthy of our regard, can be but the last effort of

criminality and of despair. The people of Toulon are there painted as traitors, who have delivered to the English the port and the squadron in their harbour.

The whole of Europe knows and respects your virtues. The whole of Europe knows and detests your tyrants.

You have for a long time been the plaything and the prey of bad men, who have assassinated their sovereign for the purpose of possessing themselves of his power. Thus to those you owe the horrid calamity to which you have been reduced by the extravagant emissions of assignats, of which they have devoured the security and the pledge. It is only to exempt themselves from the sword of the law that they put arms into the hands of rebels, that they sack your towns, pillage the country, plunder the inhabitants, and confiscate their fortunes.

Affected by these misfortunes, the combined squadrons could not refuse their succour to Toulon, at a moment when two armies blockaded this important city, abandoned by its governors, and were about to reduce it to the most horrible state of famine.

The people of Toulon have not delivered up their town, which could not be at once the prey of Spain, of England, and of the other powers united and animated by the same motives. But they have placed the town under our immediate protection, and carried even to a scruple the conditions which tend to the re-establishment of their lawful king. It is only in the town of Toulon that the true friends of order and of peace are to be found at present.

The

The city of Toulon has seen in the powers which we represent, two generous and sympathizing nations, who came not to conquer it, but to destroy the poignards which were uplifted against the good and peaceable inhabitants of that unfortunate city; to afford them assistance; to re-establish order; to lay the foundation of a system of regeneration; to substitute a regular form of government in the place of that desolation and anarchy which rends France to the centre; and finally, to restore Louis the XVIIIth to the throne of his ancestors.

Frenchmen! your enemies perfidiously conceal from you, that the French flag is hoisted upon your fortresses and your ships of war; that a French squadron is at anchor among the combined fleets of Great Britain and Spain; and that all power is subordinate to the authority of the new king, under the immediate auspices of the united powers; that our sole object is, to revenge the cause of our allies, whose territories were so daringly violated; to afford you effectual succours, and to stop the career of the manifold crimes which have led you to the verge of destruction.

Frenchmen!

If the remembrance of your brilliant fortunes be not wholly effaced from your memory—if you are eager to resume that honourable rank which you have held among nations, shake off the odious yoke of your despicable tyrants, unite yourselves with the faithful Toulonois, and share with them the glory of having procured happiness to France, and peace and repose to Europe.

Given at Toulon, on board the *Mécanic*, the 27th. of Sept. 1793, the first year of the reign of Louis the XVIIIth.

(Signed)

LANGARA

Declaration of War by France against Genoa.

THE following declaration has been addressed by the French national commissioners in the army of Italy.

The undersigned commissioners, deputed by the national convention of France, considering that the social compact of all nations has been violated in the most indecent manner—that the atrocious act committed in the port of Genoa towards the members of the French republic, by men calling themselves subjects of the monarch of England, has outraged the rights of nations, and endangered even the existence of humanity—considering too, that these afflicting events cannot be indifferent to any people, particularly to the people of Genoa, under whose eyes the crime of treason against society has been committed—that the punishment of such a crime ought to be as speedy as it should be terrible—that justice and humanity demand it—that the French republic has the power and the inclination to execute it—that the people of Genoa, by preserving a silence, would sanction the conduct of their agents, declare—that in such circumstances Genoa cannot, without shame and dishonour, hesitate an instant in deciding between the friends and foes of society, outraged in the persons of French republicans, and that neutrality

trality in such an extraordinary situation of affairs would involve all people in anarchy.

Considering further that the people of Genoa see daily the religious attention with which their territory is respected by the republic, at the very moment when the enemies of France find in Genoa a secure asylum, and thus escape the pursuit of the French, who are armed in defence of liberty and equality—finally, that such respect must soon cease for a territory which is used as the tomb of French republicans—

Declare in the most solemn manner, in the name of the republic of France, to the people of Genoa, that the tardiness and indcision of the senate, in neglecting to inflict a just and signal punishment on the authors of the crime committed in their port, and under their cannon, against the human race, in the persons of the members of the French society, is regarded as an act of hostility, and that the French republic is prepared to adopt such a conduct as is necessary to obtain reparation for so great a crime.

The French chargé d'affaires is commanded to communicate this declaration to the senate of Genoa.

(Signed)

ROBESPIERRE, the younger,

RICARD,

RASPAUD, secretary.

*Done at Nice, Oct. 13,
Second year of the republic,
One and indivisible.*

*Memorial presented on the 8th of
October 1793, to M. De Serris-
tori, Minister for Foreign Affairs*

*at Florence, by Lord Hervey, the
English Minister.*

ALL Europe is witness of the reiterated complaints made by the undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty at the court of Tuscany, on the subject of the partiality which the latter government observes in favour of the French. The undersigned has done every thing in his power to open the eyes of his royal highness the grand duke upon his true interests, and the danger to which he exposes himself by having communication with a nation of rigidists, which puts every art in practice to annihilate all kind of government; which despises all laws; which destroys all religion; which has at length dipped its guilty hands in the blood of its king—in the blood of the clergy, of the nobility, and of other subjects who remained faithful to their king; and which, seeking to extend its calamities to all other people, is warring against almost all the sovereigns of Europe. Notwithstanding the generous, amicable, and plain intentions of his Britannic majesty, which the undersigned communicated to the government of Tuscany by his memorial of August 14th last, he has seen the evil councils and dangerous maxims of certain persons prevail; and, as the conduct which he complains of has been persevered in, it becomes necessary to take vigorous measures.

The undersigned is obliged to declare, in order that his royal highness the grand duke may be informed of it, that admiral lord Hood has ordered an English squadron, in conjunction with a detach-
ment

men from the Spanish fleet, to set sail for Leghorn, and to act according to the part which his royal highness may take.

The unjust and notorious partiality of Tuscany in favour of the French, and the vast seizure of the goods and effects belonging to the merchants of Toulon at Leghorn, at a time when the armies of their Britannic and Spanish majesties had occasion for the same articles, evidently prove the injury which issues from such a neutrality for the operations of the allies. In consequence, admiral lord Hood declares, in the name of the king his master, that if, within the space of twelve hours after the representation of the undersigned to his royal highness the grand duke does not resolve to send away M. de la Flotte and his adherents from Tuscany, the squadron will act offensively against the port and city of Leghorn.

The unhappy consequences of this proceeding can alone be imputed to those who have had the audacity to give pernicious advice, and to make false representations upon the present state of affairs—they alone will have to answer for all that may happen henceforward. The undersigned who earnestly desires to avert such a calamity from Tuscany, and to spare his royal highness the grand duke all kind of inconvenience, again invites him to give, without delay, a clear explication of his intentions relative to the demand made by admiral lord Hood, to order the departure of M. de la Flotte and his adherents, and to break off all communication with the said convention, or the said government of France. In making a common cause with the allies, his

royal highness the grand duke may rely upon the friendly and protection of his Britannic majesty and his allies. The sole way to prevent offensive operations against the city and port of Leghorn is to acquiesce in the demands now made, by giving the undersigned the royal promise to conform to them punctually.

It will depend then upon his royal highness to receive the said squadron as a friend, or to expose Tuscany to all the disasters which will happen if it be compelled to act offensively. As its expedition at Genoa is concluded, it is on the point of arriving at Leghorn. For this reason the undersigned will hasten to prevent any offensive measure, by acquainting the commanding admiral with the resolutions of his royal highness. The undersigned has thought it necessary to make this known for the information of his royal highness the grand duke. At the same time he sincerely hopes, that this terminus amicably, and to reciprocal satisfaction of courts.

(Signed) HERVEY.

Answer.

My lord,

HIS royal highness has ordered me to reply to the memorial which you have presented this day, and to the explanatory note of the intentions of the king your sovereign, that his royal highness has resolved to make the necessary dispositions that M. de la Flotte and his adherents may quit Tuscany as soon as possible. His royal high-

ness flatters himself that his majesty the king of Great Britain will consider this proceeding as a fresh testimony of the particular esteem and deference which his royal highness takes pleasure in shewing him on every occasion. Such are the orders my sovereign has given me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed),

SERRISSTORI.

October 8, ten o'clock at night.

Declaration of the Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of Malta to the Court of Naples, dated September 12, 1793.

THE courts of Naples having caused to be notified to the grand master of the sovereign order of Malta, that, not wishing to have any thing further to do with those who at present govern France, it sent away all the agents of that country, who had hitherto resided at Naples, or at the ports of his Sicilian majesty, his eminent highness took the earliest opportunity of following that example, and of ordering the ports of Malta to be shut against all kinds of French ships of war or privateers, as long as the present war shall continue.

The grand master wishes to make known at the same time, that since the notification which the late king made to him of the acceptance of the constitution of 1791, the government of Malta has had no relation with France. The dreadful troubles which have broke out in that kingdom, and which have de-

prived it of a sovereign universally regretted, and the violations of the rights of nations, which have been permitted there under every point of view, in regard to the sovereign order of Malta, have induced many persons, not acquainted with the fundamental laws of this order, to think that reprisals ought to have been made; but these laws even prescribe neutrality in all those quarrels which arise between the different Christian nations. The grand master, however, fully determined not to acknowledge the pretended French republic in the person of an agent which it might send to Malta, ordered, on the 15th of March last, the chevalier de Caumont, in his quality of member of the order and of its delegate, who had resided long in this island as *chargé d'affaires* of the king of France, to retain the title which he held from his majesty Louis XVI. of glorious memory, and to keep the arms of the king over his gate, which he has hitherto done, under the protection of the government of Malta.

But the grand master learning, through an indirect channel, that a person named Amyar has been appointed to succeed the chevalier de Caumont, and that he is now on his way to Malta, formally declares at present, that he will neither receive nor admit the said personage, nor any other who may be sent to reside at Malta, as agent, in any respect, of the said pretended republic, which his eminent highness ought not, cannot, and will not acknowledge.

Address

Address of the proscribed Deputies of the National Convention, ordered to be put under arrest, to the French Nation.

Frenchmen,

WHEN the liberty of the national representation is no more, and truth is stifled, the temple of the laws must be shut. Thus, unable to execute the trust reposed in us, it is our indispensable duty to instruct you. We shall entirely confine ourselves to evident facts, and leave to you the care of drawing the necessary consequences from them.

A law had been enacted, which prescribed the formation of committees in the different sections of Paris, destined to watch over foreigners and suspicious people. This law was eluded. Instead of those committees, others were formed in the most illegal manner, contrary to the letter of the law as well as its intention.

These illegal revolutionary committees have created a central committee composed of one member from every committee of each section. This central commission, after some clandestine deliberations, has suspended the constituted authorities; it has assumed the title of "The revolutionary council of the department of Paris," and has invested itself with a dictatorial power, or rather has usurped it.

An extraordinary committee had been decreed within the bosom of the convention, to denounce the illegal and arbitrary acts of the different constituted authorities of the republic, *to trace and discover the plots framed against the liberty and security of the national represen-*

tation, and to cause all persons to be arrested who should be denounced as chiefs of conspiracies. Surrounded by an armed force, those revolutionary committees demanded, on the 27th of May, the suppression of this commission. Their request was decreed; but on the next day, on a nominal call, it was deferred till the committee should have made their report.—(They constantly refused to attend the report.) On the 30th the revolutionary council intimated to the convention their order to suppress the extraordinary committee. Amidst armed petitioners, surrounded by cannon, under continual hissings and hootings from the galleries, some members decreed the suppression of the commission. On the 31st the *generale* again was beaten; the *tocsin* sounded, and the alarm-gun fired. At these signals being given, all citizens took up arms, and were ordered to assemble around the convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against thirty-five members of the convention. The assembly, who before had unanimously rejected this petition, as calumnious, when in the month of April it was brought forward by some sections, supported by the municipality, now referred it to the committee of public safety, and enjoined the members to give in their report within three days. On the 1st of June, at three in the afternoon, the revolutionary council marched their armed force to invest the national hall; at night they appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accusation against the denounced members. The convention passed to the order of the day, and ordered the petitioners to deposit with the committee

and have no other refuge left but in despair, the offspring of vice. Farewell!

Address of the National Convention to the French, printed by its order, and sent to all the Departments, and to the Armies.

Citizens,

YOUR representatives, faithful to their duty and their engagements, have finished the constitution, and are going to convoke the primary assemblies. This is their answer to the calumnies thrown out against them by the enemies of equality and liberty.

It is their duty to explain to you the motives which rendered necessary those indispensable measures of severity, of public safety, and general security, which they took on the 2d of June. The raising of that immortal edifice which is to form your happiness, and the preparing for you a free and popular constitution, claimed their earliest attention; but the grand objects of administration, which the wants of the government and of the armies made the order of the day, could not be neglected.

The national convention having now discharged the first, the most urgent, and the most sacred of its duties, is going in a few days to explain to France the causes of those divisions which have broken forth in its bosom, and which have agitated the whole republic—those causes which have so long interrupted the greatest objects of its deliberations; which have prolonged its discussions, retarded and suspended decisions highly important

to the internal as well as to the external situation of the state; which have revived commotions and civil discord; which have favoured the criminal views of the emigrants and their accomplices; which have supported the hope of foreign powers of conquering a republic divided, and a prey to faction, and which seemed likely to prevent France from ever having a constitution.

But whilst your happiness is preparing, whilst the moment is at hand when you are going to be enlightened respecting all those events which it is of importance for you to know, and when a legal convocation is about to unite you in primary assemblies, to lay the eternal basis of liberty and equality, the foundation of a republican government—those who have constantly betrayed their country since the commencement of the revolution—those who wished to sacrifice it to their own private interest, their vanity and their passions, give the signal for a civil war in every part of the republic. As the war supported by fanaticism does not make a progress sufficiently rapid, they give a new character to the insurrections which they excite; they mislead by the idolatry of persons and reputations, and by the delusion of political opinions, those whom religious fanaticism is not able to seduce and hurry away. They threaten the republic with a general conflagration.

Long did they pretend to aljure royalty and federalism, but their opinions and conduct spread a too just alarm. At present they publicly declare that there is no longer any centre or point of rallying; that

that the national convention no longer exists, or that it ought not to be acknowledged.—They invite the departments, to throw off their authority, to raise separate armies, to seize on the national treasures, arsenals, ammunition, and military provisions, and to intercept convoys, communications, and correspondence.

Should their plan be executed, we should soon see as many armies and as many belligerent powers as there are departments; France would be abandoned to more horrors than those experienced by Poland, which has submitted without having drawn the sword to the yoke of three tyrants. It would destroy itself in the presence of the combined powers and their armies collected on our frontiers. Instead of fertile plains and flourishing cities, it would exhibit nothing but fields covered with dead bodies and heaps of ashes.

On the cry of thirty factious men we have seen administrators and magistrates make the people hurry to arms against their country, in departments and cities distinguished till then by the most ardent patriotism.

These administrators, these magistrates, were neither republicans nor friends to liberty and equality; they had only borrowed the language of them, and with the veil of their politics had concealed their ambition and their plans.

Citizens, the traitors who endeavour to mislead you, and to engage you in their revolt, propose to you to march against Paris and the national convention. Can Paris be foreign to the republic? Is it not the asylum of your brethren, and the birth-place of liberty?

The citizens of Paris have not only, like you, demanded a constitution—they have denounced the authors of the misfortunes of France.

When Paris, on the 20th of June last year, proclaimed, by a striking and necessary step, the danger of the country, and the conspiracy of the last of our kings, we saw faithless or misled administrators, traitors to their country, usurping the powers of the sovereign, offering to reinforce the guard of the conspirator, and to send numerous battalions against Paris. France, however, was soon enlightened. The federates of the eighty-three departments, when they repaired to Paris, found there only brethren, and shared with them in the dangers and glory of overturning the throne.

France is going also to be instructed respecting the events which rendered necessary the denunciation of May 31, and the decree of arrest passed on the 2d of June against thirty-two members of the national convention. It will approve the wisdom of that measure, and the happy result of it. The citizens of the department of Paris, who rose only to denounce the imminent dangers of their country, and to say to the representatives of the people "Save the state, found the republic," united on the 23d in the bosom of the national convention, to express their joy and celebrate two grand epochs, which in future will be confounded into one in remembrance, and in the same solemnity, the oath taken by the members of the first constituent assembly, and the finishing of the constitution which is going to be presented to you for your acceptance.

Can the dissolution of the convention be an object of your wishes? Is it proposed to you to annihilate it? In that case what government would remain to you? Where would you rally? What would become of the eleven armies collected on your frontiers and sea-coasts? Could the action of government be suspended one day? Should the departments disclaim the authority of the convention, the republic would remain without government, without central administration; their armies would disperse; foreign powers would invade your territories; the French would turn their arms against themselves, and the republic would be annihilated.

Know, citizens, that your most dangerous and most formidable enemies are those who wish to hurry you into a civil war: They are those administrators and public functionaries who usurp the sovereignty of the people, who dare to declare themselves in a state of war against your representatives, against the sections of the republic. They are those above all, who have seduced them, and who, basely flying from their posts, have scattered in their passage the fire-brands of civil discord.

Those magistrates whom you chose to support the police and discharge the municipal functions, those administrators whom you elected to execute the laws, and to be the agents of government, have even seized on the government and insulted the national sovereignty. These functionaries, these agents, whose duties and functions are defined and determined by the law, have long ceased to discharge their functions, or to attend to them. Your rights, your interests, your

remonstrances have been abandoned and sacrificed; the service has been neglected, and in several administrative assemblies it has even ceased, in regard to what concerns you. They are no longer occupied with any thing but deputations, plots, coalitions, and plans of war against the republic.

These functionaries no longer consider as their brethren and fellow-citizens, five hundred thousand Frenchmen who have devoted themselves to defend liberty against tyrants. By intercepting artillery, ammunition, and provisions, they exposed them to the danger of perishing to no purpose, and without being able to cement, by their blood, the foundations of the republic.

Generous warriors! whom so many acts of treachery have not daunted, you have constantly rallied under the standards of the republic, and the tree of liberty. By your courage you have surmounted the obstacles thrown in the way of your success by La Fayette and Dumourier. A new conspiracy discovered is the last crisis you have to pass over, in order to secure and establish your liberty.

You expect also a constitution which your arms will cause to be respected in Europe. The stability of a free and acknowledged government will pave the way to success. The constitution will powerfully support your arms, and will, by victories, conduct you to peace.

Among the authors of the present disorders and agitation, France reckons only a small number of conspirators, and a few seduced or misled accomplices. The bulk of the citizens, always pure, inspired by sentiment, and enlightened by eternal

eternal reason, have been able to secure themselves against error and seduction.

Those administrative bodies which have been misled and excited against the republic, at length remember that they have a country, and that they can have no other but a republic.

The national convention has received several recantations, which will prove to posterity, that a virtuous man may be misled, but that he will open his eyes to the light, before his error becomes hurtful to society and to humanity.

These examples, while they warn us to check commotions in their commencement, and to exercise severity against the factious, and against every conspirator, make it the duty of a humane and feeling legislature to reclaim misled citizens, and only to present instruction and light to those who have always been attached to their country, and who need only to be enlightened to resume their rank among good citizens.

Citizens, who have sworn to be free, who wish to have a country and a constitution, rally round the national convention, which secures to you the republic, one and indivisible.

Memorial addressed by the Arch-Duke Charles to the States of the Austrian Netherlands, requesting a Supply from the Subjects of the Emperor in these Provinces, for the Purpose of defraying the Expenses of the War.

THE moment is arrived in which it is become important to oppose to a destructive enemy, who

is preparing to make a powerful and its last effort, and of course the most vigorous resistance. Reunited under their sovereign who protects them, the inhabitants of these provinces will never sigh under the dreadful yoke of French despotism!

It is here, where that despotism has already found, and always will find, its limits. It is to this country, perhaps, that Europe will owe the preservation of its religious as well as its social state.

The emperor, undoubtedly, has already made, and will continue to make, ample sacrifices, in order to keep the military chest in the most affluent condition, a measure essentially necessary for the success of our cause; but, whilst the other states of this vast monarchy, although less interested than the Netherlands in the success of his majesty's arms in the present war, have given him repeated proofs of their ardent attachment to the common cause, by contributions in men and money; we should deem it a breach of confidence towards the good and loyal inhabitants of these provinces, if we did not offer to them an opportunity to manifest their zeal for the common cause of all nations attached to religion, justice, decent manners, and the security of persons and property, by voluntary patriotic gifts.

We therefore hope, that the members of your assembly particularly, will be the first who will set an example by liberal contributions and sacrifices as much as their private circumstances will permit; and you will point out in every town and village receiving-places where such voluntary donations will be collected in our name.

We have appointed for that purpose a central committee at Brussels, at the head of which we have placed viscount Desandrouin, treasurer-general; and desire you to establish throughout the provinces, other committees in correspondence with the central committee for the reception of such donations, and delivering them to the imperial and royal treasury.

Lists of names of those who shall make such patriotic donations shall be printed every fortnight, &c. &c.

Proclamation issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, Commander of the Expedition from Jamaica to St. Domingo, on his arrival at that Island.

HIS excellency Adam Williamson, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c. having been pleased to make choice of me, John Whitelocke, lieutenant-colonel of his majesty's 13th regiment of foot, to command the forces sent to take possession of a part of the colony of St. Domingo, I have received his excellency's orders to publish the following proclamation:

To the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

The king of Great Britain has, for a long time, deplored the horrid distresses which you have suffered; his protection, repeatedly solicited by a number of you, would not have been solicited in vain, if kings could at all times give way to their sensibility. At length the time is arrived, when he can follow the emotions of his own heart, in re-

ceiving you among the number of his subjects, and in adopting you as a part of his large family.

His Britannic majesty having, with his usual goodness, granted the prayers of a great part of your countrymen, on their petition presented to him on the 25th of last February, has sent orders to major-general Adam Williamson, his lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, to detach immediately the necessary forces to St. Domingo, to take possession of the colony, or a part of it, until a general peace between the allied powers and the government of France shall establish a decided sovereignty in the colony.

I am intrusted with this expedition. It is not as a conqueror, but as a father, that his majesty is pleased to take possession of this territory. For this purpose his majesty has intrusted me with the command of a body of forces adequate to ensure respect to the British flag; and at the same time to punish those who may persist in disturbing your tranquillity. It is by persuasion, rather than by force, I would conquer. A more formidable squadron, and a greater body of men would have reduced the whole colony; but it would have left me in doubt of the sincerity of those who surrendered. His majesty will only have subjects worthy of his protection, and of the favours and advantages which the British government secures to them. For this reason I shall exhaust every means of conviction before I employ the forces which I have under my command; or send for others, ready to embark, in order to reduce those who resist, and punish the authors and agents of the revolt.

People

People of St. Domingo! the objects of all political institutions being the general interests of society, and the good of the members of that society, an exact observance of the laws can alone accomplish those objects.

It is necessary to convince you of this incontestible truth, the inattention to which has been the cause of all your misfortunes, viz. That while we wish to exact the most abject submission from others, we ought not to be daily giving examples of insubordination in our own conduct. Union is necessary among you; it will redouble your strength.

Very long experience must have informed you, that the most effectual tie you can have on your slaves, is the white people affording an example of obedience to their superiors. Call to your recollection the flourishing state of St. Domingo under this order of things, and with that compare the horrors of which it has since become the theatre, by the neglect of those laws which formerly governed you.

It was not with a view to erect a theatre of republican virtues, nor for the display of human knowledge, that colonies were established in the West Indies. The real prosperity of a colony depends on the quantity of its produce; and the object of the parent state is to increase its exports with as little expence as possible. A colony dependent on its mother-country for its commercial advantages, for its protection and defence, can consequently have no exterior politics, and never should affect what belongs to sovereignty.

To assess the imposts, and watch over their application, this is the

only share of sovereignty that a colony can exercise; it ought to enact laws beneficial to the community, and not clashing with those of the mother-country which protects it.

Admitting this simple truth, his majesty is willing to preserve to you all your rights. I accordingly declare to you, in his royal name, that as soon as peace shall be established, you will have a colonial assembly, to regulate, establish, and enable you to exercise those rights.—In the mean time all the old French laws will be enforced, as far as they are found not adverse to the measures requisite for the re-establishment of peace.

Every individual shall enjoy his civil rights, and the laws for the security of property shall also be enforced and maintained.

His majesty is desirous to secure to creditors the payment of their debts. But being sensibly affected by the causes which have concurred to distress the colony, and waste your property, and at the same time anxious to favour your exertions to repair your shattered fortunes, he has authorised me to declare to you, that at the express prayer of the inhabitants and planters, he is graciously pleased to grant a suspension from prosecutions for debts, with a suspension of interest on such debts, to be computed from the first day of August, 1791, and to continue from that time for twelve years under certain restrictions.

The local taxes for the expences of your protection, and the administration of government, shall be, until further orders, upon the footing of 1789. England will make the necessary advances to make good

good the deficiency; such advances to be reimbursed at a future day by the colony.

The municipal taxes for defraying the expences of divine worship, of the interior guards in the quarters, and for the punishment of negroes, shall also be on the same footing as in 1789, except the discharges to those whose plantations have been burned.

The inhabitants shall enjoy the privilege of exporting their clayed sugars, subject to such duties as shall be deemed necessary.

The Roman Catholic religion shall be maintained, without prejudice to any other form of divine worship, the exercise of which shall be alike permitted.

Your ports shall be open to American vessels.

If any of the inhabitants know that any part of their property has been carried into foreign countries, they may freely address themselves to me, and I will, in the name of his Britannic majesty, reclaim such property, as belonging to his subjects.

You see, unfortunate people, that your interests are dear to his Britannic majesty. In granting the prayers of your countrymen, he does not desire to subject you instantly to laws to which you are strangers. He preserves to you your ancient customs, where they are not contrary to civil order and the general interest. He wills only, that necessary measures of every kind should be employed, to compel the slaves to due submission and obedience, and to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the spirit of innovation, and to the measures which your enemies are conspiring for your ruin.

Such are the benign intentions of the king of Great Britain towards you. Compare with them the atrocious acts of the three individuals who are your oppressors, of men who have usurped an authority, which could only have been confided to them for the purpose of destroying you. Reduce them at once to that insignificance from which they sprang, and which awaits them. Undistinguished by birth, new Erostrati, they are known by their crimes; while those who delegated them, astonished at your patience, and trembling before the combined forces which press on every side, leaving them to your vengeance.

Men of colour! Have you suffered yourselves to be duped by the declamations of these traitors, boasting to you of liberty and equality? Have they not abused you, in making you share them with your own slaves? Recover speedily from your errors: come and obtain from your fathers and benefactors, an oblivion of those ills which you have occasioned, and which otherwise must lead to your own ruin.

Can you imagine that slaves, suddenly called to freedom, to liberty, and equality, will patiently endure that superiority which you wish to exercise over them, and to which you have no title but that founded in the generosity of those who gave you freedom! No! Soon overpowered by numbers, your crimes would be punished by the very hands in which you have placed arms.

Determine on the enjoyment of those privileges which our constitution grants to people of your description in the Colonies—or the punishment of your offences.

Lay

Lay down those arms which have been put into your hands for your own destruction; resume the management of your plantations; or, come and unite yourselves under our standard, to purchase the remission of your faults, by aiding our troops in reducing the rebel slaves to obedience. You will, then, under our government, find a secure protection—then will you experience those sweets, that ease and calm, which only result from good conduct.

In fine, obey the voice of nature and of reason; avail yourselves of the moment of indulgence and lenity; it will pass rapidly away, and when the day of vengeance arrives, repentance will not avert your punishment.

Negroes employed in planting! You who have remained faithful to your masters, and who have spurned at the proffers of traitors and their agents; you who have seen that the men of colour have not granted to their slaves that liberty which you had been taught to expect; rest assured of favour and protection. But those negroes who shall continue fugitives fifteen days after the issuing of this proclamation, being unworthy of the pardon I wish to grant in my sovereign's name, will be punished as rebels.

Planters of every class! I am bound to shew you, in proper colours, what you have to hope, and what to fear.

Islanders, you require the protection of a maritime power. Is there any one more formidable than England? Her ships cover the seas, and bring her annually from every quarter of the globe, riches, the very soul of her national commerce. Her fleets will secure you from the

attacks of foreign powers. Your property will no longer become the prey of privateers.

The immense resources which the commerce of Britain affords, will revive your planting.—These resources will be presently offered you, to repair the ravages made by murder, rapine, and fire; for confidence is coeval with the laws.—Range yourselves then under her government. Cease to bedew your fields with blood. Yield to me the traitors, and those who despoil you of your property. Point out to me, yourselves, those victims for justice, by abandoning them, and by an immediate junction under my orders, enable me to have nothing to regret in that exemplary punishment which I may be forced to inflict.

JOHN WHITELOCKE,
Lieut. Col. 15th Reg.

Jeremie, Sept. 23, 1793.

Declaration sent, by his Majesty's Command, to the Commanders of his Majesty's Fleets and Armies employed against France, and to his Majesty's Ministers residing at Foreign Courts. Oct. 19, 1793.

THE circumstances, in consequence of which his majesty has found himself engaged in a defensive war against France, are already known to all Europe. The objects which his majesty has proposed to himself from the commencement of the war are of equal notoriety. To repel an unprovoked aggression, to contribute to the immediate defence of his allies, to obtain for them and for himself a just indemnification, and to provide, as far as circumstances will allow, for the

the future security of his own subjects, and of all the other nations of Europe; these are the points for which his majesty has felt it incumbent on him to employ all the means which he derives from the resources of his dominions, from the zeal and affection of his people, and from the unquestionable justice of his cause.

But it has become daily more and more evident, how much the internal situation of France obstructs the conclusion of a solid and permanent treaty, which can alone fulfil his majesty's just and salutary views for the accomplishment of these important objects, and for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe. His majesty sees, therefore, with the utmost satisfaction, the prospect, which the present circumstances afford him, of accelerating the return of peace, by making to the well disposed part of the people of France, a more particular declaration of the principles which animate him, of the objects to which his views are directed, and of the conduct which it is his intention to pursue. With respect to the present situation of affairs, the events of the war, the confidence reposed in him by one of the most considerable cities of France, and, above all, the wish which is manifested almost universally in that country, to find a refuge from the tyranny by which it is now overwhelmed, render this explanation on his majesty's part a pressing and indispensable duty: and his majesty feels additional satisfaction in making such a declaration, from the hope of finding, in the other powers engaged with him in the common cause, sentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

From the first period, when his most Christian majesty, Louis the XVIth, had called his people around him, to join in concerting measures for their common happiness, the king has uniformly shewn by his conduct the sincerity of his wishes for the success of so difficult, but, at the same time, so interesting an undertaking. His majesty was deeply afflicted with all the misfortunes which ensued, but particularly when he perceived more and more evidently that measures, the consequences of which he could not disguise from himself, must finally compel him to relinquish the friendly and pacific system which he had adopted. The moment at length arrived when his majesty saw that it was necessary for him not only to defend his own rights and those of his allies, not only to repel the unjust aggression which he had recently experienced, but that all the dearest interests of his people imposed upon him a duty still more important, that of exerting his efforts for the preservation of civil society itself, as happily established among the nations of Europe.

The designs which had been professed of reforming the abuses of the government of France, of establishing personal liberty and the rights of property on a solid foundation, of securing to an extensive and populous country the benefit of a wise legislation, and an equitable and mild administration of its laws; all these salutary views have unfortunately vanished. In their place has succeeded a system destructive of all public order, maintained by proscriptions, exiles, and confiscations without number, by arbitrary imprisonments, by massacres, which cannot even be remembered without

out horror, and at length, by the execrable murder of a just and beneficent sovereign, and of the illustrious princess, who, with an unshaken firmness, has shared all the misfortunes of her royal consort, his protracted sufferings, his cruel captivity, his ignominious death. The inhabitants of that unfortunate country, so long flattered by promises of happiness, renewed at the period of every fresh crime, have found themselves plunged into an abyss of unexampled calamities; and neighbouring nations, instead of deriving a new security for the maintenance of general tranquillity from the establishment of a wise and moderate government, have been exposed to the repeated attacks of a ferocious anarchy, the natural and necessary enemy of all public order. They have had to encounter acts of aggression without pretext, open violations of all treaties, unprovoked declarations of war; in a word, whatever corruption, intrigue, or violence could effect for the purpose so openly avowed of subverting all the institutions of society, and of extending over all the nations of Europe that confusion which has produced the misery of France.

This state of things cannot exist in France without involving all the surrounding powers in one common danger, without giving them the right, without imposing it upon them as a duty, to stop the progress of an evil which exists only by the successive violation of all law and all property, and which attacks the fundamental principles by which mankind is united in the bonds of civil society. His majesty by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the

influence of external force with respect to the particular forms of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference is become essential to the security and repose of other powers. Under these circumstances, he demands from France, and he demands with justice, the termination of a system of anarchy, which has no force but for the purposes of mischief, unable to discharge the primary duty of all government, to repress the disorders or to punish the crimes which are daily increasing in the interior of the country, but disposing arbitrarily of the property and blood of the inhabitants of France, in order to disturb the tranquillity of other nations, and to render all Europe the theatre of the same crimes and of the same misfortunes. The king demands that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accustomed relations and union of peace. His majesty wishes ardently to be enabled to treat for the re-establishment of general tranquillity with such a government, exercising a legal and permanent authority, animated with the wish for general tranquillity, and possessing power to enforce the observance of its engagements. The king would propose none other than equitable and moderate conditions, not such as the expences, the risque, and the sacrifices of the war might justify, but such as his majesty thinks himself under the indispensable necessity of requiring with a view to these considerations, and still more to that of his own security, and of the

are at war, the connexion of a state with either of them cannot injure their respective rights; but the present war being carried on against usurpers, any correspondence with them by a neutral state would be an acknowledgment of their authority, and consequently an act prejudicial to the allied powers.

His Britannic majesty has too high an opinion of your wisdom, high and mighty lords, not to believe that you will despise the insinuations of the common enemy of all people, and that you will redouble your zeal and vigilance to avert from your country all those plagues which at once overwhelm the unhappy people of France;—At all times, and on every occasion, his majesty will not cease to give you proofs of his friendship, and to interest himself in the maintenance of the independence, and of the ancient prosperity of your states, and of those of your allies.

(Signed)

ROB. STEPH. FITZGERALD.

Minister Plenipotentiary of
his Britannic Majesty.

Done at Berne, Nov. 30, 1793.

*Answer of the Swiss Republic to
Lord Robert Fitzgerald's Decla-
ration.*

YOUR excellency, in a letter dated the 30th of November, thought proper to recommend to the serious consideration of the Helvetic body some important observations on the relative situation of the republic to the belligerent powers.

These observations we have

examined with all that care and attention which is due to the interests of our country, and we think that we afford your excellency a proof of the esteem which we entertain for your character, by making an open and sincere exposition of our situation and our conduct.

However afflicting the remembrance of those terrible events in France (which your excellency has brought to our recollection), and the sad fate of our brethren who suffered so unfortunately, may be, yet our grief must nevertheless yield to the principles of our constitution: these principles have lasted for several centuries on the relations of peace, amity, and good neighbourhood with all the surrounding powers.

The operation of these principles has never been interrupted by foreign wars. A rigid and exact neutrality was the invariable maxim of our ancestors; and having received it as a sacred inheritance, we have conceived it to be our duty to abide by it in the present war. And this conduct has produced a salutary influence, not only on our external safety, but on our internal peace.

Accustomed to observe scrupulously all engagements entered into, we will neither wander from our declared neutrality, on any pretence whatever, nor will we listen to any insinuation which might give rise to just complaints.

It is for us to preserve the enjoyment of that happy and peaceful situation to which all our most zealous efforts tend. We will unite our force to repel even the slightest attempts that may be made to disturb our repose, or to undermine the

most christian majesty, and despairing to make them accomplices in their robberies, these factious men have disarmed, plundered, and murdered them. Europe will never forget the noble sacrifice of so many generous Swiss, who died in defending Louis XVI.; it will never forget the cruelties which those cannibals made them suffer! Stained with the blood of your brothers, and of a virtuous king, your friend and ally, and of his august spouse, and of an infinite number of innocent victims—authors of a most terrible war, which they undertook with the hopes of extending their tyranny over all Europe, at the moment when they have reached the last point of atrocity and madness, when they multiply more than ever their victims, and butcher one another, they have had the hardiness to call themselves your ally; they have not blushed to mention your treaty with the sovereign whom they brought to the scaffold; they have shewn a desire to strengthen their connexion with you. Objects of universal execration, they have had the impudence, high and mighty lords, to make for you alone, of all Europe, this disgraceful exception! What connexion can subsist between the freedom of the Swiss, and that horrible anarchy to which they have prostituted its name? What common tie can there be between a people, good, virtuous, religious, and the friends of morals and justice, and atheists, enemies of God and man, thirsting for blood and pillage? whose crimes for these five years past have exceeded a thousand times the crimes of former ages! You know, high and mighty lords, that in their efforts to propagate their infamous doctrines be-

yond the limits of France, they have not respected your happy country. You can never forget the intrigues of their emissaries to destroy all respect for your laws! Nobody can believe, that these promoters of discord and anarchy, in attacking every principle of civilization in Europe, have any intention of preserving them in your states; or that they have renounced the project of exciting internal dissensions in them, when an opportunity offers. The ravages which they have exercised in the low countries, in Savoy, and the bishopric of Bale, and wherever they have penetrated, under the name of the *Friends of the People*, prove sufficiently what may be expected from their testimonies of friendship! There cannot subsist a durable peace between the wise councils of the Helvetic States and such plunderers.—What then is the end of their perfidious caresses? They wish to conceal the dangers which threaten you; they have the hopes, no doubt chimerical, of corrupting your citizens, in diminishing the horrors with which they inspire them, to be able at a future period to surprise you amidst a fatal security.

The minister of his Britannic majesty will not decide, whether justice, and the true interest of a state, permit it to remain neuter, against those who would again reduce it to barbarism, in a war of almost all the powers of Europe—in a war where not only the existence of every established government, but even that of all kind of property, is at stake. He will only observe, that neutrality itself will not authorize any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with the factious or their agents. When two legitimate powers
are

are at war, the connexion of a state with either of them cannot injure their respective rights; but the present war being carried on against usurpers, any correspondence with them by a neutral state would be an acknowledgment of their authority, and consequently an act prejudicial to the allied powers.

His Britannic majesty has too high an opinion of your wisdom, high and mighty lords, not to believe that you will despise the insinuations of the common enemy of all people, and that you will redouble your zeal and vigilance to avert from your country all those plagues which at once overwhelm the unhappy people of France;—At all times, and on every occasion, his majesty will not cease to give you proofs of his friendship, and to interest himself in the maintenance of the independence, and of the ancient prosperity of your states, and of those of your allies.

(Signed)

ROB. STEPH. FITZGERALD.

Minister Plenipotentiary of
his Britannic Majesty.

Done at Berne, Nov. 30, 1793.

*Answer of the Swiss Republic to
Lord Robert Fitzgerald's Decla-
ration.*

YOUR excellency, in a letter dated the 30th of November, thought proper to recommend to the serious consideration of the Helvetic body some important observations on the relative situation of the republic to the belligerent powers.

These observations we have

examined with all that care and attention which is due to the interests of our country, and we think that we afford your excellency a proof of the esteem which we entertain for your character, by making an open and sincere exposition of our situation and our conduct.

However afflicting the remembrance of those terrible events in France (which your excellency has brought to our recollection), and the sad fate of our brethren who suffered so unfortunately, may be, yet our grief must nevertheless yield to the principles of our constitution: these principles have rested for several centuries on the relations of peace, amity, and good neighbourhood with all the surrounding powers.

The operation of these principles has never been interrupted by foreign wars. A rigid and exact neutrality was the invariable maxim of our ancestors; and having received it as a sacred inheritance, we have conceived it to be our duty to abide by it in the present war. And this conduct has produced a salutary influence, not only on our external safety, but on our internal peace.

Accustomed to observe scrupulously all engagements entered into, we will neither wander from our declared neutrality, on any pretence whatever, nor will we listen to any insinuation which might give rise to just complaints.

It is for us to preserve the enjoyment of that happy and peaceful situation to which all our most zealous efforts tend. We will unite our force to repel even the slightest attempts that may be made to disturb our repose, or to undermine the

the foundation of it by any destructive principles.

It is towards this end that our foresight is directed, by carefully guarding our frontiers, and by endeavouring to prevent any difficulties by a correspondence inseparable from our local relations.

We entreat your excellency to assure his Britannic majesty of the invariable determination of the Helvetic body; and it is with entire confidence we expect, from his good-will, that, following the example of his illustrious ancestors, who at all times have maintained the independence of the Helvetic confederacy, he will continue henceforth to entertain a sincere affection for our prosperity and our repose,

We are, &c.

Official Note from the Ministers of the Allied Courts to M. Count de Bernstorff, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the King of Denmark.

THE undersigned ministers of the powers now at war with France, residing at the court of his Danish majesty, having seen a paper printed and addressed to the "Commerce of the North," bearing the signature of Grouvelle, who styles himself minister plenipotentiary of the *soi-disant* French republic, do themselves the honour of sending enclosed a copy to his excellency the count de Bernstorff, desiring him to inform them if this paper be authentic and authorized; and if the said Grouvelle be effectually acknowledged in this character by his Danish majesty, as this

public act gives reason to presume.

(Signed)

J. FAGEL, D. HAILES,
GOLTZ, BREUNIER,
KRUDENER, MUSQUIZ.

Copenhagen Dec. 13; 1793.

Answer of the Danish Minister, Count de Bernstorff.

HAVING shewn to the king, my master, the joint note remitted to me on the 13th instant, by the ministers of the powers at war with France, his majesty has ordered me to reply, "That it is with pain he sees in this note a proof of distrust, for which he is conscious of having given no occasion: that if it was notorious that the national convention had named M. Grouvelle their minister plenipotentiary in Denmark, it was equally so, that he had not been received or acknowledged in that quality; and such acknowledgment, which by its nature must be a public act, could not be concealed from the general knowledge." His majesty, always faithful to his declarations, cannot nor ought not to be suspected of being willing to fail fulfilling them. I ought also to add this remark, that there does not exist any truth more evident, or more unanimously received, than this, that no one is responsible for the actions of another, and, above all, when the question is concerning a step unforeseen, unknown, and in which it was impossible to take the least part.

(signed) BERNSTORFF.

*Department of Foreign Affairs,
Copenhagen, Dec. 18, 1793.*

Reply

greatest satisfaction, if by a temperate and firm conduct the blessings of peace can be continued ; but he feels assured of your zealous concurrence in his determination to provide for the security and interests of his dominions, and to fulfil those positive engagements to which he is equally bound by the honour of his crown, and the general interests of the empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you ; and I have no doubt of your readiness to grant such supplies for the public service, as the honour and security of his majesty's crown and government, and the exigencies of the times, may require.

My lords and gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the protestant charter-schools, and other public institutions, which have so repeatedly been the objects of your care, will, I doubt not, engage your accustomed regard and liberality.

I am to recommend to you, in his majesty's name, to adopt such measures as may be most adviseable for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and for this purpose to render more effectual the law for establishing a militia in this kingdom.

His majesty has the fullest confidence, that you will, on all occasions, shew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his majesty's cordial co-operation and support : and I have it in particular command from

his majesty to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusts that the situation of his majesty's catholic subjects will engage your serious attention ; and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament.

I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies which I have received of your approbation ; and I will endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, by strenuously exerting the power with which I am entrusted, for the maintenance of our excellent constitution in church and state, as the best security for the liberty of the subject, and prosperity of Ireland.

Protest in the House of Lords of Ireland against the Bill for preventing unlawful Assemblies, July 10.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE we are clearly of opinion that the laws as they now stand, are amply sufficient to curb licentiousness of every sort, and to prevent or punish all such crimes as may be injurious to the state, or subversive of public tranquillity.

Because, Even though it were true that any evil existed, such as might seem to require a new law to counteract its effects, we conceive that laws made on particular emergencies, and enacted on the spur

Reply of the British Minister to the Answer of M. de Bernstorff.

THE note of the count de Bernstorff, in answer to that of the ministers of the powers at war with France residing at the court of his Danish majesty, while it assures the envoy extraordinary of his Britannic majesty individually, on the subject of the joint note, and which only includes a simple question, relative to the real or supposed existence of a fact, implies, by the choice of terms made use of, an exculpation against which he must, for his own part, protest, leaving it to those with whom he has co-operated, to make their representations, either by word of mouth, or by writing, with an earnestness proportionable to his conception of how ill-founded it is.

If it were possible to believe for an instant that his Danish majesty could forget his declarations, the novelty of the fact, such as the usurpation of a public and active character unpunished by the government, must be allowed a very just and natural motive. The aforesaid undersigned minister is ready to acknowledge, that it was equally unlikely to suppose that it was possible that the king of Denmark would receive as plenipotentiary, near his sacred and august person, a man who had been charged with the task of reading to his unfortunate and innocent sovereign the sentence which brought him to the scaffold.

(Signed) D. HAILES.

Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to

both Houses of Parliament, on opening the Session, Jan. 10, 1793.

My lords and gentlemen,
I HAVE his majesty's commands to meet you in Parliament, and to express his satisfaction in resorting to your counsels in the present situation of affairs.

His majesty feels the utmost concern that various attempts should have been made to excite a spirit of discontent and disturbance; and that appearances should have manifested themselves, in any part of this kingdom, of a design to effect by violence an alteration in the constitution.

It is an additional ground of uneasiness to his majesty, that views of conquest and dominion should have incited France to interfere with the government of other countries, and to adopt measures with regard to his majesty's allies, the states-general, neither conformable to the laws of nations, nor the positive stipulations of existing treaties; especially when both his majesty and the states-general had observed the strictest neutrality with regard to the affairs of France.

Under these circumstances, I have ordered, by his majesty's commands, an augmentation of the forces upon this establishment.

By the advice of the privy-council, measures have been taken to prevent the exportation of corn, provisions, and naval stores, arms, and ammunition. The circumstances which rendered these measures necessary will, I trust, justify any temporary infringement of the laws, and will induce you to give them a parliamentary sanction.

It will afford his majesty the greatest

greatest satisfaction, if by a temperate and firm conduct the blessings of peace can be continued ; but he feels assured of your zealous concurrence in his determination to provide for the security and interests of his dominions, and to fulfil those positive engagements to which he is equally bound by the honour of his crown, and the general interests of the empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you ; and I have no doubt of your readiness to grant such supplies for the public service, as the honour and security of his majesty's crown and government, and the exigencies of the times, may require.

My lords and gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the protestant charter-schools, and other public institutions, which have so repeatedly been the objects of your care, will, I doubt not, engage your accustomed regard and liberality.

I am to recommend to you, in his majesty's name, to adopt such measures as may be most advisable for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and for this purpose to render more effectual the law for establishing a militia in this kingdom.

His majesty has the fullest confidence, that you will, on all occasions, shew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his majesty's cordial co-operation and support : and I have it in particular command from

his majesty to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusts that the situation of his majesty's catholic subjects will engage your serious attention ; and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament.

I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies which I have received of your approbation ; and I will endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, by strenuously exerting the power with which I am entrusted, for the maintenance of our excellent constitution in church and state, as the best security for the liberty of the subject, and prosperity of Ireland.

Protest in the House of Lords of Ireland against the Bill for preventing unlawful Assemblies, July 10.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE we are clearly of opinion that the laws as they now stand, are amply sufficient to curb licentiousness of every sort, and to prevent or punish all such crimes as may be injurious to the state, or subversive of public tranquillity.

Because, Even though it were true that any evil existed, such as might seem to require a new law to counteract its effects, we conceive that laws made on particular emergencies, and enacted on the

spur

spur of the occasion, are at all times dangerous to constitutional liberty, inasmuch as they are usually framed in haste, and perhaps under the influence of passion or of arbitrary principle, and are apt therefore to entail upon the state a real and permanent evil, instead of the evanescent and temporary inconvenience they assume to obviate.

Because, That as this bill assumes to itself the style and character of a declaratory, as well as of an enacting law, we cannot enough testify our disapprobation of the dangerous practice of grounding a declaration of law upon the foundation of old and obsolete statutes enacted in arbitrary times, fallen into disuse from the increasing wisdom and spirit of the age, yet suffered to lie unrepealed, and esteemed by all sound and constitutional lawyers the lumber and disgrace of the statute books.

Because, We conceive it to be not only improper, but highly indecent, that a law of such delicate importance should be brought forward at a season when, for various causes, the house is so ill attended and deprived of many of its wisest and best members.

We therefore solemnly protest against the committal of this bill, at the same time declaring our utter disapprobation of all such meetings or conventions as it purposes to prevent, and firmly trusting that our fellow-citizens, warned and instructed by the sad experience of neighbouring countries, will cautiously abstain from every proceeding which can in any degree tend to public disorder.

LEINSTER,
ARRAN,
CHARLEMONT.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, August 16.

My lords and gentlemen,
THE wisdom and firmness that have distinguished your conduct during the present session, and the attention you have afforded to the many important objects of your deliberations, demand my sincere acknowledgments, and enable me to relieve you from further attendance in Parliament.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have his majesty's commands to thank you for the liberal supplies you have voted for the public service, and for the honourable support of his majesty's government. You may rely upon their faithful application.

My lords and gentlemen,

The wisdom and liberality with which you attended to his majesty's recommendation in favour of his Roman Catholic subjects are highly pleasing to the king.

You must be fully sensible of his majesty's gracious condescension in committing to your judgment the application of the hereditary revenue.—And I am ordered by his majesty to signify his approbation of the provisions which have been made for the support of his civil government, and the honour and dignity of his crown; and to express his confidence that your liberal concessions to the Roman Catholics, and the measures for the regulation of the public expenditure, and for the limitation of offices and pensions, to which his majesty has been graciously pleased to consent with a view to the advantage of the public, will cement a general

general union of sentiment among all classes of his majesty's subjects in support of the established constitution.

His majesty has seen with real satisfaction that friendly disposition which has been manifested by the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, for strengthening the connexion of the two kingdoms by mutual acts of concession. I am authorised to acquaint you that an act has passed the British parliament, to permit goods of Asia, Africa, and America, legally imported into Ireland, to be imported from thence into Great Britain. This is a signal proof of her attention to your interests, whilst the confirmation of the charter of the East-India company by the parliament of Ireland, displays on your part a cordial zeal for the support of Great Britain, and a judicious consideration of the great and essential interests of the empire.

I am to make my acknowledgments for the many salutary laws you have enacted to strengthen the executive government, which will materially tend to defeat the designs of the enemies to the freedom and happiness of this kingdom.

The apprehensions of embarrassment, which for a time hung over commercial transactions, were to me a subject of the utmost anxiety; and I am to return you my thanks for sanctioning those measures which I took in support of credit, and which I trust have had the happiest effect in preventing the ill-consequences of such apprehensions.

The spirit of discontent which prevailed amongst the lower classes of the people at the beginning of the session, has since burst into acts

of riot and insurrection; and I have been under the painful necessity of employing his majesty's forces, whose steadiness and good conduct have on all occasions been manifested, and by whose exertions the civil magistrates have been enabled in a great measure to restore the general tranquillity.

Under all the circumstances of the country, I thought it proper to call forth a very considerable portion of the militia of this kingdom. I am to express his majesty's approbation of a measure which affords a present material assistance, and lays the foundation of a permanent constitutional force, that has been found by experience in Great Britain of great resource in public emergencies.

His majesty feels, with the greatest concern, the expence brought upon his people by domestic disturbance, added to the consequence of a foreign war, into which we have been forced by the wanton and unprovoked aggression of France; but you will reflect that you are contending for the preservation of your property, and for the security of your happy constitution.

The successes with which it hath pleased the Divine Providence to bless the arms of his majesty and his allies afford the best prospect of a happy issue to this important contest; and it is his majesty's earnest hope, that a continuance of vigorous exertions will finally obtain a secure and lasting peace.

I have entire confidence, that in your respective counties you will exert your utmost influence in maintaining the public tranquillity, and in carrying the laws into full execution. You may be assured, that I shall, on all occasions, take

the most speedy and effectual measures, in the exercise of those powers with which I am invested, for the repression of outrage and tumult, and the protection of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects.

Manifesto or Public Declaration of the Court of Spain, explanatory of its Sentiments towards the French nation.

HIS Catholic majesty, penetrated with grief at the death of his august cousin Louis XVI. king of France, which he suffered on a scaffold, on the part of a number of his subjects, the detestation of mankind; seized with just indignation on account of so dreadful a crime; constrained to defend himself against those self-same Frenchmen, who, usurping themselves the royal authority, and tyrannizing over the rest of the subjects, declared war against him; has found it necessary to resolve upon it on his own part, and to overcome the natural and decided repugnance which he felt for a rupture.

Notwithstanding the vigorous measures which the king took in the beginning, and which he will continue to take, as the dignity of his crown and the safety of his dominions may require, his majesty knew well, and still knows it, that while he exposed the life of so great a portion of his faithful subjects, and sacrificed enormous sums to support that war, and to punish its authors, it would be impossible to avoid the effects and the ills which would result from it, for the august persons of the royal family of France shut up in prisons, and for

a great number of good and worthy Frenchmen whom he should wish to save by restoring them to the quiet enjoyment of their property and houses.

The ties of consanguinity, a friend-ship uninterrupted for almost a whole century, the intimate connexions and correspondence between two neighbouring powers closely united, are as many motives which will make his majesty more and more sensible at being compelled to make war upon France, in which he knows there exists a number of families, towns, and even whole provinces, which abominate the detestable principles of other Frenchmen.

Unfortunately there has been a great deal of derangement of ideas among some, as much fear among others, and as much anxiety respecting the fate which awaited them. Violence forced a considerable number of them to take up arms, to enforce, against their own will, the execution of the decrees of those very men whose government they detested and abhorred.

But the vigour and constancy with which others found means to shake off the yoke of their oppressors, and to defend themselves against their efforts, have evinced how just and worthy it is of the magnanimous heart of the king, to use all possible means not only to support the French faithful to their sovereign, but also to bring back to reason and reconciliation all those whom his majesty only considers as misled by the brilliant appearance of liberty, which in reality does not exist; by hopes which, far from being realized, dig their precipices; or by threats, or by the constant exertion of rigours which they are obliged

obliged to suffer, and which be-
reaves them of the courage of tak-
ing the part of justice, loyalty, and
their own preservation.

His majesty believes, that one of
those means would be that of unit-
ing together the whole sound part
of the French nation, in the same
manner as the city of Toulon has
done ; to establish from the present
moment a form of government,
under an hereditary monarchy, re-
serving, till the cessation of the
present troubles, the modifications
which might be deemed conven-
ient for its most solid establish-
ment.

His majesty is persuaded that this
is likewise the mode of thinking of
his Britannic majesty, his ally ; and
he doubts not but the other powers
who have taken up arms to make
one common cause against France,
will contribute towards the same
end, by receiving and protecting
those Frenchmen who shall be
ready to profit by these beneficial
dispositions.

The Catholic king, for his part,
announces those dispositions to
them from the present moment in
the most sincere manner, and pro-
mises to hear peaceably every idea
which may conciliate itself with the
dignity of his resolutions, wishing
as soon as possible to see the mo-
ment when, after the destruction
of that anarchy which causes so
many ills to France, there may be
in that kingdom a body or class of
men whom he may consider as hav-
ing sufficient power and authority
to deliberate upon an object so im-
portant to France herself.

Then will his majesty consider
her as a power which has recalled
into her bosom the principles of re-
ligion, morality, and civil inter-

course, which those who have vest-
ed themselves with supreme power
contributed to banish with so much
violence ! Then the civilized na-
tions may treat with her, and re-
new the bonds of friendship and
commerce which subsisted till now ;
and then, the horrors of war having
entirely vanished, Spain may afford
to France all those good offices
which become a good neighbour, a
generous nation, and a king of the
same family.

*Proclamation by the President of the
United States of America.*

WHEREAS it appears that a
state of war exists between
Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great
Britain, and the United Nether-
lands, on the one part ; and
France on the other ; and the
duty and interest of the United
States require that they should with
sincerity and good faith adopt and
pursue a conduct friendly and im-
partial towards the belligerent
powers.

I have therefore thought fit, by
these presents, to declare the dispo-
sition of the United States to ob-
serve the conduct aforesaid towards
these powers respectively ; and to
exhort and warn the citizens of the
United States carefully to avoid all
acts and proceedings, whatsoever,
which may in any manner tend to
controvert such disposition.

And I do hereby also make
known, that whosoever of the citi-
zens of the United States shall ren-
der himself liable to punishment or
forfeiture under the law of nations,
by committing, aiding or abetting
hostilities against any of the said
powers, or by carrying to any of

them those articles which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture; and farther, that I have given instruction to those officers to whom it belongs, to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons who shall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the law of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any of them.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia the 22d of April 1793, and of the independence of the United States of America the 17th.

G. WASHINGTON, (L. S.)

By the President,
TH. JEFFERSON.

Proclamation of the President of the United States of America.

George Washington, President of the United States of America, to all whom it may concern.

THE sieur Antoine Charbonet Duplaine, heretofore having produced to me his commission as vice-consul for the republic of France within the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and having thereon received from me an exequatur, bearing date the 5th day of June 1793, recognizing him as such, and declaring him free to exercise and

enjoy such functions, powers, and privileges, as are allowed to vice-consuls of the French republic by the laws, treaties, and conventions in that case made and provided; and the said sieur Duplaine having, under colour of his said office, committed sundry encroachments and infractions on the law of the land, and particularly having caused a vessel to be rescued with an armed force out of the custody of an officer of justice, who had arrested the same by process from his court, and it being therefore no longer fit, nor consistent with the respect and obedience due to the laws, that the sieur Duplaine should be permitted to continue in the exercise and enjoyment of the said functions, privileges and powers; these are therefore to declare, that I do no longer recognize the said Antoine Charbonet Duplaine as vice-consul of the republic of France in any part of these United States, nor permit him to exercise or enjoy any of the functions, powers, or privileges allowed to the vice-consuls of that nation; and that I do hereby wholly revoke and annul the said exequatur heretofore given, and do declare the same to be absolutely null and void, from this day forward.

In testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the United States of America to be hereto affixed.

Given under my hand this 10th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1793, and in the independence of the United States of America the 18th.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the president,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Citizen

Citizen Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

New York, Oct. 27, 1793.

I HAVE just received, together with your letter of the 3d instant, the dismissal of citizen Duplaine, vice-consul at Boston, and I hasten to declare to you, that I do not acknowledge its validity, because the constitution of the United States has not given the president the right which he now appears desirous to exercise.—It has empowered him as first minister of the American people, to admit and to receive the ministers of foreign nations, sent to the great American confederation, and their consular agents, distributed to the particular states; but, in confiding to him this official function, it has not given him the power of discharging them, to send them away, or to suspend them when once they have been admitted. Such an authority cannot be exerted, sir, but by the sovereign of the agent, or by one to which he is sent. On the part of their own sovereign, their recall can only be the object of his particular will, or a consequence of negotiations begun with him for that object. On the part of the sovereign to whom he is sent, a dismissal can be the result only of an act of regular justice, or of an arbitrary act. If it is a national act of justice, the sovereign should be furnished with every possible light upon so important an object, that he may be enabled to prove to the foreign sovereign, that his minister was unworthy of his confidence, and that this dismissal or suspension

was indispensable. If it be an act merely arbitrary, it is among the class of acts of aggression, and becomes a cause of war; and you know, sir, that in this respect the constitution of the United States has reserved to the representatives of the people the right of declaring it. I do not recollect what the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel say on this subject.—I thank God I have forgotten what these mercenary jurisprudents have written upon the rights of nations, at a period when they were all enchained. But the fundamental points of your liberty, and our own, are engraven in my memory in characters not to be effaced, and the rights of man are enclosed in my breast with the source of life. I have incessantly before my eyes your constitution and our own; and it is because I fully feel the just and wise intentions of those who founded them, that I demand of you, sir, to ask the president of the United States to procure an examination by the legislature representing the sovereign people of Massachusetts, of the conduct of citizen Duplaine, in the same manner as I have demanded an examination of my own in the ensuing congress.

In governments like ours, political affairs can only be judged by political bodies, and if the vice-consul Duplaine has infringed the particular laws of Massachusetts, or the general laws of the union, which the government is bound to support, so that state the cognizance of a crime against the majesty of the nation belongs in the first instance, and it is for her officers to announce it to the federal government,

vernment, in order that the foreign agent found to have violated the laws of the country, may receive punishment from his sovereign if he merits it. I insist with the more confidence upon this step, sir, as the attorney for the district of Boston made three efforts to procure a bill to be found at the circuit court against citizen Duplaine, and three times a popular and virtuous jury threw out his complaint, and this vice-consul was finally acquitted in the most honourable manner.—How could, in fact, any room for accusation be found against him, since he only acted in conformity to the treaties, to his instructions, to the decisions of the federal government, communicated to all the states, which even trust to the care of the French consuls the prizes supposed to be made within the jurisdiction of the United States, and as he proved incontestibly, that he never had any intention of resisting, by force, the orders intimated to him by judicial authority, although they were contrary to the political rights of the French nation!

GENET.

Address of the President of the United States of America in the House of Representatives, Dec. 3, 1793.

Fellow citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

SINCE the commencement of the term from which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While, on the

one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality with which I have been honoured by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me: but, influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions having nothing personal for their object; I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had engaged those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts of any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an explicit admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation, which will be laid before you, issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States.

These

These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form, within the limits of the United States.

In rests with the wisdom of congress to correct, improve, or enforce this plan of procedure; and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States to many cases, which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

When individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war, or enter upon military expeditions or enterprises within the jurisdictions of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties or violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long-established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it.

In like manner as several of the courts have doubted, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at

peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property; and have denied their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last-mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorised by law to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.—The documents which will be presented to you, will shew the amounts and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet in addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected, as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring

curing a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger.

Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an enquiry which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act, "more effectually to provide for the national defence, by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several states has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it, ought not to be, to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art which can scarcely ever be obtained by practice alone.

The connexion of the United States with Europe has become extremely interesting.—The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the executive, will be exhibited to congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed, that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality hav-

ing no restriction but the essential interest and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important subject, you will determine whether the deficiency in the number of troops granted by law shall be compensated by succours of militia, or additional encouragement shall be proposed to recruits.

An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the executive for peace with the Creeks and Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited during the recess of congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes; and it is with congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labours to render tranquillity with the savages permanent, by creating ties of interest. Next to a vigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations in behalf of the United States, is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without

out fraud, without extortion ; with constant and plentiful supplies ; with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for whatever they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hopes of profit ; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of congress, they will recollect, that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the executive.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The commissioners charged with the settlement of the accounts between the United and Individual States, concluded their important functions within the time limited by law ; and the balances struck in their report, which will be laid before congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the 1st day of June last, an instalment of one million of florins become payable on the loans of the united states in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in nature of a new loan, at an interest of five per cent. for the term of ten years ; and the expences of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

The first instalment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent than the redemption and discharge of the public debt ;

on none can delay be more injurious, or an œconomy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenue hitherto has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it ; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will therefore, it is presumed, be requisite ; and it is hoped that these may be made consistently with due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contributions, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of the public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people guided by an enlightened policy ; and to this primary good nothing can conduce more, than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores, made during the recess, will be presented to congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

The several subjects to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your deliberation, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. With-

out

out an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists of freedom of sentiment its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or candour, so shall not the public happiness languish, from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operation.

(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Message from the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress.

United States, Dec. 5, 1793.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

AS the present situation of the several nations of Europe, and especially of those with whom the United States have important relations, cannot but render the state of things between them and us matter of interesting inquiry to the legislature, and may indeed give rise to deliberations to which they alone are competent, I have thought it my duty to communicate to them certain correspondences which have taken place.

The representative and executive bodies of France have manifested generally a friendly attachment to this country; have given advantages to our commerce and navigation; and have made overtures for placing these advantages on permanent ground. A decree, however, of the national assembly, subjecting vessels laden with provisions to be carried into their ports, and making enemies goods lawful prize in the

vessel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time as to the United States, has been since extended to their vessels also, as has been recently stated to us. Representations on this subject will be immediately given in charge to our minister there, and the result will be communicated to the legislature.

It is with extreme concern I have to inform you, that the proceedings of the person whom they have unfortunately appointed their minister plenipotentiary here, have breathed nothing of the friendly spirit of the nation which sent him: their tendency, on the contrary, has been to involve us in a war abroad, and discord and anarchy at home. So far as his acts, or those of his agents, have threatened our immediate commitment in the war, or flagrant insult to the authority of the laws, and by an exertion of the powers confided to me. Where their danger was not imminent, they have been borne with, from sentiments of regard to his nation, from a sense of their friendship towards us, from a conviction that they would not suffer us to remain long exposed to the action of a person who has so little respected our mutual dispositions, and, I will add, from a reliance on the firmness of my fellow-citizens in their principles of peace and order. In the mean time I have respected and pursued the stipulations of our treaties, according to what I have judged their true sense; and have withheld no act of friendship which their affairs have called for from us, and which justice to others left us free to perform. I have gone further; rather than employ force

force for the restitution of certain vessels which I deemed the United States bound to restore, I thought it more advisable to satisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that if restitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compensation. The papers now communicated will more particularly apprise you of these transactions.

The vexation and spoliation understood to have been committed on our vessels and commerce by the cruizers and officers of some of the belligerent powers, appeared to require attention. The proofs of these, however, not having been brought forward, the description of citizens supposed to have suffered were notified, that, on furnishing them to the executive power, due measures would be taken to obtain redress for the past, and more effectual provisions against the future. Should such documents be furnished, proper representations will be made thereon, with a just reliance on a redress proportioned to the exigency of the case.

The British government having undertaken, by orders to the commanders of their armed vessels, to restrain generally our commerce in corn and other provisions to their own ports and those of their friends, the instructions now communicated were immediately forwarded to our minister at that court. In the mean time some discussions on the subject took place between him and them: these are also laid before you; and I may expect to learn the result of his special instructions in time to make it known to the legislature during their present session.

Very early after the arrival of

a British minister here, mutual explanations on the execution of the treaty of peace were entered into with that minister; these are now laid before you for your information.

On the subjects of mutual interest between this country and Spain, negotiations and conferences are now depending. The public good requiring that the present state of these should be made known to the legislature in confidence only, they shall be the subject of a separate and subsequent communication.

(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Declaration of the King of Prussia
respecting the March of his Troops
into Poland.*

IT is known to all Europe, that the change of government which took place in Poland on the 3d of May, 1791, without the knowledge or participation of the neighbouring friendly powers, has excited the displeasure and dissatisfaction of a great part of the nation; and that those who remained faithful to the ancient form of government, implored the assistance of the elevated princess who had guaranteed it.

Her Russian imperial majesty listened to the call, and flew to their assistance with a considerable body of troops, which were sent by division into those provinces, where their presence appeared to be most necessary. Under their protection, the principal members of nobility entered into a general confederacy, whose present labours are devoted to the suppression of the abuses of introduced innovations, and tending to

to restore virtue to the constitution of their country.

From that moment Prussia could not but feel a concern for the fate of Poland, partly as a neighbour, partly on account of the references which mutually subsist between these two states. Those great events could not but excite her attention; but the king always cherished hopes, that the troubles would soon be happily terminated; and believed, therefore, to be able to forego his interference, especially in a moment when objects, momentous and worthy of his solicitude, occupied him in another quarter.

His expectation was, however, disappointed. The so called patriotic party, instead of yielding to the salutary designs of the court of Russia, had even the temerity to make an obstinate resistance against the imperial troops; and although their weakness soon forced them to renounce the chimerical idea of an open war, they still continued to create private combinations, visibly tending to subvert order and public tranquillity. Even the king's own dominions feel their consequences by repeated excesses and violations of territory. But what still more requires the serious attention of the king and all the neighbouring powers, is the propagation of French democracy, and the principles of that detestable faction who seek to make proselytes every where, and who have already been so well received in Poland, that the enterprises of the Jacobin emissaries are not only most powerfully seconded there, but even revolution societies established, who make an open profession of their principles.

Great Poland is chiefly infected

with that dangerous poison, and contains the greatest number of the zealous professors of mistaken patriotism. Their connexions with the French clubs must inspire his majesty with a just distrust on account of the safety of his own dominions, and therefore put him under the necessity of taking effective measures.

His majesty being necessitated, in combination with the allied courts, to continue the war, and being on the eve of opening a campaign, thought it proper to concert measures with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg; and their imperial majesties could not forbear owning, that from sound policy, it should not be allowed that the factious should be suffered to be free in Poland, and expose his majesty to the danger of having an enemy in the rear, whose violent and wild enterprises might become a source of fresh troubles.

His majesty has therefore resolved to get the start of them, by sending a sufficient body of troops, under the command of M. de Mollendorf, general of infantry, into the territories of the republic, and especially into several districts of Grand Poland.

These measures of precaution have for their aim to cover the Prussian territories: to suppress the ill-disposed incendiaries and disturbers of tranquillity; to restore and maintain order and tranquillity; and lastly, to afford efficacious protection to the well-disposed inhabitants. It will only depend on them to merit that protection, by a tranquil and prudent conduct, by giving to the Prussian troops a friendly reception and treatment, and by assisting them with whatever they may

may want, and facilitating their subsistence. The commanding general shall, on his own part, not be wanting to maintain good and severe discipline, to disburden the inhabitants as much as in his power shall be, to redress all their grievances, and to pay punctually for the supplies which he may have occasion for. The king is fond of cherishing the hope, that, with sentiments so pacific, he may depend on the good will of a nation, whose prosperity cannot be indifferent to his majesty, and to whom his majesty wishes to give real proofs of his affection and good wishes.

Berlin, Jan. 6, 1793.

Protest of the Serene confederated Republic of Poland against the violent Entrance of the Prussian troops into its Territories.

FAVOURABLE events or great misfortunes have, in turns, raised Poland to an eminent degree of splendour, or plunged it into a state of weakness and oppression: but amidst these changes of opposite circumstances, unshaken constancy has always proved the elevation of its national character.

The short interval of the four last years has seen obscured this aspect, honourable for the nation. The diet of 1788 assembled at an epoch which, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, presented to Poland both the hopes and means of securing the basis of its republican government, became to it a source of evils, aggravated by their contrast with its vanished hopes. Seduction misled confident patriotism, and distorted its pure and beneficent views.

The revolution of the 3d of May 1791, planned and effected without the support of the national will, without the concurrence of its neighbours, by transforming a republic into a monarchy, made despotism prevail within it, together with the dread of external storms, excited by the discontent of neighbouring courts.

A constitution which infringed the ancient prerogatives of citizens, cemented with the blood of their ancestors, and incompatible with the political convenience of the powers who surround us, was destitute of the basis necessary to give it solidity.

Faithful to our engagements, her majesty the empress of all the Russias, that august ally of Poland, and the guarantee of its government, deigned to offer to the nation, in the generous assistance of her power, a flattering prospect of the re-establishment of its liberties, its independence, its sovereignty, and its integrity.

Virtuous citizens, determined to prefer death to slavery, did not hesitate to adhere to views so consolating to their country, while others, retiring from their homes, and yielding to circumstances, waited only for that favourable moment which every thing seemed to pre-
 sage to them. The declaration of the court of Petersburg secured to the Poles their republic, a free government, national independence, and the integrity of their domains. Peace and liberty preceded the banners of the Russian troops, who entered the territories of the republic as friends and auxiliaries. The abusive employment, however, of the national forces, in opposing an imprudent resistance, soon filled every

every virtuous citizen with grief, on seeing the blood of his brethren lavished without reflection.

The reign, however, of error and disorder soon disappeared, sentiments of fraternity brought together every heart. The king, the army, and the whole nation adhered to the band of confederation formed at Targowitz on the 14th of May 1792. Trouble and consternation then gave place to emotions of hope and joy. The calm re-established at home—the support of foreign assistance—confidence founded on the justice of the cause, and on the good disposition of our neighbours, all concurred to banish uneasiness. The national character excluded every idea of persecution. The persons and property, therefore, of individuals most distinguished by their opposition to the salutary views of the confederation were respected—Russian troops cantoned in the different provinces every where observed strict discipline; and if some citizens now and then experienced acts of oppression, these single injuries, from which people are not entirely free on the part of national troops, even in the time of peace, were the work only of some subaltern commanders, and were redressed as soon as known.

The confederation already imagined that it was about to accomplish its end; its labours tending to regenerate the republican government, were already about to secure the liberty of the citizen, and to establish friendship and good understanding between it and neighbouring states; already had the republic arrived at the period when it was about to enjoy in the bosom of peace the fruits of the active

zeal of citizens, who had the courage to seize the helm of affairs at so difficult a crisis.

The purity of their intentions unveiled, dispersed the clouds of prejudice, and the nation waited with confidence for the result of labours undertaken for the public happiness.

Such was the state of things in Poland when the declaration of his majesty the king of Prussia froze every heart with terror and surprise. The motives assigned for the entrance of the Prussian troops into the territories of the republic, could not fail to give rise to uneasy suspicions in the minds of the Poles, whose character is as loyal as their conduct is open.

Alarmed by the pretended progress of democracy in Poland, and still more by the rise of clubs destined to propagate it, “the king of Prussia,” says the declaration, “when about to open a second campaign, thought it would not be proper to leave behind him an enemy from whom he had every thing to fear. He consequently considered it as an indispensable precaution to cause a part of his troops to enter the territories of the republic.”

A continued correspondence between the military commanders, the palatinal confederations, the civil magistrates, and the general confederation, having enabled the latter to assure itself, that perfect tranquillity prevailed from one end of the kingdom to the other, all extraordinary measures of precaution have hitherto appeared to it superfluous. On seeing the declaration of his Prussian majesty, the general confederation, though astonished only at the assertions therein announced,

announced, and no ways convinced of the reality of their object, discharged in every respect what it thought due to a neighbour, a friend, and an ally.—It declared in its answer, that no symptoms of disturbance appeared in the country; that all revolutionary clubs were proscribed; and, in short, that the public force, supported by the presence of the Russian troops was more than sufficient to suppress all commotions. It therefore demanded, that his Prussian majesty would revoke the orders he had given for a body of his troops to enter the territories of the republic. In consequence of this answer, the general confederation, in deference rather to the uneasiness manifested by his majesty the king of Prussia, than to the existence of any necessity, sent strict orders to every body of troops to hold themselves always in readiness to march, wherever the smallest symptom of ferment might require their presence.

These steps being taken, the general confederation and whole nation entertained no doubt that his Prussian majesty, assured by so many motives, would order the march of his troops to be stopped. This deference seemed as consistent with the laws of good neighbourhood, as with the dignity of a free nation.

Notwithstanding, however, these solemn assurances, and notwithstanding the evidence of the facts alledged in support of them, the Prussian army advanced, and one of its detachments appeared under the walls of Thorn. Its inhabitants faithful to their duty, having refused entrance to the Prussian troops, experienced an open attack. Can-

nons were planted against it; the gates were broken open, the municipal guard were dislodged from their post; a defenceless city exhibited the spectacle of a place taken by assault, and the Prussian regiments entered it, making the air resound with shouts of joy. There were no soldiers of the republic in it to make resistance; the city depended for security on public faith, and that was violated. At the same epoch different Polish detachments, dispersed throughout Great Poland, were attacked and driven from their posts by superior forces.

Confiding in solemn engagements, and in the faith of treaties, we could never imagine that we had occasion to apprehend a surprise or open violence, where every thing ought to have assured to us, that we should find only friendship and assistance. The few troops therefore cantoned on these frontiers, being destined only to watch over the internal tranquillity, instead of being armed for war, were even unprovided with cannon.

The high idea which we have formed of the justice and magnanimity of his majesty the king of Prussia, increases our hopes, that that prince, enlightened by our answer, will stop the consequences of his first resolution, and that, instead of wishing to give support to a violation already made in the Polish territories, he will rather endeavour to convince the nation of his constant good will, by causing his troops to evacuate the domains of the republic. Resting on the goodness of our cause, we have not to fear any kind of pretensions injurious to any part of the states of the republic, guaranteed by so many

many treaties, and particularly by that of 1775, which binds his Prussian majesty, as it does the two other neighbouring courts.

Faithful therefore to our oath, faithful in our attachment to the ancient prerogatives of our ancestors, and faithful to our vocation, we protest in the most solemn manner, in the face of the universe, against all usurpations of the smallest part of the states of the republic. We openly declare that we enter into nothing, nor in any manner into any concern whatever, which may tend to dismember any part of the Polish domains; but that, on the contrary, we are ready to sacrifice even the last drop of our blood in defence of our liberty and integrity. In short, we hope that the two imperial courts connected by their guarantee, and that even all powers, in consequence of the reciprocity of national interests, will not behold with an eye of indifference a manifest violation of the rights of nations, violent attempts made against the tranquillity of a neighbouring and friendly state, and the open invasion of its domains. We expect, above all, that the august sovereign in whom we have placed all our confidence, and who, in the face of Europe, has vowed to us good will, will not suffer the splendour of her renown to be obscured, and will rather think it becoming the magnanimity of her soul to add to the multitude of memorable acts which have immortalized her, one no less glorious, that of stretching out, at this critical period, the hand of assistance to a free nation, worthy in every respect to excite general interest.

In thus manifesting the purity of our intentions we declare, in short,

that our efforts are animated by no other views than those of transmitting to our posterity, the free, independent, and well-organized republic; and that we will either preserve entire this republic, which we have regenerated, or that not one of us will survive its destruction.

Done at Grodno in the sitting of the general confederation of the two nations, 3d February, 1793.

(L. S.) Signed by Stanislaus Felix Potocki, grand master of artillery, and marshal of the general confederation of the crown; Alexander Prince Sapieha, grand chancellor of Lithuania, and marshal of the general confederation of that Duchy.

And by a great number of the councillors of the confederation, and of other citizens.

Edict of the Empress of Russia, addressed to her Senate on the 8th of February, 1793.

THE troubles which have prevailed in France since the year 1789, cannot fail to have excited the attention of every regular government. As long as there remained any hope that time and circumstances would contribute to bring to a sense of their duty the minds of those that were misled, and that order and legitimate authority would there recover their ancient vigour, we tolerated the residence of the French in our territories, and permitted our subjects to communicate with them. But having observed in their country the still greater and greater progress of insurrection and disobedience towards

wards their sovereign, accompanied by an obstinate intention, not only to consolidate among them the principles of impiety, of anarchy, and of every description of immorality, but also to propagate them over the whole extent of the globe, we have interrupted our political correspondence with France, by recalling our minister with his suite, as well as by dismissing from our court the *charge des affaires* of that power—a measure to which we were determined by this new consideration, that the respective missions having been established between us and the king, it was incompatible with our dignity, after the latter had been deprived of his authority, and kept, under a scandalous constraint, in continual apprehensions, to have, in any manner whatever, the appearance of wishing to treat with the usurpers of his rights and government. Now that the measure of the atrocities which have soiled that unhappy land, and the universal horror they have inspired, are at their height—now that more than seven hundred monsters have been found, who have abused the power they had arrogated to themselves by the most criminal means, and that to such an extent as to lay their paricidal hands on the life of the Lord's anointed, of their lawful master, cruelly and inhumanly immolated on the 21st of January last, we think ourselves bound by God and our conscience, until the justice of the Most High shall have confounded the authors of so horrible a crime, and it shall have pleased his holy will to terminate the calamities by which France is now

afflicted, not to permit, between our empire and that kingdom, any of the relations which subsist between civilized and legitimately constituted states. We, in consequence, order as follows :

The suspension of the treaty of commerce concluded on the 30th of December 1786.

The prohibition of the entry of French vessels, under their own flag or any other, into our ports, equally prohibiting our merchants and shipmasters from sending their vessels into the ports of France.

The dismissal of the heretofore French consuls, vice-consuls, agents, &c.

We order, that the French of both sexes, without any exception, shall quit our empire; except such as shall manifest their desire of abjuring, by oath, the principles of impiety and sedition at this time professed in their country.

The abjuration is to be made in a catholic church, where any such is to be found, and in the presence of the magistrates of the place.

All our subjects are prohibited from travelling in France, or from having the least communication with the French, either in their own country, or in the territories into which they have carried their arms.

The introduction into Russia of gazettes, journals, and other periodical works published in France, is prohibited.

Lastly, we forbid the permission of entry into our empire to any French native, without producing a certificate from the French princes, and being obliged to make the abjuration above mentioned.

*Manifesto and Declaration of his
Prussian Majesty to the City of
Dantzick.*

THE same motives which induced his majesty the king of Prussia to order a corps of his troops to enter a district of Great Poland, put his majesty also under the necessity of making sure of the city of Dantzick and its dependencies.

Forbearing to mention the quite unamicable dispositions which this city has for many years evinced against Prussia, it has now become the seat of an audacious sect, which proceeds from transgression to transgression, and seeks to propagate them by the polluted services of its votaries and accomplices.

One of those villains has met with an open reception at Dantzick itself, after having laboured in vain to circulate the venom of its doctrine in the bosom of a happy and loyal nation, and he could not be wrested from the hands of his protectors but by dint of remonstrances.

This recent example, other frequent abuses of a liberty ill understood, the close connexions which the rebels in France and Poland keep up with a party, which by the boldness of its principles predominates over the plurality of well-disposed citizens; and lastly, the facility with which the common enemy procures to himself, by means of his adherents at Dantzick, all kinds of provisions, and especially corn; these are ever so many objects which ought to have drawn the king's notice to this city, and to have induced him to keep it within its proper bounds, and to

take care of the safety and tranquillity of the neighbouring provinces of Prussia.

To this end his Prussian majesty, after having agreed with other powers interested in this, has charged his lieutenant-general M. de Raumer to take possession of the city of Dantzick and its dependencies, with a sufficient body of troops, with a view of preserving there good order, and public tranquillity.

It only rests with the inhabitants to gain the king's good-will, by a quiet and prudent conduct, in receiving and treating his majesty's troops in a friendly manner, and granting them necessary succour and assistance.

The general and commandant will not be remiss on his own part to observe the most rigorous discipline, and to grant his protection to all those who in this case may require it.

Whereas these are the sentiments of his Prussian majesty, the king flatters himself that the magistrates of Dantzick will not hesitate to accede to them, and to second in this manner the salutary views, of which they will be the first to feel the effects.

Done at Berlin, Feb. 24, 1793.

*Declaration of the Emperor of
Germany.*

Francis II. by the grace of God,
&c.

ALTHOUGH we do not interfere in the domestic concerns of Poland, nor deem it necessary to give any direct precepts on that head to our Gallician subjects, yet since the king and republic of Poland

land have solemnly declared themselves in favour of the maintenance of the former relations guaranteed by the imperial court of Russia in alliance with us, still we are bound by a neighbourly and friendly regard to see that no concerted measures or counter-operations against those lawful relations, in our hereditary dominions, should be tolerated.

We do therefore put our most gracious confidence in the docility and love of order and peace which we have always perceived with pleasure in our Gallician subjects, that they will totally forbear participating in any projects or efforts to create new changes or fermentations in Poland.

We expect, in the same manner, on the part of those subjects who reside in our dominions, that by a similar tranquil conduct they will render themselves worthy of the protection they enjoy. But should, against all expectation, any Polish subjects dare to counteract, in our dominions, the present operations in Poland by meditation of the imperial court of Russia, we do hereby declare, that in case of such a participation in designs against the republic of Poland being discovered, all residence and abode in all our hereditary dominions shall be refused them; and we do further ordain to all our governments and public offices, to exert the most careful and most rigorous vigilance, that our sentiments for the maintenance of public tranquillity, thus openly declared by these our commands, be by every one, without exception, duly observed and attended to.

Given at Vienna, Feb. 14, 1793.

Ukase of the Empress of Russia relative to the Partition of Poland.

BY her imperial majesty, my most gracious sovereign, I Michael Krechetnicoff, general in chief, senator, general governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the Polish republic to the Russian empire, commander of all the armies there, and in the three governments of Little Russia, in the place of governor general of those three governments, inspector of the armies, knight of the order of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Nefsky, St. Vladimir, of the first class, the Polish white Eagle, and St. Stanislaus, and the Holstein order of St. Anne, hereby make known the supreme will and command of my most gracious sovereign her imperial majesty of all the Russias to all the inhabitants in general, and to every one in particular, of whatever rank or denomination, of the countries and places now united for ever to the Russian empire from the Polish republic.

The share her imperial majesty has hitherto taken in the affairs of Poland, has always been tending in the most direct and fundamental manner to the interests of both empires. It has not only been unsuccessful, but proved a fruitless burden; and her endeavours to maintain peace, quiet, and freedom amongst her neighbours, have been attended with innumerable losses.

Thirty years' experience have shewn this in the numerous quarrels and eternal disputes amongst themselves, which have torn the Polish republic. Her imperial majesty has viewed their sufferings in the towns and cities bordering on

her empire with great grief, considering them as descended from the same race, and professing the Holy Christian religion.

At present even some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been ashamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to request their assistance to involve their country also in bloody civil wars.

The true Christian religion, and the very well being of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, would suffer from the introduction of such detestable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the political and social bonds of society, to overthrow all safety, property, and prosperity. These enemies of peace and quiet, following the detestable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmost of their power, which would destroy for ever their own and neighbours' happiness.

From these considerations, her imperial majesty, my most gracious mistress, as well to indemnify herself for her many losses, as for the future safety of her empire and the Polish dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future disturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleased now to take under her sway, and to unite for ever to her empire the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants: namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dvina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia; from thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voivodship

of Vilna to Stolptsa, to Nesvij, and then to Pinsk; from thence passing Kunish, between Viskero and Novogreble, near the frontier of Galicia; from thence to the river Dniester, and lastly running along the river till it enters the old border of Russia and Poland, at Yeger-tic; in such manner, that all the cities, lands, and countries, lying within this line of demarcation, the new border of Russia and Poland, shall from henceforward for ever come under the sceptre of the Russian empire, and the inhabitants and possessors, of all ranks whatever, be subjects thereof.

Therefore I being appointed by her imperial majesty, governor general of these countries, by her supreme order, have to assure, in her sacred name, and in her own words, as by this manifesto I make known to every body, and declare I will fulfil, to all her imperial majesty's new subjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her most gracious majesty is pleased, not only to confirm and insure to all the free and public exercise of their religion, and full security of property and possession, but to unite and affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole Russian empire, an example of which is to be seen in her faithful subjects the inhabitants of White Russia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wise and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every one of them shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old subjects, and that from this day every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of these benefits through the whole extent of the Russian empire.

Her

Her imperial majesty expects from the gratitude of her new subjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Russians, shall, in return, transfer their love of their former country to the new one, and live in future attached to so great and generous an empress.

I, therefore, now inform every person, from the highest to the lowest, that, within one month, they must take the oath of allegiance before the witnesses whom I shall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, possessing real or immoveable property, regardless of their own interest, shall refuse to take the oath prescribed, three months are allowed for the sale of their immoveables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

Clergy, both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, are expected to set the example in taking the oath; and in the daily service in their churches, they must pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor the great duke Paul Petrovitch, and for all the imperial family, according to the formula which shall be given them.

In the above-mentioned solemn assurance concerning the free exercise of religion and undisturbed possession of property, it is understood that the Jews, living in these countries united to the Russian empire, shall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property: for her majesty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindness under the protection

of God, so long as they continue to live in peace, and pursue their trades as handicrafts like true and faithful subjects. Law and justice shall be administered, in the name of her imperial majesty, in the proper places, with the utmost strictness and equity.

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majesty, that the troops shall, as in their own country, be under the strictest discipline; their taking possession therefore of the various places, and changing the government, shall not in the least alter the course of trade or living; for the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants in all parts, is the intention of her imperial majesty.

This manifesto shall be read in all the churches on the 27th of the present month of March, registered in all the municipal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full faith may be given to it, I have, in consequence of the powers entrusted to me, signed it with my hand, and affixed the seal of my arms, at the head quarters of the army under my command at Polona.

(Signed)

MICHAEL KRECHETNICOFF.

Prussian Declaration respecting Poland.

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c.

MAKE known by these presents to the respective states, bishops, abbots, prelates, voivodes, castle keepers, starosts, chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vassals, and nobles, the magis-

magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the spiritual and secular inhabitants of the voivodships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, Siradia, the city and monastery of Czen-tochova, the province of Vielun; the voivodship of Lentschitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Dobrzyn, the voivodships of Rava and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewise the cities of Dantzick and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all sorts of good, and give them the following most gracious notice.

It is universally known that the Polish nation never ceased to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the Prussian state, frequent reasons of just discontentment. Not satisfied (contrary to all rules of a good neighbourhood) with hurting the Prussian territory, by frequent invasions, with molesting and ill-using the subjects on this side the frontiers, and with almost continually refusing them justice and lawful satisfaction; this nation have, besides, always busied themselves with pernicious plans, which must needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. These are matters of fact which could not escape the eye of an attentive observer of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the serious consideration of the neighbouring powers, is the spirit of rebellion continually increasing in Poland, and the visible influence which was obtained by those abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties, would have been dissolved, and the inhabitants of Poland exposed to

all the tremendous consequences of anarchy, and plunged into misery, the end of which could not be seen.

If in every country the adoption and spreading out of such destructive principles is always attended with the loss of the tranquillity and happiness of its inhabitants, its destructive consequences are chiefly, and the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland, since this nation have always distinguished themselves by disturbances and party spirit, and are *powerful enough of themselves to become dangerous to their neighbours by these disturbances.*

It would certainly militate against the first rules of a sound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preservation of tranquillity in our state, if, in such a state of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive spectators, and should wait for the period when the faction feel themselves strong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be exposed to several dangers, by the consequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her majesty the empress of Russia, and with the assent of his majesty the Roman Emperor, acknowledged, that the safety of our states did require to set the republic of Poland such boundaries which are more compatible with her interior strength and situation, and to facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice of her liberty, a well ordained, solid, and active form of government, of maintaining herself in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same, and preventing by these means the disturbances which have so often shaken her own tranquillity,

tranquillity, and endangered the safety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preserve the Republic of Poland from the dreadful consequences which must be the result of her internal divisions, and to rescue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the destructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough persuasion, to which also her majesty the empress of all the Russias accedes in the most perfect congruity with our intentions and principles, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our states, and for this purpose immediately to take possession of the same, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might arise from the continuance of the reciprocal disturbances.

Wherefore we have resolved, with the assent of her Russian majesty, to take possession of the above-mentioned districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzick and Thorn, to the end of incorporating them to our state.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unshaken resolution, and expect that the Polish nation will very soon assemble in the Diet, and adopt the necessary measures to the end of settling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the salutary end of securing to the republic of Poland an undisturbed peace, and preserving her inhabitants from the terrible consequences of anarchy. At the same time we exhort the states and inhabitants of the districts and towns which we have taken possession of as already mentioned, both in a gracious and serious manner, not to oppose our

commanders and troops, ordered for that purpose, but rather tractably to submit to our government, and acknowledge us from this day forward as their lawful king and sovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient subjects, and to renounce all connexions with the crown of Poland.

We do not doubt but every body whom this may concern, will attend to this with obedience; but in case, and contrary to all expectation, some one or other state and inhabitants of the said districts and towns should refuse to obey the contents of this our open letter, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor submit to our government, or even attempt to oppose our commanders and troops, such person or persons have unavoidably to expect the punishments usual in such like cases, shall be inflicted upon them without any distinction.

In witness whereof we have subscribed this patent with our own hand, and caused our royal seal to be set to it to be published in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin the 25th of March, 1793.

FREDERICK WILLIAM (L.S.)
(FINKESTEIN,) (ALVENSLEBEN.)

Russian Declaration respecting Poland.

THE intentions which her majesty the empress of all the Russias has caused to be announced in the declaration delivered on the 7-18th May, last year, by her minister at Warsaw, upon the occasion of her troops entering Poland, were without contradiction of a nature for

for obtaining the suffrage, deference, and one might even add, thankfulness of the whole Polish nation. However, all Europe has seen in what manner they have been received and appropriated.

To open to the confederation of Targovich the road by which they might attain the exercise of their rights and legal power, it was necessary to take up arms, and the authors of the revolution of the 3d of May 1791, and their adherents, have not quitted the career by which they have provoked the Russian troops, until after they were vanquished by their efforts.

But if open resistance ceased, it was only to make room for secret machinations, whose developed springs are the more dangerous, as they often escape the most attentive vigilance, and even the reach of the law.

The spirit of faction and disturbance has shot such deep roots, that those who mischievously foment and propagate them, after having been unsuccessful in their cabals at foreign courts to render the views of Russia suspicious to them, have endeavoured to delude the multitude, always easy to be overtaken, and succeeded in making them share in the hatred and animosity they have conceived against this empire, for having frustrated them in their criminal expectations.

Without speaking about several facts of public notoriety, that prove the mischievous disposition of the greatest number of the Polanders, let it suffice to mention, that they have been known to abuse even the principals of humanity and of moderation, to which the generals and officers of the empress's army, pursuant to the express orders they had re-

ceived, conformed their conduct and actions; and to burst out against them in all manner of insults and bad proceedings, insomuch that the most audacious durst to make mention of Sicilian Vespers, and threaten to make them undergo the same.

Such is the reward which these enemies of tranquillity and of good order, whom her imperial majesty was willing to re-establish and secure in their native country, reserved for her generous intentions.

From this, one may guess at the sincerity of the accession of most among them to the now existing confederation, and also at the duration and solidity of the peace, both abroad and in the bosom of the republic.

But the empress, accustomed for these thirty years to struggle against the continual agitations of this state, and trusting to the means Providence gave her to contain within their bounds the dissensions which have reigned there until this day, would have persevered in her disinterested exertions, and continued to bury in oblivion all the grievances she has to lay to its charge, and also the lawful pretensions to which they entitle her, if inconveniencies of a still more serious nature were not to be apprehended. The unnatural delirium of a people of late so flourishing, now degraded, dismembered, and on the brink of an abyss ready to swallow them, instead of being an object of horror for those factious persons, appears to them a pattern for imitation. They endeavour to introduce into the bosom of the republic this infernal doctrine, which a sect, altogether impious, sacrilegious, and absurd, has engendered, to the misfortune and dissolution

dissolution of all religious, civil, and political societies.

Clubs, which are connected with the jacobin clubs at Paris, are already established in the capital, as well as in several provinces of Poland; they distil their poison in a secret manner, fill the people's minds with it, and cause them to ferment.

The establishment of an axiom so dangerous for all powers whose states border upon the dominions of the republic, must naturally excite their attention. They have in conjunction taken the most proper measures for stifling the evil before it came to maturity, and preventing its contagion from reaching their own frontiers. Her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of Prussia, with the assent of his majesty the emperor of the Romans, have found no other effectual ones for their respective safety than to confine the republic of Poland in narrower bounds, by awarding to her an existence and propositions, which suit an intermediary power best, and which facilitate to her the means of securing and preserving herself, without prejudicing her former liberty, and a government that is wisely regulated, and at the same time active enough to prevent and repress all disorders and disturbances that have so often impaired her own tranquillity and that of her neighbours. For this purpose, their majesties the empress of all the Russias and the king of Prussia, being united with a perfect concert of views and principles, are thoroughly convinced that they cannot better prevent the entire subversion the republic is threatened with after the discord that has divided it, and especially

of these monstrous and erroneous opinions that begin to manifest themselves, than by uniting to their respective states those of the provinces which actually border upon the same, and by taking an immediate and effective possession of them, in order to shelter them in time from the fatal effects of these very opinions which people seek to propagate there.

Their said majesties by announcing to the whole Polish nation in general the firm resolutions they have taken on this head, invite them to assemble as soon as possible in a Diet, to the end of proceeding to an amicable regulation concerning this object, and to concur with the salutary intention they have for securing to her in future a state of undisturbed peace fixed on a stable and solid basis.

Given at Grodno, the 29th of March, O. S. 9th April, 1793.

JAMES DE SIEVERS,
Ambassador extraordinary and
plenipotentiary of her imperial
majesty of all the Russias.

Note delivered on the 28th of April, by the Illustrious General Confederation, to Mr. De Sievers, Ambassador Extraordinary of Her Majesty the Empress of Russia, in Answer to those of this Minister, under the date of the 18th ult.

Warsaw, May 8.

THE general confederation of the two nations having enjoined the undersigned to answer the notes of his excellency Mr. De Sievers, ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias,

sias, dated the 9th and 16th of the present month, they find themselves charged and constrained to confess, that the confederation never expected a declaration of the taking of the provinces of the republic, and that they on the receipt of the first note, have of course found themselves in the difficult and thorny situation of conciliating the painful sentiments they found themselves penetrated with respecting the regard due to neighbouring and allied powers; a situation which alone was the cause of a longer deliberation.

The general confederation thought they might indeed suppose, by the purport of the notes delivered to them, both on the part of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, and on the part of his Prussian majesty, that the taking of the wealthiest provinces of the republic of Poland, and whose extent exceeds that which is left her, is no longer an object of negotiation susceptible of a mutual arrangement, but rather a declaration of what these two powers have pleased to submit under their dominion; and it has consequently appeared to the general confederation, that no power whatsoever, not even that of the Diet, being able to avert the disaster which unexpectedly has befallen the republic, it would have been the duty of the said confederation, who with a solemn oath have bound themselves, in the face of the church, to maintain the integrity of the country in the smallest particle, to withdraw themselves from the least participation of any thing that might render them justly perjurers. The deliberations then only run upon proper means of saving the honour of a clear and irreproachable con-

science; but since the confederation have found themselves to be unable to serve the country in a useful manner, and to deserve by a loyal counter declaration to see themselves rather pitied than despised, after an event they can in no ways reproach themselves with, and of which they hope to be cleared by an equitable and compassionate public.

It was in a contest of similar sensations, when the second note of his excellency the ambassador, dated April the 16th, was handed to the general confederation, who are besides forced to fear the reproaches of the nation concerning their inaction, especially after having been informed, that whatever was furnished to the numerous army of her imperial majesty, should not be refunded till the universals were published, in order to assemble an extraordinary Diet.

Finally, they have charged the underwritten to declare in the name of the general confederation, and by their express order, that the said confederation think themselves fully justified before the sight of the Supreme Being, and the equitableness of the neighbouring and allied powers, likewise before their just and impartial nation, concerning any participation whatever in the plan of dividing Poland, and relative to the measures they adopt, pursuant to the laws guaranteed by those very powers—by recalling the members of the permanent council, who have not given an account yet of their past administration—by replacing with new members those that are lawfully excluded—and to further the complement established by the law of 1775; by restoring besides to this magistracy all the

the activity given them, to the end of effectually relieving the pressing exigencies of the republic, and of continuing its government.

The underwritten are in hopes his excellency the ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty, will find this present answer as loyal and just as all the actions of the confederation have always been, and that he will acquaint his court with it, by justifying whatever may have been the effect of a too limited power by an oath of the said confederation taken in a solemn manner.

PUTAVOKI,

Vice marshall of the confederation of Lithuania.

ZABIELLO,

Marshal of the confederation of the crown.

Universal, published in the Name of the Empress in the heretofore Polish Provinces now under her Dominion.

By the Grace of God, we Catharine II. Empress and Sovereign of all the Russias,

TO all the inhabitants of the provinces forming in former times a part of the demesnes of the republic of Poland, and now actually united to our empire, greeting: and we give them notice, by assuring them of our imperial good will, that of having united to our states the Polish provinces which of old essentially formed part of them, which we separated from them in critical times, that which ever since that epoch did not cease to be ex-

posed to all the destructive effects of domestic disturbances, disorder, and dissensions, which made the most fatal infringements, not only upon public tranquillity, but also upon the safety and welfare of individuals. On one hand, the records of ancient history; on the other, the events that took place under our eye, present to us on every side the doleful detail of disastrous revolutions; long and murderous wars; in short, disasters of every denomination, which the people established in these provinces must have experienced before they came again under our dominion, and shared the glory and prosperity our empire at present enjoys, and which proclaims its fame in all corners of the world. At last, however, they are going to taste this happiness, which spreads itself over all our subjects; and our views by taking possession again of these provinces, have been, and will always be, to secure in them the tranquillity of the citizens; to establish therein a wise government, under which each individual may obtain the justice he has a right to claim, and to give to this constitutional form of government a more lasting basis; wherefore we think the first and the most agreeable of our obligations, and as it were a duty imposed upon us by the Almighty himself, is that of anticipating by our imperial good-will all the wishes of the citizens of these districts, and of leading them all equally to the path of felicity, as much as it lies in our power. Faithful to these principles, we have not only guaranteed to each of them the safety of their persons and property, but we moreover intend to indemnify them for the damages they have sustained through the disturbances and

and disorders which took place in these provinces, through the marching of troops, and especially in the last war, of which this part has been the chief seat. Wishing moreover to give them the first token of our maternal solicitude, we have given orders to our general governor of the said provinces, Mr. Krechetnicoff, to cause an accurate inventory to be made of those damages; nevertheless, we farther prohibit the collecting from any class of citizens, of any kind of taxes or contributions whatever, for the benefit of our treasury, from this day forward to the first of January 1795, except such voluntary gifts as the citizens should offer of their own accord, and which, therefore, cannot be a burthen to anybody whatever; reserving our farther dispositions on this head. We permit also the collection on the old footing, till we shall order it otherwise, of all the tolls and duties inwards, according to the already-established custom-house officers, or that are able to be so on the new frontiers of the empire of Russia, as being indispensibly necessary in the present juncture, for the establishment and maintenance of the government, and the chancery of our imperial Fiscus.

The first action of our authority being a testimony of benevolence in favour of subjects that are newly come under our dominion, and of solicitude for the welfare of the country they inhabit, we are apt to think that they will gratefully receive this mark of favour, and will know how to value, as they ought to do, the desire we announce here of gaining their hearts by our favours, and to attach them to their ancient mother country, by the hopes of the advantages we offer

them, instead of subduing them by dint of arms. We hope that, answering our generous views, they will send up to Heaven their thanksgivings for their being returned into the bosom of their ancient mother-country, that adopts them for the second time; that the object of their zeal and of their endeavours will be, to consolidate them in the faithfulness they owe us, and in a constant submission to our laws; that they will unite themselves with heart and soul to our faithful subjects the Russians; that, in short, they will form as they did formerly, a respectable nation, always tractable, always faithful to their monarchs, always valiant and invincible, whereby they will render themselves truly worthy of the solicitude we shew to them, as a tender mother, who only wishes for the happiness of her children.

Given in the town of St. Peter, our imperial residence, the 23d, 24th of April 1793, of the birth of Jesus Christ; of our dominion over all the Russias the 31st, and over the Tauride the 10th.

(Signed)

CATHARINE.

Remonstrance made to the Count de Sieters, the Russian Ambassador, on the Part of the King and the States of Poland, by the Chancellor of the Crown, and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

THE king, and the confederated states of the republic, having had notice of a second violence committed to-day upon the deputies of the nation, of whom many have been arrested at their houses—feeling with sorrow the injuries which a free

a free and independent nation has suffered from a foreign power, and not being able to continue legally our deliberations without the presence of those members of the diet, we have ordered unanimously the chancellor to present, in our name, a note to the Russian ambassador, to represent to him the general sensation which such a proceeding has occasioned, and to demand the immediate enlargement of the persons arrested.

Having also learned, that the ambassador had ordered the provisions destined for the use of the king to be intercepted, and the estates of M. Tysskieviech, marshal of the grand duchy of Lithuania, to be sequestered, which gives us reason to apprehend that in future such violences may be increased, we resolved unanimously, that the chancellor shall make to the ambassador suitable representations on the subject, insisting that such orders should be countermanded, as well with regard to the king's domains, as the sequestration of the estates of the marshal Tysskieviech; and with respect to other estates of which the violation has not yet come to our knowledge, the ambassador will henceforth be pleased to abstain from giving such orders.

A copy of this note shall be communicated to all the foreign ministers residing near the king's person, and the states assembled.

Done at Grodno, July 11, 1793.

Note delivered to M. de Sievers, by the Confederation.

THE undersigned have the honour, by the express command of the king and the confederate diet, to display to the ambas-

sador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the empress of Russia, the reasons which plainly militate against the cession of the provinces of the republic of Poland, taken possession of in the course of the present year by the Prussian troops, and demanded by the court of Berlin.

It is notorious, that the treaties of 1773 and 1790, on the part of the court of Berlin, secured not only the possession of those provinces, but also guaranteed their defence.

No infringement of those treaties on the part of Poland has been adduced, nor can be adduced; whereas, on the contrary, the republic, since 1773, has not ceased, by various reiterated notes, to complain of open transgressions respecting the non-performance of several articles of the treaty of 1773, which assure to the subjects of the republic of Poland the free commerce in all the Prussian territories, and likewise the free passage of their productions through the same territories into other states.

The event of the 31st of May 1791, cannot be adduced by the court of Berlin as a motive for seizing the provinces of the republic, since there are authentic documents, by which the king of Prussia expressed, in the most marked terms, his approbation of that event, and even intimated that he found it much to his advantage.

With regard to the charge of Jacobinism, we have already sufficiently evinced, by the many circumstantial answers given, that this pernicious doctrine has never yet infected the bosom of the Polish nation, and that government has taken the most vigorous and most energetic

energetice measures that it should not spread in Poland by any foreign emissary that might have been used for that purpose.

The confederate states of the republic being thus convinced that they have given no reason to the king of Prussia which can warrant the taking possession of the Polish provinces by his troops, have expressly charged the undersigned to have recourse, by a note, in the most urgent manner, to the generosity and equity of the empress of Russia, to induce her to interpose in the most powerful manner with the king of Prussia, in order to avert the misfortunes with which Poland is threatened, and already unfortunately overwhelmed.

The confederate diet apply with this request, and with the more hope to the empress of Russia, since they have quite recently given the most convincing proofs to that great princess, of the confidence they repose, and the respect they feel for her.

Of this charge the undersigned acquit themselves, in virtue of the express orders of the king and the confederate states, in diet assembled.

(Signed)

PRINCE SULKOFFSKY,
Grand chancellor of the crown.

CASIMIR PLATER,
Vice Chancellor of Lithuania.

Grodno, July 27, 1793.

Answer of the Russian Ambassador.

THE undersigned, however flattering he finds the new proofs of confidence which the states of the republic repose in her

imperial majesty, his mistress, can as little agree to the least delay respecting the overture of the negotiations with the Prussian ambassador. The states ought immediately to furnish the delegation with the desired instructions and powers. The readiness which will be shewn for that purpose, will serve as the measure of the interference which her imperial majesty will make, in order to complete those affairs which lie so near to the heart of the republic. This readiness will likewise induce the king of Prussia to make favourable commercial arrangements, and to regulate other important objects.

The undersigned is ready to interpose his mediation whenever he shall be called upon in the said negotiation, the speedy conclusion of which has been quite recently prescribed to him by the empress his sovereign.

(Signed)

JAMES DE SIEVERS.

For three successive days the diet was assailed with official notes from the Russian ambassador and the Prussian minister, full of threats and menaces, pressing the signature of the treaty. The states, however, persisted in their refusal. At last M. de Sievers, the Russian ambassador, sent in his *ultimatum* in a note, which ended with the following expressions :

“ The underwritten must besides inform the states of the republic assembled in the confederate diet, that he thought it of absolute necessity, in order to prevent every disorder, to order *two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of cannon, to surround the Castle, under the command of major-general Rautenfeldt, who is to concert measures with*

with the grand marshal of Lithuania for securing the tranquillity of their deliberations. The underwritten expects that the sitting will not terminate until the demanded signature of the treaty is decided."

Done at Grodno, the 2d of September, 1793.

Decree of the Diet, passed on the 2d of September, at Grodno, empowering the Deputation to treat with the Prussian Minister.

WE the king, together with the confederate states of the republic assembled in diet, having heard the report of the deputation appointed to negotiate with the minister of the king of Prussia, and seen the plan of the proposed treaty—Whereas it appears, that, notwithstanding the mediation of the Russian ambassador, the court of Berlin persists in measures detrimental to the republic, and that hardly a modification of some of the articles in that treaty was obtained, whereby we find ourselves in the highest degree oppressed: Therefore, far from acknowledging the pretended legality of right whereby the court of Berlin endeavours to justify its violence exerted towards the republic, but, on the contrary, adhering most strictly to our former declaration by the note given in answer to those of the two allied courts—Declare before all Europe, to whom we have repeatedly appealed, That, founded on the faith of treaties most sacredly observed on our part, as well as on that of the treaty recently entered into with his majesty the king of Prussia, and at his own desire, in

the year 1790 (whereby the independence and the integrity of Poland were guaranteed in the most solemn manner), being deprived of free-will, surrounded at this very moment of the present act by an armed foreign force, and threatened with a further invasion of the Prussian troops, to the end of ruining our remaining territories, we are forced to commission and authorize the said deputation to sign the treaty, such as it was planned and amended under the mediation of the Russian ambassador, containing in particular this clause—"That it shall be guaranteed by her majesty the empress of Russia, his sovereign, with all separate articles relating thereto, especially in regard to commerce, clergy, security of the republic, and of the inhabitants, either wholly comprised under foreign dominion, or possessing property in both countries; namely, that the present prince primate of Poland might reside constantly within the republic, so attending to his high office, and enjoy his entire revenues; also, that in case of the family of princes Radzivil being extinct, the house of Brandenburg should not form any pretension to their succession, which shall belong to the republic." With the following alteration, however, of the last article in the said treaty; "That we the king will not ratify such treaty of cession, both in our and in the republic's name, unless the treaty of commerce, and all separate articles mutually agreed on, under the accepted mediation and guarantee of the court of Russia, by both parties, shall be finally settled and signed by the contracting powers."

Declaration

Declaration of the Diet, King, and Republic of Poland, assembled at Grodno, protesting against the forcible Partition of Poland.

SURROUNDED closely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invasion of the territory of the republic by the Prussian armies, to its uttermost ruin, and oppressed by innumerable violences, the states in diet assembled were forced to give leave to their deputation for signing the imposed treaty, with addition of a few clauses, and such only as the dictating power itself seemed, in pity to approve of. But with grief and surprise we find, by the sad experience of this day, that the court of Berlin is not satisfied therewith. We see fresh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us; and, in order to support it, the same preponderant power, not contented with investing the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign

force, with addressing to us notes full of menaces, seize from among us, and carry off our members, and by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age, and under such manifold misfortunes, and us the states of the republic, confined and imprisoned in the senate.

Thus situated we do declare in the most solemn manner, that unable to prevent, even with the risk of our lives, the effects of the oppressive force, we leave to our posterity, happier, perhaps, than ourselves, those means of saving our dear country, whereof we are at present bereft; and thus the project sent to us by the Russian ambassador, though contrary to our laws, wishes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, we do accept.

Done at Grodno, the 24th of September.—Signed and ingrossed in the public records according to law.

CHARACTERS.

Anecdotes of Dr. Franklin, extracted from the Memoirs of his life, written by himself, and published with his other Works, in 2 vols. 12mo.

THE doctor gives the following account of his parents :

My father, says he, had an excellent constitution ; he was of a middle size, but well-made ; vigorous, and adroit in performing every thing that he attempted ; he designed with elegance ; he was a little acquainted with music ; his voice was sonorous and agreeable ; so that when he sung a psalm or hymn, with the accompaniment of his violin, with which he sometimes amused himself in an evening, after the labours of the day were finished, it was truly delightful to hear him. He was also acquainted with mechanics, and could occasionally use the tools of a variety of trades. But his greatest excellence was a sound judgment, and solid understanding in matters of prudence, either in public or private life. He never, indeed, engaged in the former, because his numerous family, and the mediocrity of his fortune, kept him unremittingly employed in the duties of his profession. But I well remember that the leading men used very frequently to come and ask his advice concerning the affairs of the town, or of the

VOL. XXXV.

church to which he belonged, and that they used to pay much deference to his opinion. Individuals also often asked his opinion concerning the regulation of their private affairs ; and he was frequently chosen arbiter between parties in litigation.

He was fond of seeing at his table, as often as possible, some friends or sensible neighbours capable of rational conversation, and he always was careful to introduce topics of discourse either useful or agreeable, which might tend to enlighten the minds of his children. By this means he attracted our early attention to what was just, prudent, or useful in the conduct of life. Never was there any attention paid to what dishes appeared upon the table, nor any discussion whether they were well or ill-cooked, in season or out ; whether they tasted well or ill, or were better or worse than such and such others of the same kind. Thus accustomed from my childhood to entertain the most perfect indifference with respect to these matters, I have always been perfectly regardless of what kind of food was set before me ; and I pay so little attention to it even now, that it would be a hard matter for me to recollect, a few hours after I had dined, what my dinner had consisted of. When travelling I

R

have

have frequently experienced the advantages of this habit; for I have often seen my fellow-travellers, whose tastes were more delicate, because they had been more exercised than mine, suffer much in circumstances where I really did not feel that I wanted any thing.

My mother likewise possessed an excellent constitution. She had suckled ten children, and I never heard either her or my father complain of any other disease than that of which they died—my father at the age of 87, and my mother of 85. They are buried together at Boston, where a few years ago, I placed a marble tablet over their grave with this inscription :

“ Here Lie

Josias Franklin and *Abias* his wife. They lived together, with reciprocal affection, during fifty-nine years; and without any private fortune, without any lucrative employment, by assiduous labour and honest industry, with the blessings of Heaven, they supported decently a numerous family, and brought up thirteen children, and seven grandchildren. Reader, let this example encourage you to discharge diligently the duties of your vocation, and to rely on the support of Divine Providence.

He was pious and prudent—

She was discreet and virtuous.

The youngest of their sons fulfils his duty in consecrating to their memory this stone.”

The doctor informs his readers, that his father was originally a dyer, but not finding sufficient employment in that line in Boston, he became a soap and candle-maker, and in this line the doctor himself served several years; he always, how-

ever, had a very great aversion to it. Of the circumstances that led him to become a printer he gives the following account :

From my earliest years I was passionately fond of reading, and I laid out in books all the little money I was master of. I was particularly fond of the relations of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's collection in small separate volumes. This I afterwards sold in order to procure the publication of Burton, which consisted of forty or fifty little volumes. My father's small library consisted principally of books of practical or polemical theology. I read the greatest part of them. I have often since regretted, that at a time when I had so great a thirst for knowledge, some more useful and instructing books had not fallen into my hands, as I was not to belong to the church. There was also Plutarch's lives, in which I read much, and I still consider the time so employed as well bestowed. Besides, I found a work of De Foe, called “An Essay on Projects,” from which, perhaps, I might receive some impressions that have since influenced the principal events of my life.

My inclination for books at last determined my father to make me a printer, although he had already a son in that profession. My brother James had just returned from England in 1717, with a press and types, in order to establish a printing-house at Boston. This business was much more agreeable to me than that of my father, although I still retained a predilection for the sea. To prevent the effects which might result from this inclination, my father was eager to see me engaged with my brother.

This

This I for a long time refused; at last, however, I suffered myself to be persuaded, and signed articles of apprenticeship to my brother, at twelve years of age. It was agreed that I should serve as apprentice till I was of age, and should receive wages only during the last year. In a very short time I made great progress in this business, and became a useful assistant to my brother. I had now an opportunity of procuring better books. The acquaintance that I necessarily made with the apprentices of some of the booksellers, enabled me frequently to borrow a volume, which I never failed to return punctually and without injury. How often have I passed the far greater part of the night in reading in my bed-chamber, that I might be able to return the book I had borrowed in the morning, lest it might be missed or wanted.

At length a merchant, a Mr. Matthew Adams, a man of genius, and possessed of a good library, who frequented our printing-house, paid some attention to me. He invited me to see his library, and had the goodness to lend me any books that I was desirous of reading. I then took a fancy for poetry, and composed several little pieces. My brother, thinking he might find his account in it, encouraged me, and engaged me to compose two ballads.—One, entitled “The Tragedy of Pharo,” contained an account of the shipwreck of Captain Wortslake and his two daughters. The other was a sailor’s song concerning the capture of a famous pirate called Teach, or Blackbeard. They were in truth wretched verses, mere blind-mens’ ditties. After they were printed he dispatched me

about the town to sell them. The first had a prodigious run, because the event was recent, and had made a great noise.

My vanity was flattered by my success; but my father checked my exultation by ridiculing my productions, and telling me that versifiers were always poor. Thus I escaped the chance of being a poet—probably, indeed, a very bad one. But as the faculty of writing prose has been of great use to me during the course of my life, and has principally contributed to my advancement, I shall relate by what means, in the situation I then was, I acquired what small degree of power I may possess in that line.

There was in the town another young man of the name of J. Collins, a great lover of books also, with whom I became intimately connected. We had frequent disputes with each other, we loved argument, and were never so happy as when at it. I must observe by the bye, that this turn for contention is extremely liable to degenerate into a bad habit, which always renders a person disagreeable to company, because it cannot be exercised without contradiction; and, independent of the eagerness and noise to which it gives rise in conversation, it produces dislikes, and very often enmities, where there may be much more occasion to conciliate friendship. I acquired it by reading my father’s books of polemical divinity. I have since observed that people of sense rarely fall into this error, excepting lawyers by profession, the wranglers of universities, and men of all stations who have received their education at Edinburgh.

Collins and I fell one day into

an argument relative to the education of women, Whether it was proper to teach them the sciences; and if they had a capacity for acquiring them? He supported the negative, asserting that they were incapable of acquiring them. I sustained the contrary opinion, merely, perhaps, for the sake of argument. He was naturally more eloquent than I. Words flowed freely from his mouth, and sometimes, at least in my own opinion, I was vanquished more by his volubility, than by the force of his arguments. We separated without having come to any agreement; and as we were to be some time without seeing each other, I put my reasons upon paper, and made a fair copy, which I sent to him. He answered me: I replied; and there had been three or four letters written by each, when my father chanced to light upon my papers and read them. Without entering into any discussion concerning the object in dispute, he spoke to me of my manner of writing. He observed, that although I had the advantage of my antagonist in orthography and punctuation, which I owed to the printing-house, I was much his inferior in elegance of expression, in method, and in clearness. Of this he convinced me by several examples. I felt the justice of his remarks; I became more attentive to my language, and resolved to attempt to improve my style.

About this time there happened to fall into my hands a separate volume of the Spectator; I think the third. I had never seen the book. I bought it; read it again and again, and was delighted with it; the style I found excellent, and was very desirous, if possible, to

imitate it. With this view I pitched upon some of the papers—I made short summaries of each sentence—these I laid aside for some days; then, without looking at the original, I attempted to recompose the paper, and to express each idea at length as it was in the original, employing the most appropriate words that occurred to my mind. I then compared my Spectator with the original. Some of my faults I perceived and corrected, but I found that I still wanted a stock of words, and a facility of employing them, which I thought I should have possessed, had I continued my practice of making verses. The constant need of words synonymous, but of various lengths for the measure, or of different terminations for the rhyme, would have obliged me to search for a variety of terms, and would have fixed them in my head. With this view I selected some of the Spectators, and turned them into verse, and after a certain time, when I had completely forgotten the original, I again endeavoured to re-write them in prose.

Sometimes I mingled all my epitomes together; and after some weeks I tried to arrange them in their original order, before I attempted to finish the periods or to complete the discourse. This I did with a view to acquire a method of arranging my ideas. I then compared my performance with the original, and corrected such faults as I could discover. But sometimes I had the satisfaction to think, that in a few particulars of little importance I was fortunate enough to improve either the method or the language; and this encouraged me to hope, that perhaps in time I might be able to write decently in English, which

was

was one of the great objects of my ambition.

The time which I dedicated to these exercises, and to my reading, was the evening, after my day's labour was finished, the morning, before it began, or Sundays, when I could escape attending divine service, and remain alone at the printing-house. When at home my father insisted on my punctual attendance on public worship, although it then appeared to me I had not time to practise its duties in private.

About the age of sixteen I read a work of Tryon, in which a vegetable diet is recommended. I resolved to adopt it. My brother, being a bachelor, did not keep house, but boarded with his apprentices in a neighbouring family. My refusing to eat animal food was frequently productive of inconvenience, and I was often scolded for my singularity. I made myself master of the mode in which Tryon prepared several of his dishes; such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty-puddings and such like. I then made an offer to my brother, that if he would allow me weekly half the money which he paid for my board, I would find myself. To this he immediately consented, and I soon found that of this I could save the half. This was a new fund for the purchase of books; but I also found other advantages in it. When my brother and his workmen left the printing-house to go to dinner, I remained, and quickly dispatching my little repast, which often consisted merely of a biscuit, a slice of bread with a few raisins, or a bun from the pastry cook's, with a glass of water, I had all the remainder of the time

till their return to study; and my progress was rapid in proportion to that clearness of ideas and facility of conception which are the result of temperance in eating and drinking.

About this period, having occasion one day to blush for my ignorance in arithmetic, which I had twice failed to acquire at school, I took up Cocker's Arithmetic, and soon made myself master of the whole with the utmost ease.—About the same time also I made some small progress in geometry, and I read Locke on the Human Understanding, and the Art of Thinking of M. M. du Port Royal.

Whilst I was thus employed in labouring to improve my style, I met with Greenwood's English Grammar, at the end of which are two essays, on rhetoric and logic. In the last I found an example of the Socratic mode of disputation. Soon afterwards I procured Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, in which he gives several examples of the same method. This I adopted with enthusiasm, and renounced rude contradiction and direct and positive argument, adopting the more humble style of a querist. The perusal of Shaftesbury and Collins made me a Pyrrhonist; and as I was previously so with respect to several of our religious doctrines, I found that this Socratic method was the most favourable to my own cause, as well as the most embarrassing to those against whom I employed it. In this exercise I took peculiar pleasure, practised it incessantly, and became very adroit in obtaining, even from the people far superior knowledge, concessions of which they could not foresee the

con-

consequences. Thus I embarrassed them in difficulties from which they could not extricate themselves, and sometimes obtained victories neither due to my cause nor to my arguments.

This method I continued to employ during several years; I left it off, however, by degrees, and retained only the habit of expressing myself with modest diffidence, and when I advanced any proposition that might be controverted, never to make use of the words *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, or any other that might give the appearance of being obstinately attached to an opinion. I said in preference,—“I should imagine—I suppose;” or, “It appears to me that such a thing is so, or so, for such and such reasons;” or, “If I am not much deceived.” This habit has, I think been of much advantage to me, when I had occasion to impress my opinions on the minds of others, or to persuade men to adopt my sentiments. And since the chief ends of conversation are, to inform, or to be informed, to please or to persuade, let me intreat that intelligent and well-meaning men would not themselves diminish the power they possess of being useful, by a positive and presumptuous manner of expressing themselves, which never fails to irritate their hearers, and serves only to provoke opposition, and to thwart every purpose for which the faculty of speech has been bestowed upon us. In short, if you wish to inform, a positive and dogmatical manner of advancing your opinion will infallibly provoke contradiction, and prevent you from being listened to with attention. If, with a desire of being informed, and of profiting from

the knowledge of others, you express yourself as if you were strongly attached to your own opinions, modest and sensible men, who are averse to contest, will probably leave you to remain in peaceable possession of your errors. By following such a method you can rarely hope to please your hearers, to conciliate their good will, or to persuade such as you are desirous of bringing over to your views. Pope justly says—

“Men must be taught as if you taught
them not,
“And things unknown propos’d as things
forgot.”

He also advises us

“To speak, tho’ sure, with seeming
diffidence.”

The account which the doctor gives of his first arrival at Philadelphia, at the age of eighteen, forms a singular contrast with the elevated station he afterwards supported in that city. He had left Boston on account of the tyrannical treatment of his brother, to whom he was apprentice; and this, he says, sowed in his mind the first seeds of that abhorrence of despotic power, which afterwards produced such extensive effects.

On my arrival at Philadelphia I was in my workman’s dress, my best clothes coming by sea. I was covered with dirt after my voyage; my pockets were filled with shirts and stockings; I was not acquainted with a single living soul, and did not even know where to find a lodging. I was extremely fatigued with walking, rowing, and having passed the night without sleep; I was very hungry, and all my cash consisted of a Dutch rix-dollar,

dollar, and about a shilling in copper money, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage; at first they refused it because I had rowed, but I insisted on their taking it. A man is often more generous when he has little money, than when he possesses much; in the first case, perhaps, because he is willing to conceal his poverty.

I walked straight up the street, looking eagerly on both sides till I came to Market street, where I met a child carrying bread. I had many a time made my dinner of dry bread. I inquired of him where it was to be bought, and went straight to the baker's shop he pointed out to me. I asked him for biscuit, thinking to find such as we had at Boston, but it seems they made none such at Philadelphia: I then asked him for a threepenny loaf—they made none at that price. Finding that I neither knew the names of the kinds of bread, nor the difference of the price, I desired him to let me have three-penny worth of bread, of some kind or other. He gave me three large rolls: I was surprised to receive so much. But I took it; and having no room for any thing in my pockets, I walked on with a roll under each arm, eating the third. In this manner I walked through Market-street to Fourth-street, and passed the house of Mr. Read, the father of the person destined in future to become my wife. She was standing at the door, observed me, and thought, with good reason, that I made a very ridiculous, as well as a very wretched figure.

I then turned the corner, and went along Chesnut-street, eating my roll all the way. Having made this round, I found myself on the

quay of Market-street; near the boat in which I had arrived. I stepped into it, in order to get a drink of the river water, and finding myself satisfied with my first roll, I gave the two others to a woman and her child, who had come down the river with us in the boat, where she was waiting to continue her journey. Being thus refreshed, I returned to the street, which was now full of well-dressed people, all going the same way. I mingled with the crowd, and was thus carried to a large quaker's meeting house near the Market-place. I sat down along with the rest, and after looking round me for some time, hearing nothing said, and overpowered by the last night's watching, I fell sound asleep. My sleep continued till the assembly separated, when one of the assistants had the goodness to wake me. That consequently was the first house into which I entered or slept on my arrival at Philadelphia.

I once more began to walk along the street by the river side, and, looking attentively in the faces of every one I met, I at last perceived a young quaker whose countenance pleased me. I addressed him, and begged that he would inform me where a stranger might find a lodging. "They receive travellers here," said he, "but the house has not a good character: go with me, and I will shew you a better inn." He carried me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street. There I got dinner, during which they put some curious questions to me. My youth and my appearance, made me suspected for some runaway servant. After dinner my desire to sleep returned, and I threw myself upon a bed, where I slept till six o'clock

in the evening. I was then called to supper; afterwards I went to bed at an early hour, and slept soundly till morning.

Among many other curious traits, the doctor mentions a scheme which he and an acquaintance, of the name of Keymer, once had of establishing a new sect of religion. "Keymer," says he, "had a large portion of enthusiasm, and was fond of argument, and we frequently disputed with each other. I was so much in the habit of using my Socratic method, and had so frequently entrapped him by my questions, which at first appeared very far removed from the matter in debate, but notwithstanding led to it by degrees, embarrassing him in difficulties and contradictions from which he could not easily extricate himself, that at last he became ridiculously cautious, hardly answering the most plain and familiar question without previously asking me, But what will you infer from that? From hence he formed so high an opinion of my talents for refutation, that he seriously proposed to me to become his colleague in the formation of a new sect of religion which he designed to establish. He was to propagate the doctrines by preaching, and I was to refute the arguments of all opponents.

When he came to explain to me his peculiar dogmas, I found many things which I could not suffer to pass, excepting that he would agree to adopt some of my opinions also. Keymer wore his beard long because Moses had said, *Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard*. He likewise observed the Sabbath, or the seventh day: and these were with him two indispensable points.

To me they were both disagreeable, but I consented to adopt them, provided that he would agree wholly to abstain from using animal food. "I doubt," said he, "that my constitution cannot support the change." On the contrary, I assured him that he would find his health improved by it. He was naturally a glutton, and I wished to amuse myself by starving him. He consented to make a trial of this regimen, provided that I would bear him company; and we in fact continued it during three months. A woman in the neighbourhood prepared our victuals, and I gave him a list of forty dishes, into the composition of which there neither entered flesh nor fish. This fancy was the more agreeable to me as it saved money, for the whole expences of our living did not exceed eighteen-pence a week for each.

I have since that time observed several lents with the utmost rigour; and I have all at once substituted this regimen to my ordinary diet, without perceiving the smallest inconveniency to result from the sudden change; which has led me to consider the advice commonly given, of being cautious how we alter our diet, as being of no consequence.

I went on cheerfully, but poor Keymer suffered terribly. Tired of the project, he longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt. At length, one day having ordered a roast pig, he invited me and two ladies to dine with him; but the pig being ready a little too soon, he eat the whole himself before our arrival; and thus ended our enterprise.

Induced by the promises of sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania,

sylvania, to make a voyage to England, to purchase materials for setting up a printing-house under his auspices and at his expence, he was surprised to find that in a bag which contained all the letters, but which the captain would not let him search till they were in the Thames, he did not find the letters of credit and of recommendation which sir William assured him he would write with the packet.

But what are we to think of a governor who could play so scurvy a trick, and thus grossly deceive a poor young lad wholly destitute of experience? It was a practice with him. Wishing to please every body, and having little to bestow, he was lavish of promises. He was in other respects sensible and judicious, a very tolerable writer, and a good governor for the people, though not so for the proprietaries, whose instructions he frequently disregarded. Many of our best laws were his work, and established during his administration.

I immediately got engaged at Palmer's, at that time a noted printer in Bartholomew-close, with whom I continued nearly a year.

I now began, says the doctor, to think seriously of laying by some money. The printing-house of Watts, near Lincoln's-inn-fields, being considerably more extensive than the one in which I worked, I thought that perhaps I might find my account in being employed there. I offered myself, and was engaged, and I continued to work there during all the rest of the time I remained in London.

At first I worked as a pressman, because I thought I had occasion for corporeal exercise, to which I

had been accustomed in America, where the printers work alternately as compositors, and at the press. I drank nothing but water. The other workmen, to the number of about fifty, were great drinkers of beer. I carried, occasionally, a large form of letters up and down stairs in each hand, while the other employed both hands to carry one. They were surprised to see by this, and many other examples, that the *American Aquatic*, as they used to call me, was as strong as they, who drank porter. The beer-boy had sufficient employment during the whole day in serving that house alone. My fellow pressman drank every day a pint of beer before breakfast, a pint with bread and cheese for breakfast, one between breakfast and dinner, one at dinner, another about six o'clock, and one more after he had finished his day's work. This custom appeared to me abominable, but he asserted he had occasion for all this beer, in order to enable him to work.

I endeavoured to convince him, that the corporeal strength furnished by the beer, could only be in proportion to the solid part of the barley dissolved in the water of which the beer was composed; that that there was a considerably larger portion of flour in a halfpenny roll; and that consequently if he eat this roll and drank a pint of water with it, he would receive more nourishment than from a pint of beer. My arguments, however, did not prevent him from continuing every day to drink his quantity of beer, and to pay every Saturday night a score of five or six shillings for this cursed beverage; an expence from which I was wholly exempt. Thus do

do these poor devils continue during their whole lives in a state of voluntary misery.

At the end of a few weeks Watts having occasion for me as a compositor, I quitted the press. The compositors demanded of me *bien-venue* afresh. This I considered as an imposition, having already paid below stairs. My master was of the same opinion, and ordered me not to comply. I thus remained during two or three weeks out of the body, and consequently was looked upon as excommunicated. During every absence, no little trick that malice could suggest was left unexercised upon me. I found my letters mixed, my pages transposed, my matter broken, &c. &c. All this was attributed to the spirit * who haunted the chapel, and tormented all those who were not regularly admitted. But I was at last obliged to submit to pay, notwithstanding the protection of my master, and convinced of the folly of not keeping up a good understanding with those amongst whom we are necessitated to live.

After this I continued to live in great harmony with my fellow-labourers, and even acquired considerable influence among them. I proposed several alterations in the laws of the chapel †, and carried them without opposition. My example prevailed with several of them to renounce their abominable breakfast of cheese and bread with beer; and they procured, like me, from a neighbouring house, a large bason of warm gruel, with toasted bread and nutmeg. This was a much more wholesome breakfast,

and did not cost so much as a pint of beer; it amounted only to three halfpence, and it preserved the head much more clear. Those who continued to gorge themselves with beer, were often without credit at the public house. They then had recourse to me to stand good for them, *their light* ‡, as they used to say, being out. I attended at the pay-table on Saturday evenings to take up the little sum which I had agreed to advance for them, which sometimes amounted to thirty shillings a week.

This circumstance, and my reputation of being a good *gabber*, that is to say, possessing a considerable share of low quaint language, supported my importance in the house. I had likewise rendered myself valuable to my master by my assiduous application to business, never making Saint Monday. My extraordinary quickness in composing always procured me the most urgent business to execute, which is commonly best paid for; and thus my time passed away pleasantly enough.

My lodging in Little Britain was at too great a distance from the printing-house, and I moved to another in Duke-street, opposite the Roman Catholic Chapel. It was a back room in an Italian warehouse. The house was kept by a widow; she had a daughter, a servant, and a shop-boy, who all lodged out of doors. After having made the necessary enquiries concerning my character, she agreed to let me the lodging at three shillings and sixpence a-week, contenting herself with a small rent because she wished to have a man in the house

* Commonly named by the printers, *Ralph*.

† Most considerable *printing-offices* are so denominated by the workmen.

‡ A cant term for *credit with the publican*.

She was a woman rather advanced in life, the daughter of a clergyman. She had been educated a protestant, but her husband, whose memory she venerated greatly, had converted her to the catholic religion. She had seen much of genteel life, and had many anecdotes, as far back as the time of Charles II. Being confined to her room by the gout, she was sometimes desirous of seeing company. Her's was so agreeable to me, that I was ready to pass the evening with her as often as she desired it. Our supper consisted of half an anchovy to each, with a little bread and butter, and a pint of ale between us. But the entertainment consisted in her conversation.

In a garret of the house there lived in the most retired manner a lady of seventy years of age; and I received the following account of her from my landlady. She was a Roman Catholic. In her early years she had been sent to the continent, and entered a convent in order to become a nun; but the climate not agreeing with her constitution, she was obliged to return to England; and as in this country there are no monasteries, she resolved to lead the monastic life as far as circumstances would permit. With this intention she had disposed of all her worldly possessions for charitable persons, and reserved to herself only twelve pounds sterling a-year; and even of this she gave a share to the poor, supporting herself wholly on water-gruel, and never using fire but to cook it. She had lived during a great many years in that garret, without paying any rent to the successive Catholic inhabitants of the house, who indeed considered her abode among

them a divine blessing. A priest came every day to confess her. "I have asked her," said my landlady, "how it was possible that she could find employment for a confessor." "Oh!" answered she, "it is impossible to guard against evil thoughts."

Once I was permitted to visit her. She was polite, cheerful; and her conversation very agreeable. Her apartment was perfectly neat and clean; and the whole furniture consisted of a mattress, a table with a crucifix, and a book, a single chair, which she gave me to sit on, and over the mantel piece a painting of St. Veronica displaying a handkerchief, on which was seen the miraculous impression of the face of Christ, which she commented on with much seriousness. Her countenance was pale, but she had never experienced any sickness; and I may exemplify her as another forcible instance of how little is sufficient to support life and preserve health.

Among other things, the doctor gives the following account of the origin of a project that he once had of setting up a school for teaching swimming in this country. "Having gone one day with some companions to visit the curiosities at Don Saltero's coffee-house at Chelsea, on my return, at the request of some of my companions, I undressed, and leaped into the river. I swam from near Chelsea all the way to Blackfriars bridge, shewing during my course a variety of tricks and postures of address and activity, both on the surface and under water. This scene occasioned much astonishment and pleasure to those to whom it was new. In my youth I delighted in this exercise.

I knew

I knew and could execute all the positions and evolutions of Thevenot; to these I added several of my own invention, in which I endeavoured to unite utility and elegance. On this occasion I went through them all, and was much pleased with the admiration they gave rise to. Some time after this I was sent for by a gentleman whose name I did not know. I waited upon him, and found it was sir Wm. Wyndham. He had by some means heard of my performances between Chelsea and Blackfriars, and that I taught the art of swimming to a young man in the course of a few hours. His two sons were on the point of setting out on their travels. He was desirous that they should previously learn to swim, and offered me a very liberal reward, if I would undertake to instruct them. This, the uncertainty of my stay in London rendered impossible. But this incident led me to suppose, that had I remained in England, and opened a school of natation, I might have gained a deal of money. Some years afterwards, I had some business of a very different nature to settle with one of these young gentlemen, then lord Egremont. But let me not anticipate events.

Having staid 18 months in London, he returned in 1726 to Philadelphia, as clerk to Mr. Denham, a merchant, who dying about a year afterwards, Franklin returned to his old trade, and hired himself an assistant to Keymer, who behaving very ill to him, he, in conjunction with one Meredith, whose father procured the necessary materials, set up for themselves.

We had no sooner unpacked our letters and put our press in or-

der, than a person of my acquaintance, George House, brought us a countryman whom he had met in the street inquiring for a printer. Our money was almost exhausted by the number of things we had been obliged to procure. The five shillings we received from this countryman, the first fruit of our earnings, gave me more pleasure than any sum I have since gained; and the recollection of the gratitude I felt on this occasion to George House, has rendered me often more disposed, than perhaps I should otherwise have been, to encourage young beginners in trade.

My unwearied industry, which was perceived by the neighbours, began to acquire us reputation and credit. I learned among other things, that our new printing-house being the subject of conversation at a club of merchants, who met every evening, it was the general opinion that it would fail, there being already two printing-houses in the town. But Dr. Bard, whom I had occasion to see many years afterwards at his native town of St. Andrews in Scotland, was of a different opinion. "The industry of this Franklin (said he) is superior to any thing of the kind I ever witnessed; I see him still at work when I return from the club at night, and he is at it again in the morning before his neighbours are out of bed." This account struck the rest of the assembly, and shortly afterwards one of its members came to our house, and offered to supply us with articles of stationery; but we wished not as yet to embarrass ourselves with keeping a shop. It is not for the sake of applause that I enter so freely into the particulars of my industry, but that such of my

my descendants as shall read these memoirs may know the use of this virtue, by seeing in the recital of my life the effects it operated in my favour.

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the first person, though our partnership still continued. It is, because, in fact, the whole business devolved upon me. Meredith was no compositor, and but an indifferent pressman, and it was rarely that he abstained from hard drinking. My friends were sorry to see me connected with him; but I contrived to derive from it the utmost advantage the case admitted.

Franklin soon afterwards dissolved the partnership, by mutual consent, and by his unwearied application to business laid the foundations of his future fortunes.

We are sorry our limits will not allow us to make more extracts from the memoirs of so interesting a character: he himself brings them down no lower than his marriage to Miss Read in 1730; but they are ably continued down to his death by Dr. Stuber of Philadelphia.

Letter from the late Dr. Price to a Gentleman in Philadelphia, on the Death of Dr. Franklin.

Hackney, June 19, 1790.

Dear Sir,

I AM hardly able to tell you how kindly I take the letters with which you favour me. Your last, containing an account of the death of our excellent friend Dr. Franklin, and the circumstances attending it, deserves my particular gratitude. The account which he

has left of his life, will show, in a striking example, how a man, by talents, industry, and integrity, may rise from obscurity to the first eminence and consequence in the world; but it brings his history no lower than the year 1757; and I understand that, since he sent over the copy, which I have read, he has been able to make no additions to it. It is with a melancholy regret I think of his death; but to death we are all bound by the irreversible order of nature, and in looking forward to it there is comfort in being able to reflect, that we have not lived in vain, and that all the useful and virtuous shall meet in a better country beyond the grave. Dr. Franklin, in the last letter I received from him, after mentioning his age and infirmities, observes, that it has been kindly ordered by the author of nature, that as we draw nearer to the conclusion of life, we are furnished with more helps to wean us from it, among which one of the strongest is the loss of dear friends. I was delighted with the account you gave, in your letter, of the honour shewn to his memory at Philadelphia, and by congress; and yesterday I received a high additional pleasure, by being informed, that the national assembly of France had determined to go into mourning for him. What a glorious scene is opened there! The annals of the world furnish no parallel to it. One of the honours of our departed friend is, that he has contributed much to it.

I am, with great respect,

Your obliged, and very
humble servant,

RICHARD PRICE.

Character

Character of Dr. Franklin, by one of his intimate Friends.

THERE is in the character of every distinguished person, something to admire and something to imitate. The incidents that have marked the life of a great man, always excite curiosity, and often afford improvement. If there be talents which we can never expect to equal, if there be a series of good fortune which we can never expect to enjoy, we still need not lose the labour of our biographical inquiries. We may probably become acquainted with habits which it may be prudent to adopt, and discover virtues which we cannot fail to applaud. It will be easy for you to make a full application of these remarks in your contemplations upon the celebrated Dr. Franklin. By his death one of the best lights of the world may be said to be extinguished. I shall not attempt any historical details of the life of this illustrious patriot and philosopher, as I have nothing farther in view than to make a few comments upon the most striking traits of his character.

Original genius was peculiarly his attribute. The native faculties of his mind qualified him to penetrate into every science; and his unremitted diligence left no field of knowledge unexplored. There were no limits to his curiosity. His inquiries were spread over the whole face of nature. But the study of man seemed to be his highest delight; and if his genius had any special bias, it lay in discovering those things that made men wiser and happier. As truth was the sole object of his researches, he was of course no sectary; and as reason

was his guide, he embraced no system which that did not authorise. In short, he laid the whole volume of nature open before him, and diligently and faithfully perused it.

Nor were his political attainments less conspicuous than his philosophical. The ancients usually ranked good fortune among those circumstances of life which indicate merit. In this view Dr. Franklin is almost unrivalled, having seldom undertaken more than he accomplished. The world are too well acquainted with the events of his political career to require, at this time, a particular enumeration of them. It may be presumed the historians of the American revolution will exhibit them in proper colours.

If Dr. Franklin did not aspire after the splendour of eloquence, it was only because the demonstrative plainness of his manner was superior to it. Though he neither loved political debate, nor excelled in it, he still preserved much influence in public assemblies, and discovered an aptitude in his remarks on all occasions. He was not fond of taking a leading part in such investigations as could never terminate in any degree of certainty. To come forward in questions which in their nature are definite and in their issue problematical, does not comport with the caution of a man who has taught himself to look for demonstration. He reserved his observations for those cases which science could enlighten, and common sense approve. The simplicity of his style was well adapted to the clearness of his understanding. His conceptions were so bright and perfect, that he did not choose to involve them in a crowd

crowd of expressions. If he used metaphors, it was to illustrate, and not to embellish the truth. A man possessing such a lively imagery of ideas, should never affect the arts of a vain rhetorician, whose excellence consists only in a beautiful arrangement of words.

But whatever claims to eminence Dr. Franklin may have as a politician or a scholar, there is no point of light in which his character shines with more lustre than when we view him as a man or a citizen. He was eminently great in common things. Perhaps no man ever existed whose life can with more justice be denominated useful. Nothing ever passed through his hands without receiving improvement; and no person ever went into his company without gaining wisdom. His sagacity was so sharp, and his science so various, that whatever might be the profession or occupation of those with whom he conversed, he could meet every one upon his own ground. He could enliven every conversation with an anecdote, and conclude it with a moral.

The whole tenor of his life was a perpetual lecture against the idle, the extravagant, and the proud. It was his principal aim to inspire mankind with a love of industry, temperance, and frugality; and to inculcate such duties as promote the important interests of humanity. He never wasted a moment of time, or lavished a farthing of money, in folly or dissipation. Such expences as the dignity of his station required, he readily sustained, limiting them by the strictest rules of propriety. Many public institutions experienced his well-timed liberality; and he manifested a sensibility

of heart by numerous acts of private charity.

By a judicious division of time, Dr. Franklin acquired the art of doing every thing to advantage; and his amusements were of such a nature, as could never militate with the main objects of his pursuits. In whatever situation he was placed, he extracted something useful for himself and others. His life was remarkably full of incident—every circumstance of it turned to some valuable account. The maxims which his discerning mind has formed, apply to innumerable cases and characters. Those who move in the lowest, equally with those who move in the most elevated rank in society, may be guided by his instructions. In the private deportment of his life, he in many respects has furnished a most excellent model. His manners were easy and accommodating, and his address winning and respectful. All who knew him speak of him as a most agreeable man: and all who have heard of him applaud him as a very useful one. A man so wise and so amiable could not but have many admirers and many friends.

*Account of Mr. John Smeaton, by
Mr. John Holmes, Watchmaker,
of the Strand.*

MR. John Smeaton was born the 28th of May 1724, old style, at Austhorpe, near Leeds, in a house built by his grandfather, and where his family have resided ever since.

The strength of his understanding and the originality of his genius appeared at an early age; his playthings were not the playthings of children,

children, but the tools men work with; and he appeared to have greater entertainment in seeing the men in the neighbourhood work, and asking them questions, than in any thing else. One day he was seen (to the distress of his family) on the top of his father's barn, fixing up something like a windmill; another time, he attended some men fixing a pump at a neighbouring village, and observing them cut off a piece of bored pipe, he was so lucky as to procure it, and he actually made with it a working pump that raised water. These anecdotes refer to circumstances that happened while he was in petticoats, and most likely before he attained his sixth year.

About his fourteenth and fifteenth year, he had made for himself an engine to turn rose work, and made several presents to his friends of boxes in ivory or wood, turned by him in that way.

In the year 1742, I spent a month at his father's house, and being intended myself for a mechanical employment, and a few years younger than he was, I could not but view his works with astonishment; he forged his iron and steel, and melted his metal; he had tools of every sort, for working in wood, ivory, and metals. He had made a lathe, by which he had cut a perpetual screw in brass, a thing little known at that day, and which I believe was the invention of Mr. Henry Hindley, of York, with whom I served my apprenticeship. Mr. Hindley was a man of the most communicative disposition, a great lover of mechanics, and of the most fertile genius; Mr. Smeaton soon became acquainted with him, and they spent many a night at

Mr. Hindley's house till day-light, conversing on those subjects.

Thus had Mr. Smeaton, by the strength of his genius, and indefatigable industry, acquired, at the age of eighteen, an extensive set of tools, and the art of working in most of the mechanical trades, without the assistance of any master, and which he continued to do a part of every day when at the place where his tools were; and few could work better.

Mr. Smeaton's father was an attorney, and desirous of bringing him up to the same profession; Mr. Smeaton therefore came up to London in 1742, and attended the courts in Westminster Hall; but finding (as his common expression was) that the law did not suit the bent of his genius, he wrote a strong memorial to his father on that subject, whose good sense from that moment left Mr. Smeaton to pursue the bent of his genius in his own way.

Early in 1750, I came up to Mr. Smeaton's lodgings in Great Turnstile; he was then about commencing mathematical instrument maker, and soon became acquainted with most of the ingenious men of that time.

In 1751, he began a course of experiments to try a machine of his invention to measure a ship's way at sea, and also made two voyages in company with Dr. Knight to try it, and a compass of his own invention and making, and which was made magnetical by Dr. Knight's artificial magnets: the last of these was in the *Fortuna* sloop of war, commanded at that time by captain Alexander Campbell.

In

In 1753, he was elected member of the royal society; the number of papers published in their transactions will shew the universality of his genius and knowledge. In 1759, he was honoured by an unanimous vote with their gold medal for his paper entitled, "An Experimental Enquiry concerning the natural powers of water and wind to turn mills, and other machines depending on a circular motion."

This paper, he says, was the result of experiments made on working models in the year 1752 and 1753, but not communicated to the society till 1759, before which time he had an opportunity of putting the effect of these experiments into real practice, in a variety of cases, and for various purposes, so as to assure the society he had found them to answer.

Here we see Mr. Smeaton in his 27th and 28th year make models and experiments therewith, by which the powers of wind and water are found to be able to do more, by at least one third, than it was known they could do before: this improvement, without any other, shews the value of his life to this country. To enable mills, and all other circular motions depending on water and wind, to do at least one third more business than they did before, is to this country (greatly depending on its manufactures) a benefit beyond any calculation I can make. It must be immensely great.

But here I find, by pursuing the above, I have omitted an anecdote, that shews his great thirst after knowledge: in the year 1754, he made a voyage to Holland, and by walking on foot, or travelling in the *treckschuyts*, he got acquainted with

VOL. XXXV.

most of the works of art there; and in the Low Countries.

In Dec. 1755, the Edystone lighthouse was burnt down; Mr. Weston, the chief proprietor, and the others, being desirous of rebuilding it in the most substantial manner, inquired of the earl of Macclesfield (then president of the royal society), whom he thought the most proper to rebuild it; his lordship recommended Mr. Smeaton.

Mr. Smeaton undertook the work, and completed it in the summer of 1759. Of this Mr. Smeaton gives an ample description in the volume he published in 1761: that edition has been some time sold, and a second is now in the press, under the revisal of his much esteemed friend Mr. Aubert, F. R. S. and governor of the London Assurance Corporation. Of this work I shall only say, it appears to me, in a great measure, a history of four years of his life, wherein the originality of his genius is fully displayed, as also his great alacrity, industry, and perseverance.

Though Mr. Smeaton completed the building of the Edystone lighthouse in 1759 (a work that does him so much credit), yet it appears he did not soon get into full business as a civil engineer; for in 1764, while in Yorkshire, he offered himself a candidate for one of the receivers of the Derwent-water estate; and on the 31st of December in that year, he was appointed at a full board of Greenwich Hospital, in a manner highly flattering to himself; when two other persons, strongly recommended and powerfully supported, were candidates for the employment. In this appointment he was very happy, by the assistance and abilities

S

of

of his partner Mr. Walton, one of the present receivers, who taking upon himself the management and accounts, left Mr. Smeaton leisure and opportunity to exert his abilities on public works, as well as to make many improvements in the mills, and in the estates of Greenwich Hospital. By the year 1775, he had so much business as a civil engineer, that he wished to resign this appointment, and would have done it then, had not his friends, the late Mr. Stuart, the hospital surveyor, and Mr. Ibbetson, their secretary, prevailed upon him to continue in the office about two years longer.

Mr. Smeaton having now got into full business as civil engineer, it is not my intention, nor is it in my power, to enumerate the variety of concerns he was engaged in; I shall touch upon some of the principal ones slightly. He made the river Calder navigable; a work that required great skill and judgment, owing to the very impetuous floods in that river; he planned and attended the execution of the great canal in Scotland, for conveying the trade of the country either to the Atlantic or German Ocean; and having brought it, I believe, to the place originally intended, he declined a handsome yearly salary, in order that he might attend to the multiplicity of his other business.

On the opening of the great arch at London-bridge, the excavation around and under the starlings was

so considerable, that the bridge was thought to be in great danger of falling. He was then in Yorkshire, and was sent for by express, and arrived with the utmost dispatch; I think it was on a Saturday morning, when the apprehension of the bridge was so general, that few would pass over or under it. He applied himself immediately to examine it, and to sound about the starlings as minutely as he could, and the committee being called together adopted his advice, which was, to re-purchase the stones that had been taken from the middle pier, then lying in Moorfields, and to throw them into the river to guard the starlings*. Nothing shews the apprehensions of the bridge falling more than the alacrity with which this advice was pursued; the stones were re-purchased that day, horses, carts, and barges were got ready, and they began the work on Sunday morning. Thus Mr. Smeaton, in all human probability, saved London bridge from falling, and secured it till more effectual methods could be taken.

In the summer of 1771, when, through the multiplicity of his business, he was travelling in Ireland, Scotland, and England, I concluded a joint purchase for himself and me, of the works for supplying Deptford and Greenwich with water, which, being an extensive undertaking, we saw from the first would require much pains and address to manage; and soon after, by papers

* This method of stopping the impetuous ravages of water, he had practised before with success, on the river Calder. On my calling on him in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, he shewed me the effects of a great flood, which had made a considerable passage over the land; this he stopped at the bank of the river, by throwing a quantity of large rough stones, which with the sand and other materials washed down by the river filling up their interstices, had become a barrier to keep the river in its usual course.

put into our hands, we found that for a long series of years it had been a losing pursuit to all former proprietors; this, therefore, called forth all his skill, and our joint address in the management. His language, either in speaking or writing, was so strong and perspicuous, that there was no misunderstanding his meaning, and I had that confidence in his abilities, as never to consider any plan of improvement which he proposed, but only to see it executed with scrupulous exactness; at the same time, he was so open to reason in all matters, that during a constant communication of our opinions for upwards of twenty years, after we had laid them fully before each other, we always agreed, *never had the slightest difference*, and brought this undertaking to be of general use to those it was intended for, and moderately beneficial to ourselves.

The vast variety of mills Mr. Smeaton constructed, so greatly to the satisfaction and advantage of the owners, will shew the great use he made of his experiments in 1752 and 1753; and indeed he scarcely trusted to theory in any case where he could have an opportunity to investigate it by experiment; and for this he built a steam-engine at Austhorpe, and made experiments thereon, purposely to ascertain the power of Newcomen's steam-engine, which he improved and brought to a far greater degree of certainty, both in its construction and powers, than it was before.

Mr. Smeaton, during many years of his life, was a constant attendant on parliament, his opinion being continually called for; and here his strength of judgment and perspicuity of expression had its full display: it was his constant custom,

when applied to, to plan or support any measure, to make himself fully acquainted with it, and see its merits before he would engage in it; by this caution, added to the clearness of his description, and the integrity of his heart, he seldom failed having the bill he supported carried into an act of parliament. No one was heard with more attention, nor had anyone ever more confidence placed in his testimony; in the courts of law he had several compliments paid him from the bench by Lord Mansfield and others, for the new light he threw on difficult subjects.

About the year 1785, Mr. Smeaton's health began to decline, and he then took the resolution to endeavour to avoid all the business he could, so that he might have leisure to publish an account of his inventions and works, which was certainly the first wish of his heart; for he has often told me, "he thought he could not render so much service to his country as by doing that." He got only his account of the Edystone lighthouse completed, and some preparations to his intended treatise on mills, for he could not resist the solicitations of his friends in various works; and Mr. Aubert, whom he greatly loved and respected, being chosen chairman of Ramsgate harbour, prevailed upon him to accept the place of engineer to that harbour, and to their joint efforts the public is chiefly indebted for the improvements that have been made there within these few years, which fully appears in a report that Mr. Smeaton gave in to the board of trustees in 1791, which they immediately published.

Mr. Smeaton being at Austhorpe, walking in his garden on the 16th of September last, was struck with

262 · ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

Each had a gravity would make you
split,
And shook his head at Murray as a
wit.

It is remarkable that this ridiculous prejudice accompanied Lord Mansfield to the end of his judicial life, in spite of daily proofs exhibited in the court of king's bench, and in the house of lords, of very profound knowledge of the abstrusest points of jurisprudence. Lord Chesterfield has given his sanction to this unfounded opinion. In a letter to his son, dated Feb. 12, 1754, he says, "the present solicitor-general Murray has less law than many lawyers, but he has more practice than any, merely upon account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing stream."

In the outset of Lord Mansfield's life, it will be the less surprising, that a notion should have been entertained of his addicting himself to the pursuit of Belle's *Lettres* too much, when the regard shewn to him by Mr. Pope, who despotically ruled the regions of literature at that period, is considered. That great poet seemed to entertain a particular affection for the young lawyer, and was eager to shew him marks of his regard. He addressed to him his imitation of the 6th epistle of the first book of Horace. Bishop Warburton says, Mr. Pope "had all the warmth of affection for this great lawyer, and, indeed, no man ever more deserved to have a poet for his friend. In the obtaining of which, as neither vanity, party, nor fear had a share, so he supported his title to it by all the offices of a generous and true friendship." Mr. Ruffhead also declares, that Mr. Pope had at one time an

intention of leaving his house at Twickenham to his friend Mr. Murray, whose growing fame and rising station, which would render him superior to such a mansion, alone prevented him from carrying it into execution. In the fourth book of the *Dunciad*, he says, speaking of those whose poetical pursuits were diverted by law or politics,

How sweet an Ovid, Murray was our
boast!
How many Martials were in Pulteney
lost.

And in his imitation of the first ode of the fourth book of Horace, he again compliments him.

Mr. Pope continued to shew his regard, even in the last act of his life, by appointing him one of his executors.

Whatever propensities Lord Mansfield might have towards polite literature, he did not permit them to divert his attention from his profession. He soon distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner, as may be seen by those who are conversant with the books of reports. In the year 1736, the murder of captain Porteous by a mob in Edinburgh, after he had been reprieved, occasioned a censure to fall on that town, and a bill of pains and penalties was brought into parliament against the lord provost and the city, which, after various modifications, and a firm and unabated opposition in every stage of its progress, passed into a law. In both houses, Mr. Murray was employed as an advocate, and so much to the satisfaction of his clients, that afterwards, in Sept. 1743, he was presented with the freedom of Edinburgh in a gold box, professedly, as it was declared,
for

at the age of three years, which will account for his having contracted none of the peculiarities of the dialect of his country. At the age of fourteen he was admitted of Westminster school as king's scholar. "During the time of his being at school," says one who was contemporary with him, "he gave early proofs of his uncommon abilities, not so much in his poetry, as in his other exercises; and particularly in his declamations, which were sure tokens and prognostics of that eloquence which grew up to such maturity and perfection at the bar and in both houses of parliament. At the election in May 1723, he stood first on the list of those gentlemen who were sent to Oxford. He was entered of Christ Church June the 18th, in that year. In the year 1727, he had taken the degree of B.A. and on the death of King George the first, was amongst those of the university who composed verses on that event.

On the 26th day of June, 1730, he took the degree of master of arts, and probably soon afterwards left the university. Before he devoted himself to business, he made the tour of Europe, and on his return became a member of the society of Lincoln's Inn, and was in due time called to the bar.

The fortune of Lord Mansfield at this period was rather slender; but he soon supplied any deficiency in that respect by his application and

abilities. He does not appear to have proceeded in his profession in the way then usually adopted, of labouring in the chambers of a special pleader, or copying (to use the words of Blackstone) the trash of an attorney's office; but being blessed with the powers of oratory in their highest perfection, and having soon an opportunity of displaying them, he very early acquired the notice of the chancellor and the judges, as well as the confidence of the inferior practisers. How much he was regarded in the house of lords, Mr. Pope's well known couplet will prove.

Grac'd as thou art with all the power
of words,
So known, so honour'd at the house
of lords.

The graces of his elocution, however, produced their usual effect with a certain class of people who would not believe that such bright talents could associate with the more solid attainments of the law, or that a man of genius and vivacity could be a profound lawyer. As Mr. Pope observed at that time,

The Temple late two brother serjeants
saw,
Who deem'd each other oracles of
law;
With equal talents these congenial
souls,
One lull'd the exchequer, and one
stunn'd the rolls;

this is found to be true, as appears by the following extract from the register.

Trin. Term. 1723. Jun. 18. *Æd. Xti*, Gul. Murray 18 David f. Civ. Bath C. Som. V. Com. fil.

T. Wenman, C. A.

Sir William Blackstone once mentioned this circumstance to Lord Mansfield, who said the mistake perhaps originated from the broad pronunciation of the person who gave in his name to the registrar.

Each

262 · ANNUAL REGISTER, 1793.

Each had a gravity would make you
split,
And shook his head at Murray as a
wit.

It is remarkable that this ridiculous prejudice accompanied Lord Mansfield to the end of his judicial life, in spite of daily proofs exhibited in the court of king's bench, and in the house of lords, of very profound knowledge of the abstrusest points of jurisprudence. Lord Chesterfield has given his sanction to this unfounded opinion. In a letter to his son, dated Feb. 12, 1754, he says, "the present solicitor-general Murray has less law than many lawyers, but he has more practice than any, merely upon account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing stream."

In the outset of Lord Mansfield's life, it will be the less surprising, that a notion should have been entertained of his addicting himself to the pursuit of Belle's *Lettres* too much, when the regard shewn to him by Mr. Pope, who despotically ruled the regions of literature at that period, is considered. That great poet seemed to entertain a particular affection for the young lawyer, and was eager to shew him marks of his regard. He addressed to him his imitation of the 6th epistle of the first book of Horace. Bishop Warburton says, Mr. Pope "had all the warmth of affection for this great lawyer, and, indeed, no man ever more deserved to have a poet for his friend. In the obtaining of which, as neither vanity, party, nor fear had a share, so he supported his title to it by all the offices of a generous and true friendship." Mr. Ruffhead also declares, that Mr. Pope had at one time an

intention of leaving his house at Twickenham to his friend Mr. Murray, whose growing fame and rising station, which would render him superior to such a mansion, alone prevented him from carrying it into execution. In the fourth book of the *Dunciad*, he says, speaking of those whose poetical pursuits were diverted by law or politics,

How sweet an Ovid, Murray was our
boast!
How many Martials were in Pulteney
lost.

And in his imitation of the first ode of the fourth book of Horace, he again compliments him.

Mr. Pope continued to shew his regard, even in the last act of his life, by appointing him one of his executors.

Whatever propensities Lord Mansfield might have towards polite literature, he did not permit them to divert his attention from his profession. He soon distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner, as may be seen by those who are conversant with the books of reports. In the year 1736, the murder of captain Porteous by a mob in Edinburgh, after he had been reprieved, occasioned a censure to fall on that town, and a bill of pains and penalties was brought into parliament against the lord provost and the city, which, after various modifications, and a firm and unabated opposition in every stage of its progress, passed into a law. In both houses, Mr. Murray was employed as an advocate, and so much to the satisfaction of his clients, that afterwards, in Sept. 1743, he was presented with the freedom of Edinburgh in a gold box, professedly, as it was declared,
for

for his signal services by his speeches to both houses of parliament in the conduct of that business. Before this period, we believe, Mr. Murray could be considered only in his novitiate at the bar.

On the 20th of November 1738, he married lady Elizabeth Finch, daughter of the earl of Winchelsea, and in the month of November 1742, was appointed solicitor-general in the place of sir John Strange, who resigned. He likewise was chosen to represent the town of Boroughbridge in parliament, for which place he was also returned in 1747 and 1754.

In the month of March 1746-7, he was appointed one of the managers for the impeachment of Lord Lovat by the house of commons, and it fell to his lot to observe on the evidence previous to the lords giving their judgment. This task he executed with so much candour, moderation, and gentleman-like propriety, that Lord Talbot, at the conclusion of his speech, paid him the following compliment: "The abilities of the learned manager who just now spoke, never appeared with greater splendour than at this very hour, when his candour and humanity have been joined to those great abilities which have already made him so conspicuous, that I hope one day to see him add lustre to the dignity of the first civil employment of this nation." Lord Lovat himself also bore testimony to the abilities of his adversary: "I thought myself," says his lordship, "very much loaded by one Murray*, who your lordships know was the bitterest evidence there was against me. I have since suffered

by another Mr. Murray, who, I must say with pleasure, is an honour to his country, and whose eloquence and learning is much beyond what is to be expressed by an ignorant man like me. I heard him with pleasure, though it was against me. I have the honour to be his relation, though perhaps he neither knows it nor values it. I wish that his being born in the North may not hinder him from the preferment that his merit and learning deserves."

During the time Mr. Murray continued in office, he supported with great ability the administration with which he was connected; and, as may be concluded, rendered himself obnoxious to those who were in opposition. The principles of his family, in which we may presume him to have been educated, have been already noticed; and therefore it will create no surprise that, in the confidence of friendly intercourse, or in the moment of exhilaration, he should have uttered sentiments which youth and inexperience only could palliate. In the year 1753, accident brought forwards a charge against him, which we shall relate in the words of Lord Melcombe's diary:

"Messrs. Fawcett, Murray, and Stone, were much acquainted, if not schoolfellows, in early life. Their fortune led them different ways: Fawcett's was to be a country lawyer and recorder of Newcastle. Johnson, now bishop of Gloucester, was one of their associates. On the day the king's birthday was kept, they dined at the dean of Durham's, at Durham; this Fawcett, lord Ravensworth, major Davison, and one or two more;

* One of the evidences against him.

who retired after dinner into another room. The conversation turning upon the late bishop of Gloucester's preferment, it was asked who was to have his prebend of Durham: the dean said, that the last news from London was, that Dr. Johnson was to have it: Fawcett said, he was glad that Johnson got off so well, for he remembered him a Jacobite several years ago, and that he used to be with a relation of his who was very disaffected, one Vernon*, a mercer, where the pretender's health was frequently drunk. This passing among a few familiar acquaintance, was thought no more of at the time: it spread, however, so much in the North, (how I never heard accounted for), and reached town in such a manner, that Mr. Pelham thought it necessary to desire Mr. Vane, who was a friend to Fawcett, and who employed him in his business, to write to Fawcett to know if he had said this of Johnson, and if he had, if it was true.

This letter was written on the 9th of January; it came to Newcastle the Friday following. Fawcett was much surprised, but the post going out in a few hours after its arrival, he immediately acknowledged the letter by a long, but not very explicit answer. This Friday happened to be the club-day of the neighbouring gentlemen at Newcastle. As soon as lord Ravensworth, who was a patron and employer of Fawcett, came into the town, Fawcett acquainted him with the extraordinary letter he had received; he told him that he

had already answered it, and being asked to shew the copy, said he kept none; but desired lord Ravensworth to recollect if he held such a conversation at the deanry of Durham the day appointed for the birth-day. Ravensworth recollected nothing at all of it: they went to the club together, and Ravensworth went the next morning to see his mother in the neighbourhood, with whom he staid till Monday; but this thing of such consequence lying upon his thoughts, he returned by Newcastle. He and Fawcett had another conversation, and in endeavouring to refresh each other's memory about this dreadful delinquency of Johnson, Fawcett said he could not recollect positively at such a distance of time, whether Johnson drank those healths, or had been present at the drinking of them, but that Murray and Stone had done both several times. Ravensworth was excessively alarmed at this with relation to Stone, on account of his office about the prince; and thus the affair of Johnson was quite forgotten, and the episode became the principal part. There were many more conferences between Ravensworth and Fawcett upon this subject, in which the latter always persisted that Stone and Murray were present at the drinking, and did drink those healths. It may be observed here, that when he was examined upon oath, he swore to the years 1731 or 1732, at latest. Fawcett comes up as usual about his law business, and is examined by Messrs. Pelham and Vane, who

* This Vernon is said to have devised an estate to Mr. Murray, which is still in the possession of the family.

never had heard of Murray * or Stone being named: he is asked, and answers only with relation to Johnson, never mentioning either of the others; but the love of his country, his king, and posterity burned so strongly in Ravensworth's bosom, that he could have no rest till he had discovered this enormity. Accordingly, when he came to town, he acquainted the ministry and almost all his great friends with it, and insisted upon the removal of Stone. The ministry would have slighted it as it deserved, but as he persisted and had told so many of it, they could not help laying it before the king, who, though he himself slighted it, was advised to examine it, which examination produced this most injudicious proceeding in parliament †.

This is lord Melcombe's account; and the same author informs us, that Mr. Murray, when he heard of the committee being appointed to examine this idle affair, sent a message to the king, humbly to acquaint him, that if he should be called before such a tribunal on so scandalous and injurious an account, he would resign his office, and refuse to answer. It came, however, before the house of lords, 22d of January, 1753, on the motion of the duke of Bedford. The debate was long and heavy, says lord Melcombe, the duke of Bedford's performance moderate enough; he divided the house, but it was not

told, for there went below the bar with him the earl Harcourt, lord Townshend, the bishop of Worcester, and lord Talbot only. The bishop of Norwich and lord Harcourt both spoke, not to much purpose: but neither of them in the least supported the duke's question. Upon the whole, lord Melcombe concludes, 'It was the worst judged, the worst executed, and the worst supported point that I ever saw of much expectation.'

On the advancement of sir Dudley Rider to the chief justiceship of the King's Bench in 1754, Mr. Murray succeeded him as attorney-general; and on his death, November 1756, again became his successor as chief justice.

On leaving Lincoln's-inn, the late Mr. Yorke, who was a member of the society, paid him a compliment of regret, in a speech; to which lord Mansfield returned the following answer, which was taken down in short-hand by the late counselor Munckley:

"I am too sensible, sir, of my undeserving the praises which you have so elegantly bestowed on me, to suffer commendations so delicate as yours, to insinuate themselves into my mind; but I have pleasure in that kind partiality which is the occasion of them; to deserve such praise is a worthy object of ambition; and from such a tongue flattery itself is pleasing.

If I have had in any measure

* This transaction, however, appears to have been no secret some years before, being alluded to in the following lines of a poem called, "The Processionade," published in 1746.

This new-fangled Scot who was brought up at home
In the very same school as his brother at Rome,
Kneel'd conscious, as though his old comrades might urge
He had formerly drank to the king before George.

† Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 229.

success in my profession, it is owing to that great man who has presided in our highest courts of judicature the whole time I attended the bar; it was impossible to attend him, to sit under him every day, without catching some beams from his light (in this place he enumerated lord Hardwicke's particular excellencies—and then went on).

The disciples of Socrates, whom I will take the liberty to call the great *lawyer* of antiquity, since the first principles of all law are derived from his philosophy, owe their reputation to their having been the reporters of the sayings of their master: if we can arrogate nothing to ourselves, we may boast the *school* we were brought up in; the scholar may glory in his master, and we may challenge past ages to shew us his equal.

My lord Bacon had the same extent of thought, and the same strength of language and expression; but his life had a stain.

My lord Clarendon had the same abilities and the same zeal for the constitution of his country; but the civil war prevented his laying *deep* the foundations of law; and the avocations of politics interrupted the business of the chancellor.

My lord Somers came the nearest to his character; but his time was short, and envy and faction sullied the lustre of his glory.

It is the peculiar felicity of the great man I am speaking of, to have presided very near twenty years, and to have shone with a splendour that has rose superior to faction, and that has subdued envy.

I did not intend to have said, I should not have said so much upon this occasion, but that in this situation with all that hear me, what

I say must carry the weight of testimony, rather than appear the voice of panegyric.

For you, sir, you have given great pledges to your country, and, large as the expectations of the public are concerning you, I dare say you will answer them.

For the society, I shall always think myself honoured by every mark of their esteem, affection, and friendship, and shall desire the continuance of it no longer than while I remain zealous for the constitution of this country, and a friend to the interests of virtue."

Lord Mansfield was sworn chief justice of the King's Bench on the 8th of November, 1756, and took his seat on the bench on the 11th of the same month. He was called serjeant, and sworn chief justice before the lord chancellor Hardwicke, at his house in Great Ormond-street, in the presence of the three judges, and most of the officers of the court of King's Bench. The motto on his rings was "*Servate domum.*"

Immediately afterwards the great seal was put to a patent, which had before passed all the proper officers, creating him baron of Mansfield, to him, and the heirs male of his body.

As soon as lord Mansfield was established in the King's Bench he began to make improvements in the practice of that court. On the 12th of November, four days after he had taken his seat, he made a very necessary regulation, observing, "Where we have no doubt, we ought not to put the parties to the delay and expence of a further argument; nor leave other persons, who may be interested in the determination of a point so general, unneces-

unnecessarily under the anxiety of suspense*.

The anxiety of suspense, from this period was no longer to be complained of in the court of King's Bench. The regularity, punctuality, and dispatch of the new chief justice, afforded such general satisfaction, that they, in process of time, drew into that court most of the causes which could be brought there for determination.

Sir James Burrows says†, "I am informed, that at the sittings for London and Middlesex only, there are not so few as eight hundred causes set down a year; and all disposed of. And though many of them, especially in London, are of considerable value, there are not more, upon an average, than between twenty and thirty ever heard of afterwards in the shape of special verdicts, special cases, motions for new trials, or in arrest of judgment. Of a bill of exceptions there has been no instance. (I do not include judgments upon criminal prosecutions; they are necessary consequences of the convictions.) My reports gives but a very faint idea of the extent of the whole business which comes before the court. I only report what I think may be of use as a determination or illustration of some matter of law. I take no notice of the numerous questions of fact which are heard upon affidavits (the most tedious and irksome part of the whole business). I take no notice of a variety of contestations, which, after having been fully discussed, are decided without difficulty or doubt. I take no notice of many cases which turn upon a construction so peculiar and parti-

cular, as not to be likely to form a precedent for any other case. And yet, notwithstanding this immensity of business, it is notorious, that in consequence of method, and a few rules which have been laid down to prevent delay (even where the parties themselves would willingly consent to it), nothing now hangs in court. Upon the last day of the very last term, if we exclude such motions of the term as by desire of the parties went over of course as peremptories, there was not a single matter of any kind that remained undetermined, excepting one case relating to the proprietary lordship of Maryland, which was professedly postponed on account of the present situation of America.

One might speak to the same effect concerning the last day of any former term for some years backwards."

The same author also informs us, after reporting the famous case of Perrin and Blake‡, that it was remarkable, that excepting that case, and another in the same volume on literary property, there had not been, from the 6th of November, 1756, to the time of his then present publication, 26th of May, 1776, a final difference of opinion in the court in any case, or upon any point whatsoever. "It is remarkable too," he adds, "that, excepting these two cases, no judgment giving during the same period has been reversed, either in the Exchequer Chamber, or in Parliament: and even these reversals were with great diversity of opinion among the judges."

In the next year the ill success of the war then begun occasioned

* 1 Burrows' Reports, p. 5.

† 4 Burrow's Reports, p. 2583.

‡ Ibid, p. 2582.
a change

a change in the administration, and the conflicts of contending parties rendered it impracticable for the crown, at that juncture, to settle a new ministry. In order, therefore, to give a pause to the violence of both sides, lord Mansfield was induced to accept the post of chancellor of the exchequer on the 9th of April, 1757, which he held until the 2d of July in the same year. During this interval he employed himself with great success to bring about a coalition, which being effected, produced a series of events which raised the glory of Great Britain to the highest point at which it has ever been seen. In the same year he was offered, but refused, the office of lord high chancellor; and in November 1758, he was elected a governor of the Charter-house, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, then lately deceased.

For several years after this period the tenor of lord Mansfield's life was marked only with a most sedulous discharge of the duties of his office. In 1760 George II. died, and the new reign commenced with alterations in the administration, which gave rise to a virulent spirit of opposition, conducted with a degree of violence and asperity never known at any former time. As a friend to the then administration, lord Mansfield was marked out for a more than ordinary share of malicious invective.

In 1765 the bishop of Gloucester (Warburton) republished his *Divine Legation of Moses*, which he dedicated to lord Mansfield in an address, wherein, with great ability, he pointed out the rise and progress of the spirit of irreligion and licen-

tiousness which then prevailed. In the course of this narrative he mentions, as a peculiarly fortunate circumstance, "that while every other part of the community seems to lie *in facie Romuli*, the administration of public justice in England runs as pure as where nearest to its celestial source; purer than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned republic."

He proceeds, "Now whether we are not to call this the interposing hand of Providence; for I am sure all history doth not afford another instance of so much purity and integrity in one part, co-existing with so much decay and so many infirmities in the rest; or whether profounder politicians may not be able to discover some hidden force, some peculiar virtue in the essential parts, or in the well-adapted frame of our excellent constitution; in either case, this singular and shining phenomenon hath afforded a cheerful consolation to thinking men amidst all this dark aspect from our disorders and distresses."

A change in the administration took place in 1765, which introduced the marquis of Rockingham and his friends to govern the country, and the measures then adopted not agreeing with lord Mansfield's sentiments, he, for the first time, became an opponent of government. On the bill for repealing the stamp act, he spoke and divided against it, and is supposed to have had some share in the composition of the protests on that occasion, though he did not sign them. In the same year he is said to have animadverted with no small degree of severity on the incautious expression of lord Camden on the affair of prohibiting

ing of corn, that it was but a forty days tyranny at the outside.

In 1767 the dissenters cause was determined, in which lord Mansfield delivered a speech which has since been printed, and the events of the succeeding year were the causes of the public prints being deluged with torrents of abuse on the chief justice. In that year was the general election. Mr. Wilkes returned from abroad, became a candidate for the city of London, and afterwards was chosen representative for the county of Middlesex. Having been outlawed some years before, he now applied for a reversal of that proceeding. On the 8th of June the consideration of it came before the court of King's Bench, when the judges delivered their opinions very fully, and were unanimous that the outlawry was illegal, and must be reversed. On this occasion lord Mansfield took the opportunity of entering into a full statement of the case, and a justification of his own conduct. The reader will find the case reported by sir James Burrows, from whom we shall extract the following, which appears to have been the most important part of his lordship's speech.

"It is fit to take some notice of the various terrors hung out; the numerous crowds which have attended and now attend in and about the hall, out of all reach of hearing what passes in court; and the tumults which in other places have shamefully insulted all order and government. Audacious addresses in print dictate to us, from those they call the people, the judgment to be given now, and afterwards upon the conviction. Reasons of policy are urged, from danger to the king-

dom by commotions and general confusion.

Give me leave to take the opportunity of this great and respectable audience to let the whole world know all such attempts are vain. Unless we have been able to find an error which will bear us out to reverse the outlawry, it must be affirmed. The constitution does not allow reasons of state to influence our judgments: God forbid it should! We must not regard political consequences, how formidable soever they might be. If rebellion was the certain consequence, we are bound to say, *Fiat Justitia; ruat Cælum*. The constitution trusts the king with reasons of state and policy: he may stop prosecutions: he may pardon offences; it is his to judge whether the law or the criminal should yield. We have no election. None of us encouraged or approved the commission of either of the crimes of which the defendant is convicted: none of us had any hand in his being prosecuted. As to myself, I took no part (in another place) in the addresses for that prosecution. We did not advise or assist the defendant to fly from justice: it was his own act, and he must take the consequences. None of us have been consulted, or had any thing to do with the present prosecution. It is not in our power to stop it: it was not in our power to bring it on. We can not pardon. We are to say, what we take the law to be. If we do not speak our real opinions, we prevaricate with God and our own consciences.

"I pass over many anonymous letters I have received; those in print are public, and some of them have

have been brought before me, before the court. Were all the libels, they have the honour to call me, to my only answer. What am I to fear? They send arrows from the press, which may do me false harm and false injury. The use of calumny carries no terror to me. I trust, that my temper of mind, and the colour and conduct of my life, have given me a sort of armour against these arrows. If during this king's reign, I have ever supported the government, and assisted his measures, I have done it without any other reward than the consciousness of doing what I thought right. If I have ever opposed, I have done it upon the points themselves, without mixing in party or faction, and without any collateral views. I honour the king, and respect the people, but many things acquired by the favour of either are, in my account, objects not worth ambition. I wish respect to the king, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means. I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong upon this occasion, to gain the huzzas of the bands, or the daily praise of all the papers which come from the press. I will not avoid doing what I think is right, though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels, all that falshood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow. I can say with a great magistrate, upon an occasion and under circumstances not unlike, "*Ego hoc animo semper fui, ut nondum virtute partam, gloriam, non undam putarem.*"

"The threats go further than usual: personal violence is denounced. I do not believe it: it is not the genius of the worst men of the country in the worst of times. But I have set my mind at rest. The last end that can happen to any man, never comes too soon. If he stands in support of the law and liberty of his country, for, liberty is synonymous to law and government. Such a shock too might be productive of public good: it might awake the better part of the kingdom out of that lethargy which seems to have benumbed them: and bring the mad part back to their senses, as men intoxicated are sometimes stunned into sobriety.

"Once for all, let it be understood, that no endeavours of this kind will influence any man who at present sits here. If they had any effect, it would be contrary to their intent: leaning against their impression might give a bias the other way. But I hope, and I know, that I have fortitude enough to resist even that weakness. No libels, no threats, nothing that has happened, nothing that can happen, will weigh a feather against allowing the defendant, upon this and every other question, not only the whole advantage he is entitled to from substantial law and justice, but every benefit from the most critical nicety of form, which any other defendant could claim under the like objection. The only effect I feel is an anxiety to be able to explain the grounds upon which we proceed; so as to satisfy all mankind, that a flaw of form given way to in this case, could not have been got over in any other."

In January 1770 lord Mansfield again was offered the great seal, which

which was given to Mr. Charles Yorke; and, in Hilary term 1771, he a third time declined the same offer, and the seal was entrusted to lord Bathurst.

The year 1770 was also memorable for various attacks made on his lordship's judicial character, both in the houses of lords and commons. In one of these, the propriety of a direction given to the jury in the case of *The King and Woodfall* was called in question, which occasioned his lordship to produce to the house a copy of the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench in that cause; which, after being much canvassed and opposed, was suffered to stand its ground without being over-ruled.

On the 19th of October 1776, his lordship was advanced to the dignity of an earl of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Mansfield, and to his male issue; and for want of such issue to Louisa viscountess Stormont, and to her heirs male by David viscount Stormont her husband. The same title in 1792 was limited to lord Stormont himself, who has since succeeded to it.

We come now to a period of his lordship's life which furnishes an event disgraceful to the age and the country in which the fact was committed. An union of folly, enthusiasm, and knavery, had excited alarms in the minds of some weak people, that encouragements were given to the favourers and professors of the Roman Catholic faith, inconsistent with religion and true policy. The act of parliament which excited the clamour had passed with little opposition, and had not received any extraordinary support from lord Mansfield. The minds of the public were inflamed

by artful misrepresentations; the rage of a popular mob was soon directed towards the most eminent persons. Accordingly, in the night between Tuesday the 6th and Wednesday the 7th of June, his lordship's house in Bloomsbury-square was attacked by a party of rioters, who, on the Friday and Tuesday preceding, had, to the amount of many thousands, surrounded the avenues of both houses of parliament, under pretence of attending lord George Gordon when he presented the petition from the protestant association. On Tuesday evening the prison of Newgate had been thrown open, all the combustible part reduced to ashes, and the felons let loose upon the public. It was after this attempt to destroy the means of recurring the victims of criminal justice that the rioters assaulted the residence of the chief magistrate of the first criminal court in the kingdom; nor were they dispersed till they had burnt all the furniture, pictures, books, manuscripts, deeds, and in short every thing which fire could consume, in his lordship's house, so that nothing remained but the walls, which were seen next morning almost red hot from the violence of the flames, presenting a melancholy and awful ruin to the eyes of the passengers.

On Wednesday the devastation became almost general throughout London. The houses of many of the most respectable individuals had been previously attacked: that evening the Fleet and King's Bench prisons were set on fire; the bank of England, the inns of court, almost all the public buildings, were threatened with destruction; and an universal conflagration must have taken place if the king had
not

not issued a proclamation for the speedy and effectual interposition of the military power. Till then, the soldiery had scarcely dared to act offensively; the ordinary magistrates were for the most part deterred, or prevented by various causes, from giving their sanction to the employment of the troops; and in many places, the men under arms, with their officers at their head, though drawn up in military order, did nothing more than preserve a space between the incendiaries and the crowd of spectators, so as to have the effect of enabling the former to demolish the houses and property of their fellow-subjects without interruption.

So unexpected was this daring outrage on order and government, that it burst on lord Mansfield without his being prepared in the slightest manner to resist it. He escaped with his life only, and retired to a place of safety, where he remained until the 14th of June, the last day of term, when he again took his seat in the court of king's bench. "The reverential silence," says Mr. Douglas *, "which was observed when his lordship resumed his place on the bench was expressive of sentiments of condolence and respect more affecting than the most eloquent address the occasion could have suggested."

The amount of the part of lord Mansfield's loss which might have been estimated, and was capable of a compensation in money, is known to have been very great. This he had a right to recover against the *Hundred*. Many others had taken that course, but his lordship thought it more consistent with

the dignity of his character not to resort to the indemnification provided by the legislature. His sentiments on the subject of a reparation from the state were communicated to the board of works in a letter dated 18th July 1780, written in consequence of an application which they had made to him (as one of the principal sufferers), pursuant to directions from the treasury, founded on a vote of the house of Commons, requesting him to state the nature and amount of his loss. In that letter, after some introductory expressions of civility to the surveyor-general, to whom it was addressed, his lordship says, "Besides what is irreparable, my pecuniary loss is great. I apprehended no danger, and therefore took no precaution. But, how great soever that loss may be, I think it does not become me to claim or expect reparation from the state. I have made up my mind to my misfortune as I ought; with this consolation, that it came from those whose object manifestly was general confusion and destruction at home, in addition to a dangerous and complicated war abroad. If I should lay before you any account or computation of the pecuniary damage I have sustained, it might seem a claim or expectation of being indemnified. Therefore you will have no further trouble upon this subject from, &c.

MANSFIELD."

From this time the lustre of lord Mansfield continued to shine with unclouded brightness until the end of his political life, unless his opposition to the measures of the present administration at the early pe-

* Reports, p. 445.

ried of their appointment shall be thought to detract in some small degree from his merit. It is certain many of his admirers saw with concern a connection with the opponents of government at that juncture scarce compatible with the dignity of the chief justice of Great Britain. At length infirmities pressed upon him, and he became unable to attend his duty with the same punctuality and assiduity with which he had been accustomed. It has been supposed that he held his office after he was disabled from executing the duties of it from a wish to secure the succession to it of a very particular friend. Be this as it may, the chief justice continued his office until the month of June 1768, when he sent in his resignation.

From this period the bodily powers of his lordship continued to decline; his mental faculties however remained without decay almost to the last. During this time he was particularly inquisitive and anxious about the proceedings in France. On the 20th of March 1793, after continuing some days in a state of insensibility, he departed this life, at the age of 88 years.

"In his political oratory," says a writer of the present times, "he was not without a rival, no one had the honour of surpassing him; and let it be remembered, that his competitor was Pitt.

"The rhetorician that addressed himself to Tully in these memorable words,—*Demosthenes tibi præripuit, ne primus esses orator, tu illi ne solus*—anticipated their application to Mansfield and Pitt.—If the one possessed Demosthenean fire and energy, the other was at least a

VOL. XXXV.

Cicero. Their oratory differed in species, but was equal in merit.—There was at least no superiority on the side of Pitt.—Mansfield's eloquence was not indeed of that daring, bold, delamatory kind, so irresistibly powerful in the momentary bustle of popular assemblies; but it was possessive of that pure and attic spirit, and seductive power of persuasion, that delights, instructs, and eventually triumphs. It has been very beautifully and justly compared to a river, that meanders through verdant meads and flowery gardens, reflecting in its crystal bosom the varied objects that adorn its banks, and refreshing the country through which it flows.

"To illustrate his oratory by example, would require voluminous transcripts from the records of parliament; and it is unnecessary, as we can appeal to living recollection.

"Having added weight and dignity to the seat of attorney and solicitor-general, his reputation as a speaker, a lawyer, and a politician, elevated him to the peerage, and the exalted post of chief justice of England. He ascended to the dignities of state by rapid strides: they were not bestowed by the caprice of party favour or affection. They were (as was said of Pliny) liberal dispensations of power upon an object that knew how to add new lustre to that power, by the rational exertion of his own.

"Here we can speak of this great man within our own recollection; and however party prejudices may adopt their different favourites, and each contend in detracting from the merit of the other, it is, we believe, generally understood, that precedence is allowed the earl of Mansfield, as the first magistrate that

T

that ever so pre-eminently graced that important station. The wisdom of his decision, and unbiassed tenor of his public conduct, will be held in veneration by the sages of the law, as long as the spirit of the constitution and just notions of equity continue to have existence. No man has ever in an equal degree possessed that wonderful sagacity in discovering chicanery and artifice, and separating fallacy from truth, and sophistry from argument, so as to hit the exact equity of the case. He suffered not justice to be strangled in the nets of form.

"His memory was astonishing—he never took notes, or, if he did, seldom or ever consulted them." His * references to expressions which fell from him in the course of the debate, or his quotations from books, were so faithful, that they might have been said to have been repeated *verbatim*. The purposes to which he employed these amazing talents were still more extraordinary: if it was the weak part of his opponent's arguments that he referred to, he was sure to expose its fallacy, weakness, or absurdity, in the most poignant satire, or hold it up in the most ridiculous point of view. If, on the contrary, it were a point on which his adversaries laid their chief stress, he stated the words correctly, collected their obvious meaning, considered the force of the several arguments that had or might have been raised upon them, with a precision that would induce an auditor almost to suppose that he had previously considered the whole, and that his speech was the result of much previous consideration.

"It may be said of Mansfield as of Virgil †, that if he had any faults, they might be considered in the same manner with those of some eminent fixed star, which, if they exist at all, are above the reach of human observation. The luminous æther of his life was not obscured by any shade dark enough to be denominated a defect. On account of his descent, local prejudices and propensities were imputed to him, and his conduct on that account examined with a microscopic eye; but the optic through which it was viewed possessed a party tinge equally odious and deceptive.

"His political principles were ever consistent; and to preserve consistency in such stations and in such times as occupied the life of Mansfield, constitutes an ordeal strongly impressive of virtue. It has been said that he wanted spirit. Is the uniform opposition of popular opinion, and apparently the contempt of it, any proof of the assertion? His speech and conduct in the affair of Wilkes's outlawry, when popular prejudice ran in torrents, illustrate each other. The lustre of his eloquence was something more than human; and the firm integrity of the judge was the emanation of a Divinity. Here Demosthenes and Tully shrink from the comparison: here acknowledged superiority stands confessed: here the exulting Briton may exclaim—

Cedite Romani, cedite Graii!

"He despised (to borrow an expression of his own) that mushroom popularity that is raised without

* See Political Characters, p. 4, 1777.

† See Burton's Characters of Classical Remains, tit. "Virgil."

merit,

merit, and lost without a crime.—He disdained to be the slave of popular impulse, or to acknowledge the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame.

"As a speaker in the house of lords, where was his competitor? The grace of his action, the fire and vivacity of his looks, are still present to imagination; and the harmony of his voice yet vibrates in the ear of those who have been accustomed to listen to him.

"His lordship possessed the strongest powers of discrimination—his language was elegant and perspicuous, arranged with the happiest method, and applied with the utmost extent of human ingenuity. His images were often bold, and always just; but the character of his eloquence is that of being flowing, soft, delightful, and affecting."

"His genius," says a modern writer*, is comprehensive and penetrating, and when he judges it necessary, he pours forth sounds the most seductive, equally calculated to persuade and to convince. Among his more rare qualifications," says he, "may be added, the external graces of his person, the piercing eye, the fine-toned voice and harmonious elocution, and that happy arrangement which possesses all the accuracy and elegance of the most laboured compositions." He was modest and unassuming; never descending to personal altercation, or replying to personal reflections. He preserved his own dignity, and that of the house over which he had very deservedly for a great number of

years an uncontroled and almost an unlimited influence.

"His lordship quitting the profession, by abdicating his seat upon the bench, of which he had been thirty years an illustrious ornament, exhibited a very affecting and awful scene. We saw the children of eloquence taking a last farewell of their parent. He retired full of glory, the rays of which lent a lustre to the shade of retirement, and beamed forth their splendour around him. We beheld him in the evening of his life, like the great luminary of the world, gently descending to the west, with all his magnitude, but without his effulgence, diffusing a mild and delightful influence in exchange for the lustre of his pristine radiance. The laurel, lately alive upon his hoary brows, is now transplanted from his temple to his tomb-stone."

Dr. Smollet, in the continuation of his History of England, in noticing the supporters of Mr. Pelham's administration, mentions Mr. Murray as entitled to the first place in point of genius. "This gentleman," he continues, "the son of a noble family in North Britain, had raised himself to great eminence at the bar by the most keen intuitive spirit of apprehension, that seemed to seize every object at first glance; an innate sagacity that saved the trouble of intense application; and an irresistible stream of eloquence that flowed pure and classical, strong and copious, reflecting in the most conspicuous point of view the subjects over which it rolled, and sweeping before it all the slime of formal he-

* See Royal Register.

sitation and all the intangling weeds of chicanery *."

His will was dated April 17th, 1782, and is written with his own hand, upon little more than half a sheet of paper.

The legacies in it are of 6000*l.* to each of his nieces, Ann and Margery, and of 10,000*l.* to his niece Elizabeth.—The two former ladies are also to have three hundred a year each during their lives, and the survivor is to enjoy the whole. Each of the children of sir David Lindsay have legacies of 1000*l.* each: and his lordship's niece, Mrs. Murray, has 500*l.* for a ring.

The duchess dowager of Portland was entreated to permit his portrait by Venlo, to hang in her room, "in memory of one to whom she had always shewn her confidence and friendship;" lady Mary Milbank and lady Charlotte Wentworth have 200*l.* each; and lord Kinnoul, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Worcester 100*l.* each. His lordship then leaves to his faithful servant Mr. John Way 1000*l.* and all the remainder of his real and personal estate was willed to lady Mansfield for her life, afterwards to lord Stormont, "who, his lordship says, will best know what limitations should be made concerning the future disposal of it in his own family."

These are the contents of a will written with a disdain of the lawyer's art, as to forms and words. The bulk of the earl's property, all liable to its own distribution, is disposed of in ten lines; and the

terms used, with respect to the legacies, are more those of endearment and kindness, than of legal formality. It begins piously and affectingly, with the feelings of a christian, and the simplicity of a scholar.

"When it shall please Almighty God to call me to that state to which, of all I now enjoy, I can carry only the satisfaction of my own conscience, and a full reliance upon his mercy, through Jesus Christ, I desire that my body may be interred as privately as may be; and out of respect for the place of my early education, I should wish it to be in Westminster Abbey."

After leaving his property to the late lady Mansfield for life, there was this affectionate provision, that "lest she should feel any restraint as to those commodities which are consumed by use, as furniture, &c. the absolute property of all such things shall be hers."

Nineteen codicils, some of one or two lines each, are added to the will, and by two of these, 4000*l.* more are left to each of his nieces Ann and Margery. A third gives to each of them an additional 200*l.* a-year for life, with the benefit of survivorship; and a fourth, after expressing his lordship's recollection, that in the first year after his death they might otherwise be obliged to borrow money, leaves them 1000*l.* to be paid immediately.

To Dido, a black female, he confirms her freedom, and gives an annuity of 100*l.* for life, with 500*l.*

* A few years afterwards Dr. Smollet again drew the character of Lord Mansfield in the *Adventures of an Atom*, vol. i. p. 106. in terms very different from the above.

in money. Mr. Justice Buller is requested to accept of his executor 2000l. "to be laid out in some small memorial." Rings are directed to be sent to the lord chancellor, the master of the rolls, and the judges. Three codicils relative to Mr. John Way, after expressing the highest esteem of his character, and gratitude for his services, gave him 2000l. more, and an annuity of 500l. for life. It is added, "I wish him to continue to act for lord Stormont as he has done for me, but this I leave to his honour, of which I have no doubt, and do not absolutely make it a condition."

A gold medal of the royal family, given to him by Dr. Lee, and a porringer left by lord Foley, are given to Mrs. Johnson. Mrs. Murray, his niece, who had 500l. according to the will, "to buy a ring," has another 500l. in a codicil; and it is added, "I do not literally mean that she should buy a ring." The legacy to his niece Elizabeth is revoked; she having received a portion in lieu of it. Ann and Margery have the absolute property of his plate,

All his servants have annuities or legacies of very liberal sums.

The last codicil is dated Oct. 21, 1791.

The late lady Mansfield was mentioned in the will as an executor with lord Stormont.

Lord Mansfield was buried about nine o'clock in the morning of the 28th of March in the same vault with the late countess (who died April 10, 1784) in Westminster Abbey, between the late earl of Chatham and lord Robert Manners.

Character of John Mounsey, Esq. of Patterdale-hall (Patrickdale), in the Parish of Barton, in Westmorland. From the Gentleman's Magazine.

MR. Mounsey was distinguished by the title of king of Patterdale; the owners of which place for time immemorial have been honoured with this appellation; a distinction which probably arose from some of the property being *allodial*, as it is independent, and held of no superior. The royal family have the titles of king, queen, prince, princess, and dukes. The palace, pleasantly situated at the head of the lake Ulswater, makes but an indifferent appearance; neglect for half a century hath left it almost a ruin. To get money with the late owner was a principle that almost absorbed every other idea. This propensity broke out very early in life, and appeared on every occasion.—The wild mountains, which almost surround the village, afford the beautiful blue Westmorland slate, and lead ore in great abundance; and some of them are covered with wood. Of wood and slate he had a large share, most of which was conveyed down the lake in boats; and, when a boy, he could not be restrained by his father from the drudgery of the oar. His brother, the duke of Stybrow, was no lover of work; he was a fine jolly fellow; which made the old man, a respectable country-gentleman, in his mirth observe, "he had three children of very different dispositions: the oldest son would be drowned in Ulswater; the other in the *mash-tub*; and the daughter—the devil could not beat her for pride." No change

change in his manner of life (at least for the better) took place at the death of his father, which brought him into the possession of more than 300*l.* a-year; he persevered as if he daily dreaded the want of the common necessities of life; no work or hardship was too great for him; and he was lucky enough to engage one Dick Pearson, a true and trusty slave, into his service. They loaded the boat, rowed it down the lake, unloaded, and returned, at all seasons of the year, and at all times of the night. Sometimes he would sleep in barns, or other out-houses, when a few pence would have afforded him a comfortable bed in a public house. In dress, he was the figure of misery itself; his stocking heels were made of strong leather; his cloaths patch upon patch of any colour; and, according to the custom of the country, he wore wooden shoes (provincially clogs) heavily shod with iron. Nature had formed him for labour, of a strong robust make; he was almost equal to any thing. He had another happy requisite; he would never flinch any weight he was able to stand under; and anecdotes are not wanting of his extraordinary strength. A storm, however, would set all his powers at defiance; and once, at least, the prediction of his father was nearly fulfilled. He was ferrying a load of wood down the lake with no other help than his old companion Dick Pearson; a violent and unusual hurricane arose, and they were every moment in danger of going to the bottom. To throw the wood overboard was too great a sacrifice, though their lives were in the most imminent danger. They were, however, so fortunate

as to reach an island, a bare rock just rising above the lake. The storm increased; for two days and nights they were exposed to all its violence; a pile of stones, which they industriously raised, was their only shelter; and here, it was said, the king took care to secure what provision they had for his own use. In this there is reason to believe he was unfairly used. He contradicted the report himself; and, as he was not possessed of fine feelings, it is unlikely he would have given himself that trouble had it been true. All the *posse vicinitatis* were collected; but no one had courage to attempt their deliverance, notwithstanding the temptation of a considerable reward from the queen dowager. The storm at length abated, and they landed safe. This might have furnished him with an useful lesson; but it did not, for he never desisted till old age compelled him to stop. When he had particular business to transact from home, where he saw the necessity of appearing decent, he would call upon a friend on the road, with whom he could take the liberty, and borrow his cloaths. In two or three days he restored the loan, and returned home in the dress he cut out.—Upon the mountains he had an extensive right of common; and four shillings was the price for a beast-gate. When applications for joist were wanting, he would travel the country on foot, beating up for recruits. In one excursion it was remarked he could only collect one solitary heifer, which he drove himself from Alston-moor, Cumberland, a distance of near 40 miles. From such a strict oeconomy it is not to be wondered his property was daily accumulating: his house-keeping,

keeping, it is supposed, never exceeded 30l. a year, some say not 20l.; and his annual income at the last was at least 800l. Indeed he seldom ate at home, as he let his lands by stipulation, his tenants to give him so much hard cash, and so many meals, some one a week, some more, and he generally took care to have them before due; even cockles, cabbage, &c. by measure or count, became sometimes the consideration for a trifling rent. In some things he would indulge himself; he was remarkably fond of sugar, gingerbread, and all kinds of sweetmeats, which he always kept in his pocket; and in one instance he agreed with a tenant to supply him with 36 pounds of sugar yearly. To prevent the risk of being robbed, he would frequently hide his money in old stone walls. Something or other created suspicion, and he was watched. An industrious woman privately removed many a stone with little or no success, but would not give it up; she had therefore recourse to stratagem; she tumbled the stones about as he approached, and ran off with the appearance of very great surprise as if in actual possession of treasure. He was taken in the snare, and called out he would give her one-half if she would return and deliver it up. This feint had the effect; she was now convinced that near the place money was hid, and took the opportunity, before his majesty was recovered from his consternation, to make a more diligent search; and by this manœuvre, which was in the end successful, actually carried off the prize. That he recovered any part of the money is not very probable: he had such an excessive dread of

law, that his subjects might almost say or do any thing with impunity. When more advanced in years, his dress was at least decent; he attended markets like a common farmer, and there was nothing in his appearance to attract the notice of a stranger. He nevertheless studied economy in every shape, and to the last had his *new* stockings lined with leather at the heels. Once he joined with a neighbour for a horse; but the partnership soon broke up: the poor animal when upon travel had a sorry time of it; *provender was scarce*, and *turnpike gates* caused many a tedious journey; but a *penny was saved*. Riding one day to Penrith market, by the side of Ulswater, he made a full stop, stripped, and into the lake he went. From the bottom he picked up an old stocking, which he carefully examined. "It might very likely have something valuable in it, as it did not swim by the side," was his reply to a clergyman who afterwards joined him upon the road, and whose curiosity, from this odd circumstance, was not a little raised. Willson, schoolmaster of Patterdale, acted as his secretary; and tenpence was the price agreed upon for making his will. After the first, alterations, additions, and codicils, became so frequent, that Willson was tired of the price, and for once got it raised to a shilling. He afterwards made a bolder attempt, he asked half a crown; this was too serious, and another person was employed. Not many years ago, he was so ill that his recovery was doubtful. His son, the prince, advised him to leave 200l. to the poor. "No; he had lost a great deal by the poor, but he never got any thing by them in his life.

life. Why leave any thing to them?" But the amiable youth, reasoning with him on the awful scene before him, he gave way. "Well," says he, to his only child, his heir, and executor, "I will leave *one hundred*, if you will be *fifty* of it." Whether ever in his life before he hit upon so curious a method to deceive himself is unknown to us. This was not the finishing of his reign: he recovered; and, in his 89th year, lamented the shortness of life: "Could we but," says he to his old friend Willson, "live to the age of Methuselah, we might then have some chance of getting rich: but, we no sooner find ourselves in the way of getting a little together, than death comes upon us, and spoils all."

Death, however, overtook him the 15th October 1793, in the 92d year of his age. He is succeeded in his title and estate by his only child John, who has a numerous family.

Reception of B. Columbus in St. Domingo, from Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies.

THE reception which Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed lieutenant or deputy-governor, in the absence of the admiral, met with in his progress through this island, to levy tributes from the several caciques or princes manifested not only kindness and submission, but, on many occasions, munificence and even a high degree of politeness. These caciques had all heard of the wonderful eagerness of the strangers for gold; and each of them as possessed

any of this precious metal, willingly presented all that they had to the deputy-governor. Others who had not the means of obtaining gold, brought provisions and cotton in great abundance. Among the latter was Bohechio, a powerful cacique, who invited the lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions; and the entertainment which they received from this hospitable chief is thus described by Martyr. As they approached the king's dwelling, they were met by his wives, to the number of thirty, carrying branches of the palm-tree in their hands; who first saluted the Spaniards with a solemn dance accompanied with a general song. These matrons were succeeded by a train of virgins, distinguished as such by their appearance, the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of pure nature. Their hair was tied simply with a fillet over their foreheads, or suffered to flow gracefully on their shoulders and bosoms. Their limbs were finely proportioned, and their complexions, though brown, were smooth, shining, and lovely. The Spaniards were struck with admiration, believing that they beheld the dryads of the woods and the nymphs of the fountains realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obeisance to the lieutenant, who entering the palace found a plentiful, and according to the Indian mode of living, a splendid repast already provided. As night approached, the Spaniards were conducted to separate cottages, wherein each of them was accommodated with a cotton hammock; and the next morning they

they were again entertained with dancing and singing. This was followed by matches of wrestling and running for prizes; after which, two great bodies of armed Indians unexpectedly appeared, and a mock engagement ensued; exhibiting their modes of attack and defence in their wars with the Charaibs. For three days were the Spaniards thus royally entertained, and on the fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

Account of the wretched condition of the Sub-tenants in the Hebrides, from Buchannan's Travels in the Western Hebrides.

OUR author, that he may give his readers some idea, and interest them in the subject or subjects of which he is going to speak, exhibits in his introduction, an outline of his work. Having observed, that we have not any written accounts relating to the domestic and political situation of the inhabitants of the Long Island, or chain of islands, he says, "This indeed is at present most deplorable; the relief of emigration offered to some being denied to the far greater number by extreme poverty; and a petty tyranny arising from immemorial usages, established in times of feudal oppression; and their singular and remote situation, which secludes the miserable natives of the Western Hebrides from the benign influence of the British laws and government. A right avails nothing without a remedy. The poor Hebridean, as well as the

Highland cottager in the more sequestered parts of North Britain, would find it impossible to effect, if he had courage to attempt, emancipation and independence on the tacksmen, and petty lairds or landholders who keep them in subjection. Though the tacksmen for the most part enjoy their leases of whole districts on liberal terms, their exactions from their sub-tenants are in general most severe. They grant them their possessions only from year to year; and, lest they should forget their dependent condition, they are every year at a certain term, with the most regular formality, warned to quit their tenements, and to go out of the bounds of the leasehold estate. The sub-tenant by what presents he can command, or by humble supplications, endeavours to work on the mind of the tacksmen, and on any condition he pleases to impose, to retain a home for himself, his wife, and children; for he has no other resource.

"And here I am to disclose to the English nation, as well, I hope, as to greater part of the Scotch, and to the whole world, a matter of fact, which cannot fail to excite a very general sympathy and concern for a sober, harmless, and much-injured people.

"It is an invariable custom, and established by a kind of tacit compact among the tacksmen and inferior lairds, to refuse with the most invincible obduracy an asylum on their ground to any sub-tenant without the recommendation of his landlord, or, as he is very properly called in those parts, his MASTER*.

The

* Mr. Buchannan observes in a note, that the remains of feudal slavery are so inveterate in Scotland, that *Master* is for the most part the term used for *Landlord*.

The wretched outcast, therefore, has no alternative but to sink down into the situation and rank of an unfortunate and numerous class of men known under the name of scallags.

The scallag, whether male or female, is a poor being, who, for mere sub-sistence, becomes a predial slave to another, whether a sub-tenant, a tacksmen, or a laird. The scallag builds his own hut with sods and boughs of trees; and, if he is sent from one part of the country to another, he moves off his sticks, and by means of these forms a new hut in another place. Five days in the week he works for his master; the sixth is allowed to himself, for the cultivation of some scrap of land, on the edge of some moss or moor; on which he raises a little kail or coleworts, barley, and potatoes. These articles boiled up together in one mash, and often without salt, are his only food, except in those seasons and on those days when he can catch some fish, which he is obliged, not unfrequently, to eat without bread or salt: the only bread he tastes is a cake made of the flour of barley. He is allowed coarse shoes, with tartan hose, and a coarse coat, with a blanket or two, for cloathing. It may occur to an English reader, that as the scallag works only five days out of seven to his master, he has two to provide for himself. But it is to be recollected, that throughout the whole of Scotland, and all its appendages, Sunday, or, as it is

called there, the Sabbath, is celebrated by a total cessation from all labour, and all amusements too, as well as by religious exercises.

The writer of the following notes, whose commission from the society for propagating Christian knowledge from 1782 to 1791 gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the actual situation of affairs in the Western Hebrides, trusts that he will do no disservice, but, on the contrary, promote the interests of both the chiefs and the natives at large by disclosing scenes industriously concealed from the eye of the benevolent landholder, as well as of the inquisitive stranger; in the hope that humanity and sound policy may devise some means for alleviating the misery of the poor Hebrideans, and converting their industry to both public and private advantage." The picture, on the whole, will be a melancholy one, but here and there relieved by some curious manners and customs, and some particulars in natural history.

Account of an African Tribe of Robbers, from Thunberg's Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, Vol. II.

THE Boshiesmen Hottentots inhabit the most indifferent, poor, bare, and cold part of this southernmost point of Africa, towards the N. and E. from Namaquas-land, across Roggeveld, and

Landlord. A Mr. Kemp, a Minister of Edinburgh, in a Sermon preached before the Society for propagating Christian knowledge, at their anniversary meeting in the High church of Edinburgh, June 5, 1788, on the subject of the character of the late Earl of Kinnoul (president of that society), in relation to his tenants calls him their *Muster*!

as far as the Snow mountains. And indeed this nation is the poorest and the most destitute of all. They have seldom or ever any cattle, and frequently no fixed abode, but wander about the country, and support themselves by plunder and theft. They often live without either clothes or huts: and I was informed by some farmers worthy of credit, that these people sometimes creep down at night in the caverns and holes in the earth, many together till the cave is full, when the uppermost covers himself with the skin of a Dassi (*Cavia capensis*) to keep out the cold and bad weather. They are of a yellowish brown colour, and something less than the Hottentots, with very small and delicate limbs. The belly, which projects extremely, constitutes almost the whole of the man.

These Boshiesmen had, for the space of several years, molested the colonists here, as likewise in Roggeveld and near the Snow mountains, stolen their cattle, murdered many of the colonists themselves, and set fire to their farms. At different times parties had been sent out to disperse them, and last year in particular, three large parties had been sent into three different quarters.

A party consisting of a hundred men, of which thirty-two were christians, and the rest Hottentots in their service, had been sent out against some Namaquas Boshiesmen, and now met us on their return. In this expedition they had killed about a hundred, and made prisoners of twenty, chiefly small children, some of whom they at this present juncture had with them. It was said that in a similar expedition in 1765,

one hundred and eighty six had been killed. None of the christians that went on this expedition were either killed or wounded.

For the protection of the property of the colonists against the ravages of the Hottentots, the company had, to the eastward; established several posts one after another; but to the westward, on the other side of the mountain, not one was established, although it is there that such posts are most necessary and important. The farmers towards this coast must therefore themselves be armed in order to defend themselves against these plundering Boshiesmen; and on this occasion the more wealthy farmers generally supply the others with powder, ball, and men. One of the farmers is commonly chosen for their leader, who is then exempted from all other borough service. When a large party is sent out, the government supplies them, on the company's account, with brandy, handcuffs, powder and shot.

The Boshiesmen exercise their violence and depredations not only on the christian colonists, but have, previous to this, by their thefts, ruined the major part of the Hottentot natives, many of whom have since gone into the service of the colonists.

The Boshiesmen sometimes make use of javelins, but the shafts are shorter and thicker than those of the Caffres Assagays; which they use not only to throw, but likewise, and indeed chiefly, for the purpose of killing the cattle they have stolen; but their principal arms, which they use in war and for their own defence in general, are bows and poisoned arrows, and these they

they are taught to handle with great dexterity. The arrow is armed with a thin triangular piece of iron, fastened with a string to a bone of a finger's length, to the end of which again is fastened a reed. This iron as well as the bone is afterwards rubbed with poison extracted from serpents. The Boshiesmen are the most expert marksmen of all the Hottentots, and are said to be able to shoot their arrows at the distance of two hundred and eighty paces. They know how also to avoid the arrows of others with the greatest nimbleness and dexterity, just as baboons do when stones are thrown at them; and if they could but see the musket-balls of the Europeans, they would think themselves able to escape them likewise. To running the Boshiesmen Hottentots are so insured, as not to be excelled in it by any others; but can almost hold out longer than a horse. On the level plains they are easily overtaken by a man on horseback; but very seldom if the road be stony, and never in mountainous places.

They can endure hunger a longer time; but when they have a plentiful supply, will eat so immoderately as to distend their bellies to an amazing size. When oppressed by hunger, they tie a belt round their bodies, which they gradually draw tighter, till the navel is brought close to the backbone.

When a Boshiesman has caught a serpent, and killed it, he does not, according to report, cut off its head, but bites it off, and then cutting out the vesicle containing the poison, dries it in the sun till it becomes viscid and tough, and mixes it with the juice of a poison-

ous tree, (frequently the *Cestrum venenatum*, which makes the poison adhere the faster to the arrow.

The Hottentots and Boshiesmen are said to fortify themselves against poisoned darts and the bite of venomous animals, by suffering themselves to be gradually bitten by serpents, scorpions, and other venomous creatures, till they become accustomed to it; but these trials sometimes cost them their lives. The urine of an Hottentot thus prepared is esteemed an excellent antidote or counterpoison, and is therefore drunk by such as have been bitten by serpents.

When it thunders, the Boshiesmen are very angry and curse bitterly, thinking that the storm is occasioned by some evil being.

We fell in here with another party that had been in pursuit of the Boshiesmen quite up into Roggeveld. This party consisted of about ninety odd persons, of whom forty-seven were christians. They had killed and taken prisoners nearly two hundred and thirty Boshiesmen. One of the colonists had been shot in the knee with an arrow, which had cost him his life. The third detachment, which had been sent to the Snow mountains, had killed four hundred Boshiesmen; of this party seven had been wounded by arrows, but none died.

It sometimes happens, that the Boshiesmen take away at once the farmer's whole herd whilst grazing, and frequently even kill the herdsmen. They afterwards drive their booty higher up into the country, night and day, as fast as they can, till they arrive at a place where they think themselves perfectly secure. What they cannot take with them they kill with their javelin;

javelin; and, in their flight place spies on the height of the mountains, to look out carefully, and see whether they are pursued by the colonists. These spies are relieved by others, and give intelligence if the party is pursued; in which case they all hide themselves if possible, in the mountains. In their flight they kill, roast, and eat by turns. When they have stolen a considerable number of cattle, and are arrived at some place where they think themselves tolerably secure, they encamp there with their cattle, and make huts (*Kraals*) of *Mesembryanthemum* bushes or of mats, in which they live together as long as their food lasts. The detachment had seen one of these *Kraals*, or encampments formed of huts in two rows, like a village, in which they had counted on one side upwards of fifty huts, from which all the Boshiesmen have removed.

In Roggeveld alone the Boshiesmen had, in the last two years, stolen more than ten thousand sheep, besides oxen, and murdered many of the colonists, their slaves, and Hottentots.

When the Boshiesmen are pursued by the colonists on horseback, they retreat to the mountains, where, like baboons, they post themselves on the edges of the summits and in the inaccessible places, and are always afraid of the plains. They sometimes creep into the clefts, and from these bulwarks let fly their arrows.

The weapons with which they defend themselves against their enemies, are bows and poisoned arrows. By way of defence against these, the colonists cause a skin to be held before them, in which the arrows stick fast, that frequently

come like a shower of rain. The Boshiesmen, when they perceive that their arrows do not penetrate, forbear to fire a second volley. A Boshiesman who is mortally wounded by a ball, is never found either crying or lamenting in any shape whatever.

These people first chew canna (*Mesembryanthemum*), and afterwards smoke it. They besmear themselves with greasy substances, and over that with red chalk; in times of scarcity they feed on serpents, lizards, the flesh of zebras, lions, and baboons, upon bulbous roots, ants' eggs, &c.

Character of the Hottentots from the same.

HOTTENTOT is the common denomination of all those nations which inhabit the southern angle of Africa, and are extended on each side of the Cape of Good Hope. How far the country of these people extends is not yet accurately known; but though they are divided into a multitude of tribes, which differ from each other in many respects, yet it is clearly to be perceived that they all originate from one and the same stock; and that they differ widely from the negroes and moors who inhabit the other coasts of Africa.

The Hottentots in general are short, especially the women, although some among them are found that are five or six feet high. Their colour is neither black nor white, but yellowish; and their exterior black appearance is owing to the filth which adheres to their bodies, in consequence of their besmearing themselves.

The

The form and lineaments of the face characterise this as well as other nations. Their cheek-bones are very prominent, which makes them always appear stronger and less. The nose is fattened towards the root and thins and turns in the tip, but not very much. Their eyes are rather small, their hair jet black like some of the Andean tribes, more frequently dark, reddening the face and hair with it. They have very little hair upon their chin and upper parts. The spine is particularly a very much bent, so that I never saw any one so bowed forward as the Hotentots. I have seen some of them whose backs were bent in and their buttocks projected to such a degree, that two people might sit to them. And although the Hotentots are very warlike, yet the ancient practice of beating against themselves is their aim, and especially the women's dresses, to an inconceivable degree, so that in this particular, they far surpass all other nations. The Boeshamen have more prominent breasts than the rest.

The patriarchal form of government has from time immemorial existed amongst them, and is still retained with purity; and there has been the origin of the many larger and smaller tribes, and families, into which they formerly were, and their divisions are, divided. Such tribes formerly were the Gannamans, Koonquas, Sannquas, Olliquas, Gannquas, Koonquas, Hestquas, Sannquas, Dinnquas, Dinnquas, Gannquas, Hestquas, Hestquas, and Gannquas. Hotentots, of whom few remain at present, and some of the time are the little and great Nannquas, Gannquas, Caffres, Boeshamen, &c. Of

these probably some may in former times have been subdivided into still smaller tribes.

The Hotentots live dirt in the highest degree; they besmeer their bodies with fat and grease substances, over which they rub creaming, fat, and similar substances. By this means the pores are stopped up and the skin covered with a substance, which defends them in summer against the scorching heat of the sun, and from the cold in winter. Amongst their ornaments they mix the powder of a strong smelling herb, which they called *Dinn*, a species of *Dinn*, frequently the *Pinn*, and which gives them an disagreeable, so foetid, and at the same time so rank an odour, that I sometimes could not bear the smell of the Hotentots that drove my waggon.

Their dress is very simple: most of them wear a sheep's skin thrown across their shoulders, and another over their loins, the hairy side being worn next the body in winter, and the other side in summer. These sheep-skins prepared, cover the body behind, but leave it almost entirely naked before. The women, by way of covering, use a short, square, and sometimes a double piece of skin, that reaches half way down their thighs, and the men a case of fox's skin, like a purse, tied with a thong about their bodies. The Gannquas Hotentots and Caffres use such a dress of buffalo, and their chiefs of tiger skin.

Their legs are bare, and their feet for the most part without shoes; but round rings made of the hides of animals adorn their legs, especially those of the women, from the instep to the calf of the leg, and

and prevent them from being bitten by serpents. In time of need they likewise serve them for food, when they broil these rings and eat them.

Their heads are frequently without any covering at all: but sometimes they wear a conical skin-cap, and the women in some places make use of a broad wreath of buffalo's skin, ornamented with small shells.

Their necks and waists are ornamented with different coloured glass beads, which they procure by barter from the Europeans. To the necklace they sometimes fasten a turtle-shell, in which they keep bucku. The Caffres put porcupine's quills into their ears (*Hystrix*), and some of the women that live farthest to the eastward, use earrings of copper, to set off their brown beauty.

The Caffres wear ivory rings, and frequently several of them on the left arm; and some, in default of these, wear rings of brass, or iron. All the Hottentots, but more especially the Caffres, set a great value upon shining plates of copper, brass, or iron, which they hang in their hair, or on other parts of the body.

They are all graziers, except the Boshiesmen, and are sometimes in possession of numerous herds of cattle, especially the Caffres and Namaquas people, upon whose domains the Europeans have not yet been able to make any encroachments. These subsist on their flocks and herds, and hunt different wild beasts, especially buffaloes and wild goats of various sorts (sometimes very large ones), with sea cows and elephants. They live besides on the roots of several plants, such as irises, ixtas, moreas, gladioluses,

and others, the beans of the guajacum afrum, &c. The men use likewise cow's milk, which they milk themselves, and the women sheep's milk. To quench their thirst, they mostly drink water, milk and water, and, when urged by necessity, chew mesembryanthemums, albuca, and other succulent herbs. The men's business is to go to war, hunt, milk, kill the cattle, and fabricate arms; the women's, to look after the children, fetch wood, dig up bulbous roots, and dress the victuals. The meat is eaten both roasted and boiled, but for the most part half raw, without salt, spices, or bread. They make a fire by rubbing two pieces of hard wood quickly against each other.

The Caffres are the only people in this part of Africa that apply themselves in the least to agriculture. They cultivate caffre-corn (*holcus*), beans, hemp, &c. The rest do not till the earth at all, except some few who now and then sow a handful of hemp.

Their huts are built with sprays of trees, which are fixed in the ground, and bent in arches, so as to make the hut round at top, and about four feet high. These are afterwards covered with mats made of rushes, and on one side an opening about two feet high is left at bottom, which serves the double purpose of a door and chimney, the fire-place being near the opening. Such huts as these, built in a circle of a greater or smaller extent according to circumstances, form a village, within which the cattle, at least the sheep, are kept in the night, and secured from beasts of prey. As long as the grass lasts on the spot, they live there without removing; but as soon as it fails
or

or any one dies, the whole village removes to another place: so that the Hottentots, like the Laplanders and Arabians, are nomades, or wandering shepherds. A few of them live together in one of these huts, and lie coiled up with their knees drawn up to their heads, dispersed around the internal walls of it.

The language, which frequently is almost the only thing that distinguishes the indolent Hottentots from the brute creation, is poor, unlike any other in the world, is pronounced with a clack of the tongue, and is never written.

With respect to household furniture, they have little or none. The same dress that covers a part of their body by day, serves them also for bedding at night. Their victuals are boiled in leathern sacks and water, with stones made red hot, but sometimes in earthen pots. Milk is kept in leathern sacks, bladders of animals, and baskets made of platted rushes, perfectly water tight. These, a tobacco-pouch of skin, a tobacco-pipe of stone or wood, and their weapons, constitute the whole catalogue of their effects. Their defensive weapons against their enemies and wild beasts consist of darting-sticks (*kirris*), javelins (*assagay*), and bows with poisoned arrows.

To the use of intoxicating substances they are much addicted. From a decoction of certain indigenous roots and honey, they prepare an inebriating kind of mead. They are very fond of arrack and brandy, and take delight in smoking tobacco, either pure, or mixed with hemp, and, when they cannot procure these, wilddakka (*phlolmis*),

or the dung of the two-horned rhinoceros, or of elephants. The inhabitants of the southern part of Africa contract marriage early, and with little ceremony. When the suitor has made his intentions known, and obtained the girl's and her parents' consent, a day is fixed for the wedding, which is solemnized by the priest belonging to the village, who besprinkles the bride and bridegroom with his urine. After that an ox or sheep is killed, according to the circumstances of the parties, and the company entertained; the men and women sitting in separate circles, according to their custom, and always squat on their heels, as they have neither chairs nor sofas. One circumstance however attending their weddings is highly laudable, which is, that though at other times they are much given to drunkenness, they never drink on this occasion; neither do they dance and play upon musical instruments.

To their new-born children they give a name, which is generally that of some wild or domestic animal.

A youth is not suffered to marry till he is made a man, which is at the age of eighteen; when the village master of the ceremonies besprinkles him with urine, and separates him from that time forward from his mother and other women.

Formerly the Hottentots, according to Kolbe, used castration. This operation was generally performed, the left testicle being cut out, that they might not beget twins, and that they might be enabled to run with greater ease.

A Hottentot sometimes takes two wives, and it frequently happens

pens that a woman marries two husbands, although adultery under certain circumstances is punished with death. A widow who marries a second time, must have the top joint of a finger cut off, and loses another joint for the third, and so on for each time that she enters into wedlock.

Idleness is so predominant among the greatest part of the Hottentots that few of the brutes surpass them in that vice. Some sleep out all their time, and are only awakened by the urgent calls of hunger, that at length forces them to rise and seek for food. When they have killed any wild animal, they lay themselves round a fire in common, to broil their meat, eat and sleep by turns, as long as there is any thing left to eat, and till hunger drives them from it again.

In consequence of this extreme supineness they have little or no religion. It should seem indeed that they were not entirely ignorant of the existence of a powerful supreme Being, and they appear also to acknowledge the immortality of the soul after its separation from the body; but they have no temples, pay no kind of worship to any divinity, and give themselves no thought about rewards or punishments after death. They have much clearer notions of an evil spirit, whom they fear, believing him to be the occasion of sickness, death, thunder, and every calamity that befalls them.

At the new and full moon they dance and make merry; but it does not appear very probable that their rejoicing thus is any kind of religious ceremony, or that they worship the moon.

A small insect, an inconsiderable
Vol. xxxv.

grashopper (*mantis fausta*), is by many considered as an animal of a fortunate omen; but I never found that any worship was paid to it, nor could I learn it with a certainty from others.

Circumcision is a ceremony used by many, and may probably be of high antiquity, although not commonly practised at present.

Several barbarous usages and customs are still to be found amongst those who live in their native state of wildness, and without intercourse with the christians. Old and superannuated persons are buried alive, or else carried away to some cleft in the mountains, with provision for a few days, where they are either starved to death, or fall a prey to some wild beast.

In like manner children are exposed and left to their fate on various occasions; as, for instance, when a woman dies, either during her lying-in, or immediately after it, the child in such cases is buried along with the mother, as no one can bring it up amongst people who have no notion of nurses. If a woman brings forth twins, and thinks herself not able to rear them both, one of them is exposed. If they are both boys, the strongest and most healthy is kept: if one of them is a girl, it is her lot to be exposed; as is likewise the fate of any one that comes a cripple into the world.

Such as live near the European colonists, bury their dead in the ground, while others lay them in the clefts of mountains or in caves. The corpse being taken out of the hut through a hole in the side, and not through the door, is wrapped up in the sheep-skin dress the defunct wore while living, and is
U carried

carried away in hand by three or four bearers. A procession of men and women in two separate bodies follows with loud cries: after which, if the deceased was a person of any property, some animal is killed and eaten.

They are very superstitious, and put great faith in witchcraft. If any one falls sick, they think that he has been bewitched; and consequently shriek and pommel him with their fists, in order to keep life in him, or make him well. If he dies, their cries increase, the corpse is buried in a few hours, and the whole village removes to some other place.

The eldest son is sole heir to his father's property.

In arts and sciences they are as rude and uncultivated as they are in every other respect. The Caffres are the only tribe among them that till the ground at all. The major part of them have herds of cattle. Some of them have neither house nor home, nor indeed any fixed abode whatever. The Namaquas Hottentots, who, in their country, have mountains that produce copper and iron ore, know how to extract these metals in the most simple manner, which they afterwards forge for use. Their traffic is not extensive: indeed it consists only in bartering certain commodities against others. They have therefore no money nor coin of any sort, neither do they stand in need of any.

To guard their herds, they employ very ugly, but bold and spirited dogs.

Greasy substances constitute the greatest dainties of the Hottentots. They drink the blubber of sea-cows like water, and the tail of a

sheep, which consists entirely of fat, they prefer to any other part.

They hunt both single and in parties. Every one hunts and shoots what he can for his own use; but general hunts are undertaken by whole villages, either against large troops of wild animals, or when they are annoyed by beasts of prey that commit ravages among their herds, on which occasion every man quits his hut, and goes out armed, as against a common enemy.

Their grand festivals are generally accompanied with singing, and different sorts of instrumental music, as also with dances, that are extremely singular, and indeed peculiar to themselves. They have likewise a droll uncommon ceremony of driving whole herds of sheep through the smoke, right across the fire, to secure them from the attacks of wild dogs.

In a people so deeply plunged in sloth, and so overwhelmed with filth, as the Hottentots actually are, one would not expect to find the least trace of pride. It is however to be found even among these, the most wretched of the human race; for they not only adorn their bodies with all manner of finery, as they conceive it to be; but when they are visited by strangers, paint their faces with various figures of brown and black paint.

Of the new year, a period which most nations, and even the heathens themselves, almost all over the face of the earth, observe and celebrate with more or less rejoicing and festivity, the Hottentots do not seem to have any knowledge, neither do they take the least account of the course of nature. The only thing they remark is, that every
year

year they see the bulbous plants push out of the ground, blossom and decay, and according to this almanack, they reckon their own ages, which nevertheless they themselves seldom or never know with any certainty. It is therefore in vain to try to ascertain their age, or to search for antique relics and monuments, in order to discover the antiquity of the country, how long it has been peopled, whence its first inhabitants came, and what changes and revolutions it has undergone. The country has no ancient ruins, either of subverted palaces, demolished castles, or devastated cities. The people neither know the origin nor reason of the ceremonies and customs in use amongst them, and few of them can give an account of any thing that has happened before their father's time. Since the Europeans have begun to inhabit this angle of the southern part of Africa, the country has undergone many changes. The natives have by degrees, in part become extinct, in consequence of the ravages made by various epidemic diseases, and in part retreated farther up the country, and a colony of the children and progeny of Japhet has propagated and multiplied to a great extent in their place. In a country where, one hundred and fifty years ago, amongst a vast number of other wild animals, the most savage beasts of prey reigned sovereign and triumphant, one may now for the most part travel safely without fear or dread; and where formerly herds only grazed, one now sees several Indian and most

of our European seeds cultivated, vineyards and orchards laid out, and culinary vegetables planted. A multitude of tame animals has been imported hither from Europe, such as horses, cows, hogs, and several kinds of fowls; in like manner as many useful products of the vegetable kingdom have been naturalized under the industrious hands of the colonists and a kind climate. The pease and beans here are very good. Asparagus, peaches, apricots, have a tolerable flavour, as have also apples (and especially rennets), plums, pears, oranges, and strawberries. The grapes as well as the raisins, and the wine that is made of them, are of different degrees of goodness, and sometimes excellent. Melons, water-melons, gojavus, pomegranates, are also tolerably good; but gooseberries, currants, cherries, and nuts, do not thrive. Mulberries, almonds, figs, walnuts, chesnuts, and lemons, do not yield in point of goodness to the Europeans. Esculent roots and culinary vegetables thrive in general well in this country, and often grow up superior to the European, from whence the seed of the greatest part of them is brought every year. Turnips, turnip-rooted cabbages, potatoes, alliaceous plants of every kind, sallads, cabbages, and especially cauliflowers, are cultivated therefore in great quantities, as also wheat, not only for the use of the inhabitants, but for the supply of the many ships that touch here in their way to and from India, since the christians first made a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

NATURAL HISTORY.

*Description of the Double-horned Rhinoceros of Sumatra. By Mr. Wm. Bell, Surgeon to the East-India Company at Bencoolen; communicated by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S.**

From the Philosophical Transactions for 1793, Part I.

THE animal herein described was shot with a leaden ball from a musket about ten miles from Fort Marlborough. I saw it the day after, and it was not then in the least putrid.

It was a male; the height at the shoulder was four feet four inches; at the sacrum nearly the same; from the tip of the nose to the end of the tail, eight feet five inches. From the appearance of its teeth and bones it was but young, and probably not near its full size.

The shape of the animal was much like that of the hog. The general colour was a brownish ash; under the belly, between the legs, and folds of the skin, a dirty flesh colour.

The head much resembled that of the single-horned Rhinoceros. The eyes were small, of a brown colour; the membrana nictitans thick and strong. The skin surrounding the eyes was wrinkled. The nostrils were wide. The upper

lip was pointed and hanging over the other.

There were six molares, or grinders, on each side of the upper and lower jaw, becoming gradually larger backward, particularly in the upper. Two teeth in the front of each jaw.

The tongue was quite smooth.

The ears are small and pointed, lined and edged with small black hair, and situated like those of the single-horned Rhinoceros.

The horns were black, the larger was placed immediately above the nose, pointing upwards, and was bent a little back; it was about nine inches long. The small horn was four inches long, of a pyramidal shape, flattened a little, and placed above the eyes, rather a little more forward, standing in a line with the larger horn immediately above it. They were both firmly attached to the skull, nor was there any appearance of joint or muscles to move them.

The neck was thick and short; the skin on the under side thrown into folds, and those folds again wrinkled.

The body was bulky and round, and from the shoulder ran a line or fold, as in the single-horned Rhinoceros, though faintly marked. There were several other folds and wrinkles on the body and legs, and

* We extracted from the Philosophical Transactions for 1767, and gave in our Register for that year a paper of Dr. Parson's on the subject of the Double horn of the Rhinoceros.

the whole gave rather the appearance of softness.

The legs were thick, short, and remarkably strong; the feet armed with three distinct hoofs of a blackish colour, which surrounded half the foot, one in front, the others on each side. The soles of the feet were convex, of a light colour, and the cuticle on them not thicker than that on the foot of a man who is used to walking.

The testicles hardly appeared externally.

The penis was bent backward, and opened about eighteen inches below the anus. At its origin it was as thick as a man's leg, and about two feet and a half long; the bend in it occasions the urine to be discharged backwards. The male has two nipples like the female, situated between the hind legs; they are about half an inch in length, of a pyramidal form, rounded at the end.

The whole skin of the animal is rough, and covered very thinly with short black hair. The skin was not more than one-third of an inch in thickness, at the strongest part; under the belly it was hardly a quarter of an inch; any part of it might be cut through with ease by a common dissecting knife.

The animal had not that appearance of armour which is observed in the single-horned Rhinoceros.

Since I dissected the male I have had an opportunity of examining a female, which was more of a lead colour; it was younger than the male, and had not so many folds or wrinkles in its skins, of course it had still less the appearance of armour.

The only external mark which distinguishes it from the male is

the vagina, which is close to the anus; whereas in the male the opening for the penis is eighteen inches below the anus.

Description of a Species of Chætonodon, called by the Malays Ecan Bonna. By the same.

From the same.

THE fish called Ecan bonna by the Malays, is broad, flat, and of a lead colour, the belly is flat, white, and in places tinged with green. The eyes are a bright yellow. The body is covered with small semicircular scales.

Its length is generally about 18 inches, its breadth thirteen, and, at the thickest part, it is nearly three inches thick.

It is frequently caught at Bencoolen, and several other parts on the west coasts of Sumatra, and is said to grow to a much larger size. Its flesh is white, firm, and well flavoured, and it is considered as a good fish for the table.

It has six fins; two pectoral, two ventral, one dorsal, and one anal fin. The tail is broad, and of a triangular form.

The pectoral fins are small, blunted at their ends, and placed a little behind the gills.

The ventral fins are placed on the sternum, and are longer and more pointed.

The dorsal fin arises at the beginning of the spinous processes of the back, and is continued down nearly to the tail.

The anal fin arises a little below the anus, and is also continued on almost to the tail. It is strong and broad like the dorsal, and projects a little farther backward than it.

The

The mouth is small, and each jaw contains five rows of small teeth about the thickness of hogs' bristles, and of equal thickness throughout their length. The grinding or cutting surfaces of the front second and third rows in both jaws, are divided into three points. The two inner rows are pointed and bent a little backward.

The stomach was empty, so that I had not an opportunity of ascertaining its food. The intestinal canal was long like that of a fish which feed on vegetables; and the œsophagus was thick set with pyramidal bodies, like the œsophagus of the turtle.

The skeleton is very singular, many of the bones having tumours, which, in the first fish I saw, I supposed to be exostoses arising from disease; but, on dissecting a second, found the corresponding bones had exactly the same tumours, and the fishermen informed me that they were always found in this fish, I therefore conclude them to be natural to it.

In Mr. Hunter's collection are two or three of these bones, but I never knew what fish they belonged to; they were supposed to be from the back of some of the large rays.

What advantage can arise from these large tumours is difficult to say. Those on the sides of the vertebræ seem to answer no evident purpose, nor those at the origin of the dorsal and anal fins. The particular form of the sternum, to which the ventral fins are joined, seem to be intended to give greater surface for the attachment of the muscles and to increase their action. These tumours are spongy,

and so soft as to be easily cut with a knife; they are filled with oil.

The air-bladder is very large for the size of the fish, probably to counteract the weight of the bony matter in the skeleton. It is generally caught near the shore, where there are sea-weeds, and the Malays say it is a dull swimmer.

Description of the Grotto at Swatara, by the Rev. Peter Miller. From the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

THIS Grotto is situate on the east side of Swatara, close to the river. Its entrance is very spacious, and there is somewhat of a descent towards the other extremity; insomuch that I suppose the surface of the river is rather higher than the bottom of the cave. The upper part is like an arched roof, of solid lime-stone rock, perhaps twenty feet thick. On entering, are found many apartments, some of them very high, like the choir of a church. There is, as it were, a continual rain within the cave, for the water drops incessantly from the roof upon the floor; by which, and the water petrefying as it falls, pillars are gradually formed to support the roof. I saw this cave about thirty years ago, and observed above ten such pillars, each six inches in diameter and six feet high; all so ranged that the place enclosed by them resembled a sanctuary in a Roman church: and I can assure you, that no royal throne ever exhibited more grandeur than the delightful prospect of this *lucus naturæ*. Satisfied with the view of this, we discovered the resemblances

blances of several monuments, incorporated into the walls, as if the bodies of departed heroes were there deposited. Our guide then conducted us to a place, where, he said, hung the bell: this is a piece of stone issuing out of the roof, which when struck sounds like a bell.

Some of the stalactites are of a colour like sugar-candy, and others resemble loaf sugar: but it is a pity that their beauty is now almost destroyed by the country people. The water, as it falls, runs down the declivity; and it is both wholesome and pleasant to drink when it has discharged its petrefying matter. It is remarkable, that we found several holes at the bottom of the cave, going down perpendicularly, perhaps, into the abyss, which renders it dangerous to be without a light. At the end of the cave there is a pretty run, which makes its course through part of it, and then loses itself among the rocks: here is also its exit by an aperture which is very narrow. Through this the vapours continually pass outwards, with a strong current of air; and, at night, these vapours ascending resemble a great furnace. Part of these vapours and fogs appear, on ascending, to be condensed at the head of this great alembic, and the more volatile parts to be carried off through the aperture communicating with the exterior air before-mentioned, by the force of the air in its passage.

I beg pardon for having troubled you with such a long detail. It appears strange to me that none of our philosophers have hitherto published a true account of this remarkable Grotto.

The African Society.

THIS Society have made farther progress, and compiled another report, which is printed and distributed to the subscribers, and to them only. The title of the Report is,

“*Elucidations of the African Geography, from the Communications of Major Houghton and Mr. Magra, 1791. Compiled in 1793.*”

The compilation, as it is modestly called, is performed with the same elegance and propriety as in the former reports. They were written by Mr. Beaufoy—the present report is by Major Rennell. The material passages are to the effect which follows:

The communications of major Houghton and Mr. Magra contain some curious particulars relative to the river Niger. The one account was collected at Tunis, the other at Senegal. Both fix its course from west to east—both fix its course far westward from Tumbuctoo.

The expectations of major Houghton were, that the source, and even the navigable part of the river, would be found not far to the eastward of Bambouk; and his information on which he forms this idea, communicates to his readers the same sort of expectation founded on evidence that is presumptive.

Major Houghton ascended the river Gambia to Fattatenda, near Medina. He struck to E. N. E. to Cacullo, in the route to Tumbuctoo.

His computed distance by land was 150 road miles, for which, perhaps, 108 geographic miles, in direct distance, may be allowed.

The

The interval between Medina and Cacullo is new ground in geography! It differs in extent 27 miles from Danville's map of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, taking it for granted that Medina, which does not appear in any former map of this tract, is 26 miles from Fattatenda, and a few miles of the Gambia.

Cacullo is the fixed point where this new geography begins, seven or eight miles north of Sambanoura; its latitude is 13. 54. and so far not disagreeing from Danville. From the sea coast the distance is 400 geographic miles from the mouth of the Gambia on the west, and 370 from Sierra Leona on the S. S. W.

The longitude must rest on authorities much less sure—as the tracing of crooked rivers like those of Senegal and Gambia, and on caravan journeys, which, after the most laboured comparisons, must be vague; for the computations of the best travellers, Holford, Hunter, Carmichael, Capper, and Rennell, vary all the one from the other. The nearest probable allowance is well taken by Mr. R. at 14 geographical miles in a day.

Thus, therefore, reasoning or conjecturing for the longitude, Fort St. Joseph ought to fall at more than 40 geographic miles to the eastward of the position in the former map; and this is the more likely to be right, as it approaches the mean distance in the differences of the same geography, as laid down by Danville and Delisle.

Cacullo in Danville, and in the travels of Labat, is deduced from Fort St. Joseph, and therefore must be moved further to the east.

There appears to be two routes from Medina in Woolles to Tombuctoo, with several branches in the northern, after passing Bambouk and Fort St. Joseph; by one of these major Houghton meant to have gone, viz. by that which leads to the Senegal river at Gujuga (the Juga of Danville and Delisle), situated as much above Sambanoura as the last is above Medina. From Gujuga he would have passed by Saba and Boromia, and through Bambara to Tombuctoo. But he could not discover all the particulars of the route.

The other branches of the northern route, used by the slavers or slave merchants, are through Dramanet (native name, perhaps, for Fort St. Joseph), along the Red River by Jaffnoo, Desut, Jago, Messina, and Jennie—the last is the capital of Bambara in the Niger, twenty-five days navigation against the currents of Tombuctoo.

All these routes pass through the country of the Bambara.

A second route is across the river at Louton, near the falls of Fetou, through Capon to Bambara.

The southern route was given to major Houghton by Samhoo, king of Bambouk, and is as follows:

From Fallulende on the Gambia, by Barraconde, to Ferbonne Tenda, to Concoudon (in Delisle), and to Gadon and Provence in the eastern quarter of Bambouk, where our knowledge on the map ends.

Gadon may be 100 miles E. by S. of Sumbanoure, and is in Danville and Labat. The remaining parts in this route are Badon, Tulega, Sago, Gamine, Sansanding, Sahras, Irenu (capital of Bambare), Tonkedo, and Tombuctoo.

Unfor-

Unfortunately no idea is given of the distances in these routes, or of the lines of directions, further than major Houghton says, the Toleba river runs from south to north, to Iceure, and then eastwardly to Tombuctoo.

It is probable that the route of the slates or slave merchants, through Capon, may be to the northward of this direction.

Major Houghton's new guide told the king he should be ninety days going to Tombuctoo and returning by Bambouk. This includes the time requisite for himself and his beasts, and therefore implies a distance of less than forty-five days, perhaps forty-two.

Ben Ali reports it to be forty-eight days from Fort St. Joseph, but he went circuitously by Jeffnor and Dessel; and the report of major Houghton's guide is to be preferred to that of Ben Ali, who spoke on the fallible recollection of twenty years.

Jennie, or Genne (for major Houghton and Mr. Magra spell it differently), occurs in N. and S. route.

It appears also, that though the navigation required twenty-five days against the stream to Jennie, the land journey might be performed in ten days. And thus a point is established on the Niger, ten land journies to the south-west of Tombuctoo.

Masina, in the account of major Houghton, and Masheena in Hasy Asifs (belonging to a large town on the same river, at ten days navigation above Tombuctoo), "a coincidence of names and positions certainly warranting," as the compiler well remarks, "some degree of

confidence in the general scope of the intelligence.

Beyond Gadon the maps give no information; the interval, therefore, between Gadon and Jennie remain to be discussed.

The king of Bambouk informed major Houghton, that Manding was beyond Gadon, viz. E. of it. It is the country of the Sousos in Danville. And the major also learned, that there, or at Jennie, were decked vessels, in which he might embark, with the stream, to Tombuctoo. If this be so, the source of the Joliba, our Niger, cannot be far from the eastern frontier of Bambouk.

So far major Houghton.

The date of his letters was July 15, 1791, from Ferbanna, the capital of Bambouk; April 27, 1791, was the letter before it.

From Mr. Magra.

This is the substance of the report, much of which came from the traveller Hasy Asifs, who had lived thirteen years at Tombuctoo; who had ascended the Niger through its whole navigable course. His intelligence is totally unconnected with major Houghton's. He says, "The river is traceable to Bornacoo, thirty-eight journies by water, against the stream from Tombuctoo; that the country abounds with gold; that it is no more than twenty days journey from the English settlements on the coast; that the river springs from a high ridge of mountains; that in ascending the river the sun rose at the back of his head, and set in his face."

This shews a course with much westing in it: yet as the clouds lay
in

in the tropic, nothing can be inferred from it unless the season was known. But there can be little doubt the course of the river runs to the north-east.

The distance between Tombuctoo and Bomacoo, seems too short to answer the interval between Tombuctoo and Bambouk. Thirty-eight days navigation against the current cannot be more than twenty seven days caravan journies in direct distance. And Hary Asifs says, he went up the river to Jennie in twenty days, and he had gone the same distance by land in ten days.

Bambouk and Bomacoo are, not untenably supposed to be the same.

Of the Senegal river, above the falls of Gouinia, no particulars are known, but that the route of the slave merchants is along its banks to Galama, which Danville places at 160 geographic miles above Guinia; and Delisle, more reasonably, states at 40 miles.

About Galama, Danville thinks the river comes from the east—Delisle from east south-east: each carries it clear of the supposed head of the Niger; but there is no authority to determine which is right.

Delisle also considered the space between Bambouk and Tombuctoo more contracted than the latter maps have made it. But, probably, here he was in extremes.

The country of Bambara, of which Jennie is the capital, occupies most of the river Niger to within six water journies of its source. The river receives several streams from the west before Tombuctoo. There it divides into two streams, the smaller passing close to Tombuctoo, the main branch going

to Houssa, a considerable city a few days journey to Tombuctoo.

Thus the source of the Niger is approached, and its course ascertained from west to east.

Major Houghton once thought that he might find in this river the remote source of the Nile, but it is improbable. The distance is 1800 geographic miles in a direct line, from the source of the Niger to the influx of the White River. And yet more, that the Nile, after receiving such an accession of waters as the Niger, and its streams are collected in 1800 miles, that after all the Nile should not be a greater river than it is.

The river Niger is at its highest pitch in August, when swollen by periodical rains. The Nile also then is at its height. It would take a month for the waters of Tombuctoo to run into Egypt, and therefore the Nile must swell from the rains in Abyssinia, which fall periodically in July and August, and which are supposed to be carried off by the Nile.

The seasons in this part of Africa are stated by major Houghton to be curiously similar to the Indian monsoons. The dry easterly winds end in April, then the south-west breezes set in.—June 3d entered on the periodical rains, which ended in September.

Whether Houssa be a town or a country, is not ascertained. The direction of the river from Tombuctoo is also not yet known. Whether it communicates with Bambouk and Houssa—whether its course is continuous, or whether there be an intervening lake, is not yet known; and through such an interval (700 miles) it must be impossible to guess.

The

The merchants at Tunis told Mr. Magra, that Houssa was a country north of Tunis. Some said it was inhabited by negroes, some by Arabs; but all agreed there was a region called Soussa to inhabit.

These positions do not contradict what have gone before on some leading geographical points in the middle and northern Africa. On the contrary, the positions of Castinah and Agadez, are rather confirmed by the communications from Mr. Magra, viz. Agadez, 976 geographical miles from Tunis, stands 995 on the map of the association, 1790; and Castinah stands 1300 from Tunis, instead of 1230; a difference, major Rennel thinks, not to be regarded in such an extent of distance. Godamshe is stated 352 miles from Tunis.

P. S. The last letter from major Houghton was Sept. 1, 1791, written in pencil to Dr. Laidley, on the Gambia river. The characters in pencil were almost obliterated when it arrived; but it appeared that the major was in good health, and had been robbed of all his goods.

The letter seems to be dated from Simbing: no such name appears in existing maps, or in the documents before the association. If it may be supposed that the initial be obliterated, and that the word may have been Timbing, then it may answer to the Timbe of Danville, eight journeys short of Tombuctoo.

But this appears uncertain.

The communication of the society is further enriched by two charts, under the direction of major Rennel.

1. A sketch of the north part of Africa.

2. A sketch of major Houghton's track to Bambouk, his intended route to Tombuctoo, and of the slave merchants from Gallem to Bambara.

Account of an extraordinary Change, not hitherto described, which, under certain Circumstances, takes place in the Human Body after Death. By M. Thouret, from Medical Facts and Observations, vol. i. 8vo.

THIS paper relates to the removal of the bodies from the church and church-yard of the Holy Innocents at Paris. M. Thouret, who is a very respectable physician in that city, and already well known to the publick by his writings, gives an account of a very extraordinary change to which the human body, under certain circumstances, is subject after death.

The situation of the burial-place in question, in the centre of the city of Paris, has, for a great length of time, pointed it out as a nuisance to the publick. Its supposed unhealthiness occasioned it to be a subject of inquiry so long ago as the year 1557, when two physicians, Fernelius and Houllier, were directed by government to examine it; and in 1737 a committee of the Academy of Sciences was appointed for the same purpose. On both these occasions the removal of it was earnestly recommended; but it does not appear that any steps were taken to remedy the inconvenience complained of till the year 1780, when an order was issued to prevent any more burials in this spot. This regulation, however,

ever, M. Thouret observes, which might have been sufficient in the generality of places of this kind, where the bodies, being but thinly interspersed in the earth, are speedily destroyed, was altogether inadequate to the evil in the present instance, the soil being here so saturated with animal matter as to be no longer capable of any action on the more recent bodies accumulated within it.

M. Thouret observes, that, since the year 1186, this place has served as a common burial place for the greater part of the city of Paris; and that for a great number of years past, from 2500 to 3000 bodies have been interred in it annually. He has been assured, it seems, that in a somewhat less space than 30 years, upwards of 80,000 bodies were interred in it by the last sexton. This immense collection of dead bodies occupied, we are told, a surface of more than 10,000 square feet. They were accumulated for the most part, in common graves, or pits, from 25 to 30 feet deep, each of which was large enough to contain from 12 to 1500 coffins; and, as a proof how few bodies were buried in separate graves, we are told that the number of such interments seldom exceeded 200 annually.

At length, government having determined to remove this nuisance, the royal medical society were called upon to point out the best mode of doing it; and our author, who was one of the committee appointed by the society for that purpose, and who superintended the whole undertaking, now communicates the result of his observations on this subject to the publick. The operations lasted upwards of two years,

and, during that period, it seems, a layer of earth, from 8 to 10 feet deep, was removed from the surface of the burial ground to the extent of 12,000 square feet, and, besides a great number of separate graves, between 40 and 50 of the common receptacles were opened to the depth of 8 or 10 feet, and some of them to their very bottom, and about 20,000 bodies, buried at different periods, were removed with their coffins.

Amidst a great variety of appearances which so many bodies exhibited, from their having been interred a greater or less space of time, in separate graves or in the common receptacles, there was one extraordinary circumstance which soon struck our author's attention. This was the state of the coffins and bodies in the common pits. The coffins in these were, in general, firm, and in good preservation; and the earth that surrounded them was of a deep black colour; but, excepting this blackness, which had tinged the coffins externally, they retained their freshness, and within side the natural colour of the wood was easily distinguishable. The shrouds were observed to be in the same state of preservation, and the bodies themselves appeared to be undiminished in bulk. Upon removing the shroud, the fleshy parts of the bodies seemed to be preserved; the only change that was perceived consisted in their being converted, as it were, into a substance, the whiteness of which was heightened by the blackness of the surrounding soil.

The author tells us, that at first sight of this curious phenomenon he was inclined to consider it as the effect of lime spread over these bodies;

bodies ; but, upon examining them more attentively, he was soon convinced that he was wrong in this supposition, and he found that all the soft parts were converted into a white mass, more or less firm, and already known among the grave-diggers by the name of fat (gras). This mass, which exhibited no appearance of a fibrous texture, felt unctuous or soapy when rubbed between the fingers, and in a dry air grew harder, and even acquired a shining polish and a sort of metallic lustre, but became softer when exposed to a moist air.

In general, these masses, the author observes, preserves the entire shape of the limbs. Among the bodies which he found the most completely transformed into this substance, and which form a part of the collection he has made to illustrate the history of this phenomenon, several, he tells us, retain their natural shape, together with the features of the face, the eyes, eyebrows, and eyelids. The transmutation, he observes, is not confined to the surface of the body, but may be traced through every part of the muscles, ligaments, and tendons, and likewise through the different cavities, where all or the greater part of the viscera are found converted into the same substance ; which is also to be seen in the cavities of the bones, even in the cells of the diploe. It is found to affect the texture of the cartilages ; but the bones themselves, it seems, remain unaltered, as do likewise the hair and nails. There are likewise, we are told, certain colouring principles, such as the bile, the fluid of the bronchial glands, the pigmentum of the choroid, the red particles of the blood, and the

fibrous part of the muscles, which remain for a long time distinguishable in the mass that surrounds them.

The parts that have appeared to our author to be the most susceptible of this change have been the adipose and membranous. Some parts, he observes, evidently acquire it much sooner than others ; and he has found the blood-vessels of different viscera, particularly those of the liver, transformed into this mass, while the surrounding substance of the viscus itself had as yet undergone no such change.

He observes that, in general, the parts preserve their natural configuration in proportion to the quantity of adipose and lymphatic juices they contain, and in proportion to the density of their texture. Thus the brain, the heart, the liver, and some other viscera, it seems, change completely into this substance, and retain their original figure ; while of the intestines, and the spongy and vesicular texture of the lungs, only slight vestiges remain after this change ; and in these the fatty substance into which they are converted is of a much thinner consistence than in the other parts.

From a chemical analysis of this substance, for which our author acknowledges himself indebted to M. Fourcroy, it appears to consist of an oily principle, combined with volatile alkali, so as to form a soap. The oily basis of this ammoniacal soap, separated by acids, is described as a concrete substance, of a greyish yellow colour, and somewhat more fusible than wax ; combined with fixed or volatile alkali it forms, we are told, a firm soap.

M. Thouret remarks that it is not ductile under the fingers like wax,

wax, but that it crumbles into small, soft, and unctuous, fragments, like spermaceti, the substance with which he considers it as having the greatest analogy. Thus he observes that it chrsytallises like spermaceti, and dissolves even in a greater proportion than that does in heated alcohol; part of it separating again as the solution cools, in the form of small shining laminæ.

From these data our author is led to attempt a theory of the formation of this substances. He ascribes it to a peculiar modification of the putrid change that bodies undergo in the earth; and thinks that the origin of all the phenomena is to be sought for in the decomposition of water. It has been supposed, he observes, that, from a combination of phlogisticated with inflammable air, there results, during the putrefaction, volatile alkali; and the fixation of a larger proportion of inflammable air, and perhaps, also, of a certain quantity of dephlogisticated air, may, he thinks, give rise to a fat or oily substance, which, by uniting with the volatile alkali, forms a soap.

M. Thouret observes, that a concretion analogous to this substance is not foreign to the living animal economy; that it exists, as is well known, in large masses, in the cavities of the brain of the whale, and is distributed, by numerous vessels, through all the parts of that animal; and that it is also to be found in the bile, where, till of late, it has been taken for a resin. It has sometimes, he adds, been found extravasated in the liver when dried in the air, as was proved by the late M. Poullietier de la Salle, of Paris, who, having ex-

posed a human liver to the air for a considerable number of years, found it changed, at length, into a whitish mass, in its appearance not unlike agaric, and which, on exposure to a gentle heat, yielded a substance similar to spermaceti. M. Thouret assure us, his experiments have taught him that a substance of the same kind may be extracted in abundance from the brain of man and other animals. May it not, therefore, he asks, be latent in the living body, and intended to answer some purpose in the animal œconomy with which we are as yet unacquainted?

This singular transmutation, he observes, though it is found to affect bodies of both sexes, and of all ages, is subject, however, to some differences which have not escaped the notice of the grave-diggers, who have remarked that bodies which are the fattest and most compact pass the soonest into this state; that very dry and lean ones acquire more of the appearance of dry mummies and that lax and humid ones melt into water.

The transmutation, whatever may be its nature, takes place, we are told, indifferently in different kinds of earth. It likewise appears to be completed in a short space of time. The last great pits of the burial-place had been closed, it seems, only five years, and, from the surface to the bottom, all the bodies they contained, a very small number excepted, were found by our author transformed into the substance in question.

In general, however, the manner in which this transmutation, when once begun, goes on and is completed, appears to be not altogether uniform. In the pits, where it seemed

seemed to be the most completely effected, the greater number of bodies, we are told, were entirely transformed; but, on the other hand, in some the change appeared to be only just beginning to take place, while in others the decomposition was complete. In the small number that afforded no marks of it, the bones only remained, and these exhibited the common appearance. Were these, the author asks, the remains of bodies that had passed through this state, and had afterwards been totally destroyed? There were nothing, he observes, in the situation of these last that could explain the difference. They were found at all depths, and close to others in which the change was complete. In general, however, it seems, it was in the bodies at the greatest depth that the change appeared to take place the soonest; and these also seemed to be the last in which this fatty substance was destroyed. Our author found this fact confirmed by what he saw in two other burial-grounds at Paris.

It appears, from M. Thouret's observation, that the skin is the part in which this change first begins to take place, and that, after this, follow the fat, the muscles, and the viscera. In the early stage of the transmutation the texture of the skin, we are told, is still distinguishable, as is also the colour of the fat and of the muscles; and it is not till the fibrous texture of the latter has entirely disappeared that the change can be said to be complete. When this is accomplished, a decomposition begins to take place. This is first observable in the cavities of the body; and, as it advances, the bones become disunited, the fatty substance is gra-

dually dissolved, and at length there remain only slight appearances of it adhering to the surface of the bones; but in this state it has the consistence and colour of clay, or becomes dry or friable, and of a darker colour. M. Thouret supposes this to be the remains of the colouring principle, or of the earthy principle still combined with a little of the fatty substance.

The brain, according to our author, is the part that is the last destroyed.

As it is to the extrication of æriform fluids from the dead body during putrefaction, and to the reaction of those fluids on the body itself, that our author thinks we are to ascribe the formation of this substance, so he observes that it is not till the surrounding earth is saturated with these fluids that the change begins to take place. This saturation of the earth, he thinks, is proved by the black colour. Exposed to the air, it soon, he observes, loses its appearance, and becomes capable of dissolving the fatty substance in question. He has found this substance only in the common pits, where the surrounding earth has acquired this black colour: he has never been able to discover any traces of it in single graves; he therefore concludes, that an accumulation of animal bodies in large masses is requisite for its formation; and also that these masses must be sufficiently covered with earth to prevent the evaporation of the æriform fluids that are extricated; because, in proportion as these escape, the saturation of the surrounding earth becomes less complete.

But, besides the evaporation of these fluids, which takes place sooner or later, another cause is mentioned

tioned by our author, as contributing very powerfully to the destruction of the bodies thus transformed; and that is, the moisture of the soil, which, by reason of the soapy nature of the substance in question, is found to dissolve it very completely. The state of the earth in this respect, is, therefore, one of the principal circumstances on which the duration of this substance depends. Our author accordingly observed, that in the pits the least exposed to the sun, and which, from their situation in other respects, were most liable to moisture, the bodies were the most speedily decomposed. He has seen coffins in an inclined position, in one part of which, exposed to the action of moisture, the substance in question was completely dissolved, while in the dry part it had undergone no change.

Of this curious phenomenon, which seems hitherto to have escaped observation, M. Thouret remarks, that it adds new facts to the history of the decomposition of animal bodies in the earth, and may be considered as a particular species of mummification, which compared with that which produces the dry and fibrous mummy, shews us, in this way, a new process of Nature. Both these species of mummy, he observes, depend on the action of æriform fluids. Thus the destruction of the body takes place if these evaporate; the species of mummy, which is more immediately the subject of this paper, is produced if these fluids, when disengaged, are reflected on the soft parts of the body, or retained in their texture; and, on the other hand, the dry and fibrous mummy is formed whenever these same fluids are not at all, or imperfectly disengaged.

On similar principles, he thinks, may be explained the different circumstances observed in the decomposition of bodies in burial-grounds, whether in separate or in common graves: those circumstances, more especially, which may be ascribed to the nature of the soil. In general, he observes, they will depend on the facility with which it absorbs or transmits the different species of air extricated from bodies by putrefaction; and hence dry sand is, he thinks, the most favourable to the decomposition of bodies. This decomposition will also, he adds, be accelerated by calcareous earths, which are known to be very porous and permeable, and, for this reason, have been called putrid or septic earths. On the other hand, compact argillaceous earths, he observes, are found to retard this decomposition, as was mentioned by Messieurs Lemery, Geoffroy, and Hunauld, in their report to the Academy of Sciences, in 1738.

These facts, the author farther remarks, serve to shew how little foundation there is for the opinion commonly entertained relative to the conversion of the dead body into earth, no such appearance having been observed in any of the coffins that were entire. Neither, he adds, is what is usually imagined true, that the body is, in general, destroyed by worms, as these are found only near the surface of the earth, or in bodies that have been exposed to the air. His observations have convinced him that human bodies consigned to the earth insensibly exhale and evaporate in volatile principles; and for this reason it is, he thinks, that the soil of burial-places does not perceptibly accumulate.

Fairy-

Fairy-rings accounted for from a Note in the Botanic Garden, a Poem by Dr. Darwin.

THERE is a phenomenon, supposed to be electric, which is yet unaccounted for, I mean the fairy-rings, so often seen upon the grass. The numerous flashes of lightning which occur every summer are, I believe, generally discharged on the earth, and but seldom (if ever) from one cloud to another. Moist trees are the most frequent conductors of these flashes of lightning; and I am informed by purchasers of trees that innumerable ones are thus cracked and injured. At other times, larger parts or prominences of clouds, gradually sinking as they move along, are discharged on the moister parts of grassy plains. Now, this knob or corner of a cloud, in being attracted by the earth, will come nearly cylindrical, as loose wool would do when drawn out into a thread, and will strike the earth with a stream of electricity perhaps two or ten yards in diameter. Now, as a stream of electricity displaces the air it passes through, it is plain no part of the grass can be burnt by it, but just the external ring of the cylinder where the grass can have access to the air, since without air nothing can be calcined. This earth, after having been so calcined, becomes a richer soil, and either funguses or a bluer grass for many years mark the place. That lightning displaces the air in its passage is evinced by the loud crack that succeeds it, which is owing to the sides of the aerial vacuum clapping together when the lightning is withdrawn. That nothing will calcine without air is now well under-

stood from the acids produced in the burning of phlogistic substances, and may be agreeably seen by suspending a paper on an iron prong, and putting it into the centre of the blaze of an iron-furnace: it may be held there some seconds, and may be again withdrawn, without its being burnt, if it be passed quickly into the flame, and out again through the external part of it, which is in contact with the air. I know some circles of many yards diameter of this kind near Foremark in Derbyshire, which annually produce large white funguses, and stronger grass, and have done so, I am informed, above thirty years. This increased fertility of the ground, by calcination or charring, and its continuing to operate so many years, is well worth the attention of the farmer, and shews the necessity of paring and burning new turf in agriculture, which produces its effect not so much by the ashes of the vegetable fibres, as by charring the soil which adheres to them.

These situations, whether from eminence or moisture, which were proper once to attract and discharge a thunder-cloud, are more liable again to experience the same. Hence many fairy-rings are often seen near each other, either without intersecting each other, as I saw this summer in a garden in Nottingham, or intersecting each other, as described on Arthur's seat, near Edinburgh, in the Edinb. Trans. vol. ii. p. 3.

Description of the Tarantula, and Method taken to cure those bit by it.*

OF the various species of venomous insects, there is none of so singular a nature, or whose bite is

* For the natural history of this insect see our volume for 1782, p. 89.

attended with more astonishing and fatal effects than that now under consideration.

The tarantula is a native of Italy, and takes its name from Tarentum, a city of Apulia, near Naples. It is met with in other parts of Italy, but those of Apulia are the only sort reckoned dangerous.

Its usual habitation is in a cave, furrowed out by its claws in some dry and chalky soil. It generally remains in its cave during the day-time, coming out in search of its prey in the night. The peasants of Apulia have a particular mode of alluring it from its den, by making a soft hissing noise through an oaten pipe, which it imagines to be some favourite prey, whereupon it comes forth, and falls a victim to its voracity. A full grown tarantula is about the size of a nutmeg, but some old ones are considerably larger. It is furnished with eight feet, each of which has three joints, and is covered with a fine down. From the shoulders arise a pair of horns, which the creature makes use of in confining its prey, while it is killing it with its forceps. The body is of various colours, and covered with a long down or fine hair, of a dusky colour. It has eight eyes, which are large, and in continual motion.

The tarantula sleeps in its cave during the whole winter, and great part of the autumn and spring. It is a very singular observation made by Pliny, and confirmed by the Apulian peasants, that the young ones for their first food devour their parent, by extracting the juice out of different parts of her body, and then leaving it dead in the field, going in search of other prey.

The bite of a tarantula (as it is properly called) is a wound inflicted in a peculiar manner, and occasions a pain not unlike the sting of a bee. The creature pierces the skin with its forceps, and instantly injects from its mouth a poison into the wound. In a few hours the patient feels a numbness, and the part affected is marked with a livid circle, which soon after rises into a painful swelling; shortly after this the patient falls into a profound melancholy, breathes with difficulty, and at length loses all his sense and motion. Trembling, anger, laughter, joy, fear, and weeping, are strong symptoms attending a person bit by this insect, who would infallibly expire were not proper means used immediately to expel the poison. Medicine of no kind is of the least efficacy, musick being the only and sure remedy.

No sooner has the patient lost his sense and motion, than a musician who is sent for, tries several tunes, and when he has hit on one whose tones and modulations seem to suit the affected person, he is observed to make a faint motion:—he first moves his arm, next his legs, and by degrees his whole body, till he rises on his feet, and begins to dance, which some continue to do for several hours successively. After this he is put to bed, and when he has sufficiently recruited his strength, he is allured out of bed by the same tune, to take another dance, which exercise is repeated for seven or eight days, till the patient finding himself fatigued and unable to dance any longer, is known to be cured.

Perceiving himself thus wearied, he begins to recover his strength,
and

and awakes as one out of a profound sleep, without the smallest recollection of any thing that passed during his disorder.

If the cure be not completely effected, the patient continues melancholy, shuns society, and, if not closely watched, will, the first opportunity, drown himself. Such are the result and cure of the bite of the tarantula, according to the natives of Apulia, whose effects several learned and ingenious men have endeavoured to prove are an imposition and error. But, however, it has been asserted by those whose authority is indisputable, that the fact is not merely founded upon hearsay, but reason and experience.

Description of the Sugar-cane, and Conjectures respecting its Antiquity and Introduction into Europe, from B. Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. ii.

IN treating of the agriculture of the West India Islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their great staple commodity, sugar; a plant, which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the most valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *saccharum*. This word was corrupted in monkish Latin, into *zucharum*, and afterwards into *zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *agucar*, from whence *sugar*. The plant is a native of the East, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. Lucan, enumerating the eastern auxiliaries of Pompey, describes a

people who used the cane juice as a common drink: *Quique bibunt tenerd dulces ab arundine succos*.

At what time the Indians discovered the art of granulating the juice by evaporation, does not appear, but sugar probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea at a very early period. Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itself was unknown in christendom until the time of the croisades? Its cultivation, and the method of expressing and purifying the juice, as practised by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are described by Albertus and Aquensis, a monkish writer, who observes, that the christian soldiers in the holy land frequently derived refreshment and support, in a scarcity of provisions, by sucking the canes. It flourished also in the Morea and in the islands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was transported into Sicily; but the time is not precisely ascertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the second king of Sicily, to the monastery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding sugar-canes, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From Sicily the Spaniards are said to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary, and Cape de Verd islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way at an early period to Brazil and the West Indies; "producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru."

Such is the commonly received opinion respecting the history of this valuable

valuable production. Herrera positively asserts, that the sugar-cane was transplanted into Hispaniola, from the Canary islands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilon: but in this instance the respectable historian, however correct in general, is clearly mistaken; it appearing by the testimony of Peter Martyr, in the 3d book of his first decad. written during Columbus's second expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the sugar-cane was, at that period, sufficiently known in Hispaniola.

The fact seems to have been, that Columbus himself carried it thither among other articles and productions, which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary islands, in his second voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—"Ad foetus procreandos, equas, oves, juvenecas et plura alia cum sui generi masculis: legumina, triticum, hordeum, et reliqua iis similia, non solum alimenti, verum etiam seminundi, præfectus apparat: vites et aliarum nostratum arborum plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad eam important, nullus enim apud eas insulas notas arbores invenire præter pinus palmasque et eas altissimas, ac miræ duritiæ et proceritatis ac rectitudinis propter soli ubertatem; atque etiam ignotos fructus alias pluries procreantes. Terram aiunt esse teriarum omnium quas ambiunt sidera uberrimam." Although in this passage the sugar-cane is not expressly enumerated, it is evident that it was not considered by Columbus as a native of the country; for he could not possibly have been unacquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia and other parts in Spain;

yet he found, it seems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly discovered country of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the palm and the pine. That the cane was then there appears from a subsequent passage: in which, speaking of such vegetable productions as the Spaniards had sown or planted in an inclosed garden immediately after their arrival. Martyr has these words, which combined with the former, are, as I conceive, decisive of the question:—*Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres, et alia id genus in diem sextum et trigesimum carperunt. Sed nusquam se meliores unquam comedisse aiebant. Hæc hortensia, toto anno habent recentia. Cannarum radices ex quarum succo saccharum extorquetur, sed non coagulatur succus, cubitales cannas intra quindecim etiam diem emisserunt.*

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and industry, who maintain that the sugar-cane is a native both of the islands and the continent of America within the tropics; they assert, that it was found growing spontaneously in many parts of the new hemisphere when first explored by the Spanish invaders. P. Labat, who appears to have considered the question with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion, and he quotes, in support of it, among other authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Englishman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates sugar-canes among the fruits and provisions supplied the crew of his ship by the Charaibs of Guadaloupe. "Now," observes Labat, "it is a fact, that

that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the smaller Antilles. Their ships commonly touched at those islands indeed, for wood and water, and they left swine, in the view of supplying with fresh provisions such of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were absurd in the highest degree to suppose that they would plant sugar-canes, and put hogs ashore at the same time to destroy them.

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for bestowing this plant on islands which they considered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpose that has been mentioned; and to suppose that the Charaibs might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian disposition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have surer testimony, and such as proves beyond all contradiction, that the sugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, besides the evidence of Francis Zimenes, who in a treatise on American plants, printed at Mexico, asserts, that the sugar-cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate; we are assured by Jean de Leary, a protestant minister, who was chaplain in 1556 to the Dutch garrison in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himself found sugar-canes in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in situations never visited by the Portuguese. Father Hennepin and other voyagers bear testimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Mississippi; and Jean de Lact

to its spontaneous production in the island of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant, therefore, but from the secret of making sugar from it, that the West Indies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portuguese; and then to the nations of the East."

Such is the reasoning of Labat, which the learned Laftau has pronounced incontrovertible, and it is greatly strengthened by recent discoveries; the sugar-cane having been found in many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, by our late illustrious navigator captain Cook.

In these accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The sugar-cane might have grown spontaneously in many parts of the new world, and Columbus, unapprized of the circumstance, might likewise have carried some of the plants to Hispaniola, and such I believe was the fact. But be this as it may, the industry with which the Spanish settlers applied themselves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contrast to the manners of the present inhabitants; it appearing by the testimony of Oviedo, that no less than thirty *ingenios*, or sugar mills, were established on that island so early as 1535.

The botanical name of the sugar-cane is *arundi saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely and sharply serrated. The body of the cane is strong, but brittle, and when ripe, of a fine straw colour, inclinable to yellow; and it contains a soft pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice, of a sweetness the least cloying, and the most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature

nature of the soil. In general, it is from one to three inches in length, from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewise upon circumstances. In strong lands, and lands richly manured, I have seen some that measured twelve feet from the root to the upper joint. The general height, however (the flag part excluded), is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers or shoots.

Accout of the Pimento, or Allspice, from the same.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the most elegant productions in nature, a production which rivals the most valuable species of the East combining the flavour and properties of many of those spices; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable substitute and succedaneum for them all.

The pimento trees grow spontaneously, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly situations, near the sea, on the northern side of that island; where they form the most delicious groves that can possibly be imagined; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality though in a very distant part of the globe, to our great poet's description of those balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

"Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest ———
Cheered with the grateful smell old
ocean smiles."

This tree is purely a child of na-

ture, and seems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new pimento plantation (in Jamaica it is called a *walk*) is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of woodland in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months after the first season, abundance of young pimento plants will be found growing vigorously in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries scattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both shelter and shade. At the end of two years it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleansing, leaving such only of the pimento trees as have a good appearance, which will then soon form such groves as those I have described, and, except perhaps for the first or four five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young pimento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all sides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay tree; and these, in the months

months of July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and I am told will yield in distillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly used in the medicinal dispensaries of Europe for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in blossom the berries become fit for gathering; the fruit not being suffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that state being moist and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and when dry becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible, however, to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is considerably injured.

It is gathered by the hand; one labourer on the tree will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries, and an industrious picker will fill a bag of 70lbs. in a day. It is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for about seven days, in the course of which it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The returns from a pimento walk, in a favourable season, are prodigious; a single tree has been known to yield 150lbs. of the raw fruit, or one hundred weight of the dried spice; there being commonly a loss in weight of one third in curing; but, this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the Bri-

tish market, as may be supposed, fluctuates accordingly; but, I believe, its average for some years past may be put at ten pence the pound, including the duty, which is three pence.

This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however so little profit to the owner, compared with that of some other productions, that the growth of pimento decreases every year, many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces pimento) is about 6000 bags of 112lbs. each.

Account of the Animals of New South Wales, from Hunter's Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island.

THE animal described in the voyage of the Endeavour, called the Kangaroo, (but by the natives Patagarang,) we found in great numbers; one was shot which weighed 140 pounds, its tail was 40 inches long, and 17 in circumference at the root; it is very well described in Phillip's voyage: "We ate the flesh with great relish, and I think it good mutton, although not so delicate as that which we find in Leadenhall market. The strength this animal has in its hind quarters is very great: in its endeavours to escape from us, when surprised, it springs from its hind legs, which are very long, and leaps at each bound about six or eight yards, but does not appear in running to let its fore feet come near

tioned by our author, as contributing very powerfully to the destruction of the bodies thus transformed; and that is, the moisture of the soil, which, by reason of the soapy nature of the substance in question, is found to dissolve it very completely. The state of the earth in this respect, is, therefore, one of the principal circumstances on which the duration of this substance depends. Our author accordingly observed, that in the pits the least exposed to the sun, and which, from their situation in other respects, were most liable to moisture, the bodies were the most speedily decomposed. He has seen coffins in an inclined position, in one part of which, exposed to the action of moisture, the substance in question was completely dissolved, while in the dry part it had undergone no change.

Of this curious phenomenon, which seems hitherto to have escaped observation, M. Thouret remarks, that it adds new facts to the history of the decomposition of animal bodies in the earth, and may be considered as a particular species of mummification, which compared with that which produces the dry and fibrous mummy, shews us, in this way, a new process of Nature. Both these species of mummy, he observes, depend on the action of æriform fluids. Thus the destruction of the body takes place if these evaporate; the species of mummy, which is more immediately the subject of this paper, is produced if these fluids, when disengaged, are reflected on the soft parts of the body, or retained in their texture; and, on the other hand, the dry and fibrous mummy is formed whenever these same fluids are not at all, or imperfectly disengaged.

On similar principles, he thinks, may be explained the different circumstances observed in the decomposition of bodies in burial-grounds, whether in separate or in common graves: those circumstances, more especially, which may be ascribed to the nature of the soil. In general, he observes, they will depend on the facility with which it absorbs or transmits the different species of air extricated from bodies by putrefaction; and hence dry sand is, he thinks, the most favourable to the decomposition of bodies. This decomposition will also, he adds, be accelerated by calcareous earths, which are known to be very porous and permeable, and, for this reason, have been called putrid or septic earths. On the other hand, compact argillaceous earths, he observes, are found to retard this decomposition, as was mentioned by Messieurs Lemery, Geoffroy, and Hunauld, in their report to the Academy of Sciences, in 1738.

These facts, the author farther remarks, serve to shew how little foundation there is for the opinion commonly entertained relative to the conversion of the dead body into earth, no such appearance having been observed in any of the coffins that were entire. Neither, he adds, is what is usually imagined true, that the body is, in general, destroyed by worms, as these are found only near the surface of the earth, or in bodies that have been exposed to the air. His observations have convinced him that human bodies consigned to the earth insensibly exhale and evaporate in volatile principles; and for this reason it is, he thinks, that the soil of burial-places does not perceptibly accumulate.

Fairy-

*Fairy-rings accounted for from a
Note in the Botanic Garden, a
Poem by Dr. Darwin.*

THERE is a phænomenon, supposed to be electric, which is yet unaccounted for, I mean the fairy-rings, so often seen upon the grass. The numerous flashes of lightning which occur every summer are, I believe, generally discharged on the earth, and but seldom (if ever) from one cloud to another. Moist trees are the most frequent conductors of these flashes of lightning; and I am informed by purchasers of trees that innumerable ones are thus cracked and injured. At other times, larger parts or prominences of clouds, gradually sinking as they move along, are discharged on the moister parts of grassy plains. Now, this knob or corner of a cloud, in being attracted by the earth, will come nearly cylindrical, as loose wool would do when drawn out into a thread, and will strike the earth with a stream of electricity perhaps two or ten yards in diameter. Now, as a stream of electricity displaces the air it passes through, it is plain no part of the grass can be burnt by it, but just the external ring of the cylinder where the grass can have access to the air, since without air nothing can be calcined. This earth, after having been so calcined, becomes a richer soil, and either funguses or a bluer grass for many years mark the place. That lightning displaces the air in its passage is evinced by the loud crack that succeeds it, which is owing to the sides of the ærial vacuum clapping together when the lightning is withdrawn. That nothing will calcine without air is now well under-

stood from the acids produced in the burning of phlogistic substances, and may be agreeably seen by suspending a paper on an iron prong, and putting it into the centre of the blaze of an iron-furnace: it may be held there some seconds, and may be again withdrawn, without its being burnt, if it be passed quickly into the flame, and out again through the external part of it, which is in contact with the air. I know some circles of many yards diameter of this kind near Foremark in Derbyshire, which annually produce large white funguses, and stronger grass, and have done so, I am informed, above thirty years. This increased fertility of the ground, by calcination or charring, and its continuing to operate so many years, is well worth the attention of the farmer, and shews the necessity of paring and burning newturf in agriculture, which produces its effect not so much by the ashes of the vegetable fibres, as by charring the soil which adheres to them.

These situations, whether from eminence or moisture, which were proper once to attract and discharge a thunder-cloud, are more liable again to experience the same. Hence many fairy-rings are often seen near each other, either without intersecting each other, as I saw this summer in a garden in Nottingham, or intersecting each other, as described on Arthur's seat, near Edinburgh, in the Edinb. Trans. vol. ii. p. 3.

Description of the Tarantula, and
Method taken to cure those bit by it.*

OF the various species of venomous insects, there is none of so singular a nature, or whose bite is

* For the natural history of this insect see our volume for 1782, p. 89.
VOL. XXXV. X attended

attended with more astonishing and fatal effects than that now under consideration.

The tarantula is a native of Italy, and takes its name from Tarentum, a city of Apulia, near Naples. It is met with in other parts of Italy, but those of Apulia are the only sort reckoned dangerous.

Its usual habitation is in a cave, furrowed out by its claws in some dry and chalky soil. It generally remains in its cave during the day-time, coming out in search of its prey in the night. The peasants of Apulia have a particular mode of alluring it from its den, by making a soft hissing noise through an oaten pipe, which it imagines to be some favourite prey, whereupon it comes forth, and falls a victim to its voracity. A full grown tarantula is about the size of a nutmeg, but some old ones are considerably larger. It is furnished with eight feet, each of which has three joints, and is covered with a fine down. From the shoulders arise a pair of horns, which the creature makes use of in confining its prey, while it is killing it with its forceps. The body is of various colours, and covered with a long down or fine hair, of a dusky colour. It has eight eyes, which are large, and in continual motion.

The tarantula sleeps in its cave during the whole winter, and great part of the autumn and spring. It is a very singular observation made by Pliny, and confirmed by the Apulian peasants, that the young ones for their first food devour their parent, by extracting the juice out of different parts of her body, and then leaving it dead in the field, going in search of other prey.

The bite of a tarantula (as it is properly called) is a wound inflicted in a peculiar manner, and occasions a pain not unlike the sting of a bee. The creature pierces the skin with its forceps, and instantly injects from its mouth a poison into the wound. In a few hours the patient feels a numbness, and the part affected is marked with a livid circle, which soon after rises into a painful swelling; shortly after this the patient falls into a profound melancholy, breathes with difficulty, and at length loses all his sense and motion. Trembling, anger, laughter, joy, fear, and weeping, are strong symptoms attending a person bit by this insect, who would infallibly expire were not proper means used immediately to expel the poison. Medicine of no kind is of the least efficacy, music being the only and sure remedy.

No sooner has the patient lost his sense and motion, than a musician who is sent for, tries several tunes, and when he has hit on one whose tones and modulations seem to suit the affected person, he is observed to make a faint motion:—he first moves his arm, next his legs, and by degrees his whole body, till he rises on his feet, and begins to dance, which some continue to do for several hours successively. After this he is put to bed, and when he has sufficiently recruited his strength, he is allured out of bed by the same tune, to take another dance, which exercise is repeated for seven or eight days, till the patient finding himself fatigued and unable to dance any longer, is known to be cured.

Perceiving himself thus wearied, he begins to recover his strength, and

and awakes as one out of a profound sleep, without the smallest recollection of any thing that passed during his disorder.

If the cure be not completely effected, the patient continues melancholy, shuns society, and, if not closely watched, will, the first opportunity, drown himself. Such are the result and cure of the bite of the tarantula, according to the natives of Apulia, whose effects several learned and ingenious men have endeavoured to prove are an imposition and error. But, however, it has been asserted by those whose authority is indisputable, that the fact is not merely founded upon hearsay, but reason and experience.

Description of the Sugar-cane, and Conjectures respecting its Antiquity and Introduction into Europe, from B. Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. ii.

IN treating of the agriculture of the West India Islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their great staple commodity, sugar; a plant, which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the most valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *saccharum*. This word was corrupted in monkish Latin, into *zucharum*, and afterwards into *zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *acucar*, from whence *sugar*. The plant is a native of the East, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. Lucan, enumerating the eastern auxiliaries of Pompey, describes a

people who used the cane juice as a common drink: *Quique bibunt tenerd dulces ab arundine succos*.

At what time the Indians discovered the art of granulating the juice by evaporation, does not appear, but sugar probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea at a very early period. Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itself was unknown in christiandom until the time of the croisades? Its cultivation, and the method of expressing and purifying the juice, as practised by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are described by Albertus and Aquensis, a monkish writer, who observes, that the christian soldiers in the holy land frequently derived refreshment and support, in a scarcity of provisions, by sucking the canes. It flourished also in the Morea and in the islands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was transported into Sicily; but the time is not precisely ascertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the second king of Sicily, to the monastery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding sugar-canes, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From Sicily the Spaniards are said to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary, and Cape de Verd islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way at an early period to Brazil and the West Indies; "producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru."

Such is the commonly received opinion respecting the history of this valuable

the autumn they go into the stalls during the day.

One may easily conjecture what an immense quantity of dung the farmers must get; they make, however, no inquiry towards improvement—no combined system of agriculture; they are chiefly guided by common observations and old practices. The dung is thrown into the yard; it is pierced by the rain that falls upon it, which carries away all its substance into the pond of the yard, where all the animals come to drink; and if there is too much water, they loose a little flood-gate, and the water runs into the ditches.

Our farmer has 27 cart-horses for his use, near 40 cows, a beautiful bull, and a fine stallion. He brings up all his calves, and nearly 25 colts a year, besides 600 sheep, 200 hogs, fowls, ducks, and turkeys; he has near 15 servants, whom he feeds all the year; they eat three times a day, and drink, according to my taste, very bad beer. He lives very well, drinks wine, which is very dear in that country; he eats, with his little family in a room distinct from that where his servants eat; he has a good saddle-horse to ride over his fields, where he also goes a shooting, for he never sets about working himself, unless it be to cure sick horses or young cattle.

*State of Agriculture in Japan, from Thunberg's Travels. **

AGRICULTURE is in the highest esteem with the Japanese, insomuch that (the most barren and untractable mountains

excepted) one sees here the surface of the earth cultivated all over the country, and most of the mountains and hills up to their very tops. Neither rewards nor encouragements are necessary in a country, where the tillers of the ground are considered as the most useful class of citizens, and where they do not groan under various oppressions, which in other countries have hindered, and ever must hinder the progress of agriculture. The duties paid by the farmer of his corn in kind are indeed very heavy, but in other respects he cultivates his land with greater freedom, than the lord of a manor in Sweden. He is not hindered two days together at a time, in consequence of furnishing relays of horses, by which he perhaps earns a groat, and often returns with the loss of his horses: he is not dragged from his field and plough to transport a deserter or a prisoner to the next castle: nor are his property and his time wasted in making roads, building bridges, alms-houses, parsonage-houses and magazines. His days are not consumed in journies after poles and stakes in winter, nor with the almost endless occupation of fencing in his grounds, sunk up to the ancles in mire and clay, in spring. He knows nothing of the impediments and inconveniences which attend the maintenance and equipment of horse and foot soldiers. And what contributes still more to his happiness, and leaves sufficient scope for his industry in cultivating his land, is this, that he has only one master, viz. his feudal lord, without being under the command of a host of masters, as with us.

* Other information respecting Japan, extracted from the former part of Professor Thunberg's Travels, may be found in the 23d volume of this work—p. 66-71.

No parcelling out of the land forbids him to improve to the best advantage the portion he possesses, and no right of commonage, belonging to many, prevents each from deriving profit from his share. All are bound to cultivate their land, and if a husbandman cannot annually cultivate a certain portion of his fields, he forfeits them, and another, who can, is at liberty to cultivate them. Thus he is enabled to direct all his thoughts and all his time to the cultivation of his land, an employment, in which he is assisted by his wife and children. Meadows are not to be met with in the whole country; on the contrary, every spot of ground is made use of either for corn-fields, or else for plantations of esculent-rooted vegetables. So that the land is neither wasted upon extensive meadows, for the support of cattle and saddle-horses, nor upon large and unprofitable plantations of tobacco, nor is it sown with seed for any other still less necessary purpose; which is the reason that the whole country is very thickly inhabited and populous, and can without difficulty give maintenance to all its innumerable inhabitants.

There is no part of the world, where manure is gathered with greater care than it is here, inso-much that nothing that can be converted to this use is thrown away or lost. The cattle are fed at home the whole year round, so that all their excrements are confined to the farm yards, and it is a very common spectacle to see old men and children following the horses that are used in travelling, with a shell (*haliotis tuberculata*) fastened to the end of a stick, in order to collect the ordure from off the high-

ways, which is carried home in a basket. Nay, even urine itself, which the Europeans so seldom turn to the advantage of their fields, is here carefully collected in large earthen pots, which are to be found sunk in the earth here and there in different parts, not only in the villages, but even beside the highways. Nor is the Japanese more scrupulous and exact in collecting every material fit for manure, than his mode of applying it is different from that of other countries. He does not carry out his manure either in winter or in summer into his fallow fields, to be dried up there by the scorching heat of the sun, and to have its nutritive qualities weakened by the evaporation of the volatile salts and of its oily particles; but on the other hand, gives himself the disgusting trouble of mixing up manure of various sorts, the excrements both of man and beast, with water and urine, together with every kind of refuse from the kitchen, till it becomes a perfect hodge-podge; this he carries in two large pails into his field, and with a ladle pours it upon the plant, which has now attained to the height of about six inches, and receives the whole benefit of it, at the same time that the liquor penetrates immediately to the root. By this mode of manuring, and at the same time by the farmer's indefatigable weeding, the fields are so completely cleared of weeds, that the most sharp-sighted botanist would be scarcely able to discover a single plant of another species among the corn.

The pains which a farmer takes to cultivate the sides of even the steepest hills, is almost incredible. If the place be even no more than

two feet square, he nevertheless raises a wall of stones at the bottom of the declivity, fills the part above this with earth and manure, and sows this little plot of ground with rice or esculent-rooted vegetables. Thousands of these beds adorn most of their mountains, and give them an appearance which excites the greatest astonishment in the breasts of the spectators.

Rice is their principal corn. Buck-wheat, rye, barley, and wheat are very little used. Among their esculent-rooted vegetables *batatas* (*convolvulus edulis*) are the most abundant, and the most palatable. Several sorts of beans and peas are planted in abundance, as likewise alliaceous plants, turnips, and coleworts; from the seeds of which last they express an oil for their lamps, and whose yellow flowers give to whole fields together a most beautiful appearance in spring.

In the beginning of April, the farmer begins to dig up the land, which he designs for the cultivation of rice. It lies at this time almost entirely under water, with banks raised round the sides. The furrows are made with a rather crooked hand-bill, about a foot long and a hand broad, fastened to a handle. The rice-grain is always sown first, in a plot of ground very close and thick, as cole-seed is in boxes. Afterwards when it is grown up to the height of six inches, it is taken up and planted out in a manner similar to colewort plants, in the rice-grounds, several plants together in tufts, leaving the space of six inches between each tuft. This is always the women's work, who wade about in water, that is at least six inches deep.

In the month of November it is

ripe, and is then mown, and, after being bound up in bundles, carried home. The mere striking of the ears against a barrel, or any other hard body, causes the corn to fall from the stalk, so that in this respect no long and tedious threshing is necessary: but before the husk can be separated from the pure grain, a second threshing, or stamping is necessary, which is seldom set about before the grain is wanted to be used. Thus it is carried to different places, and sold there entirely unstamped. The stamping of it in small is performed in the following manner. A block of wood is hollowed out, and this cavity is filled with rice, which they pound with a wooden pestle, till it separates from the husk. In the great farms this stamping is performed not only by means of a machine, consisting of a number of pestles, which are set in motion by a water-wheel; but likewise by a similar machine, which a man treads with his foot, and during the stamping, stirs with a stick in the hopper, so that the grain can run down. The rice in this country is accounted the best in all the East-Indies, and is extremely white, glutinous, and more nutritive than any other.

Buck-wheat (*polygonum-fagopyrum*) is most commonly used when ground to meal, and made into small cakes, which, after being boiled, and frequently at the same time coloured, are baked, and are sold in the villages and at the baiting-places for a mere trifle, to travellers and their bearers.

Wheat (*tritium aestivum et hybernium*) is sown in the month of November, and cut down ripe in June. It is used in general in the form of fine meal; of this they make

make small cakes, which are eaten in a soft state.

Barley (*hordeum*) is sown at different seasons of the year, sometimes in November, sometimes in December, and at times in the month of October. It is cut down, dried, and threshed, either towards the latter end of May, or in the beginning of June. The fields in this country often resemble cabbage-gardens with their beds, which are frequently no more than a foot in breadth, and separated from each other by a deep furrow or trench, which is likewise a foot broad. In these narrow beds the corn is sown straight across in rows, which leave an empty space between them. I have sometimes however seen the corn sown lengthways in the beds, in which case there were only two rows. I have likewise had an opportunity of observing, that when the corn has grown to the height of about a foot, that before it has put forth the ear, the farmer has dug up, as it were, these small trenches, and very carefully put earth about the roots, whence the corn has both received manure and been watered. I was informed, that after a certain stated time the trenches are filled up with earth, and what before constituted the beds, is converted into trenches. In some places likewise the corn was found to be blighted, a calamity to which, however, the seed is more liable in Europe. As soon as the corn is cut down, they frequently sow another kind of corn, or even French beans, (*phaseoli*) between the stubble, either across it or in furrows, so that the land is actually sown twice in the year, although upon different places, without fresh carting or other at-

tendance. They use this corn chiefly for fodder for their horses and other animals. It is likewise at times ground down to fine flour, of which they make small soft cakes.

Cole-seed (*brassica orientalis*) is cultivated in great abundance in every province. In the month of April, the fields all over the country appear gilt with the flowers of this plant. They make no use of the root; but the seed, which ripens in May, yields, on being pressed, an oil, which is used every where for lamp-oil. The plant the Japanese call *na tanne*, and the oil *natanne abra*, or *natanne no abra*.

Barley, wheat, and cole-seed, are all of them threshed out at times quite in a plain and artless manner, upon straw mats, in the open air, in the villages, and not unfrequently before the doors of their houses, with flails, which have three swingles. And indeed some only beat the sheaves with the ears of corn against a barrel, vat, or the like, which causes the corn to drop out: this must afterwards be purged from the chaff and other impurities.

Of beans, peas, and lentils, many sorts are cultivated, both the larger (*phaseloi*), and the smaller (*dolichos*). Of *daidsu* beans (*dolichos soja*) the meal is used for dressing victuals, and the expressed juice for making soy; as is likewise the whole bean for the soup called *miso*, which is a daily dish with the common people. *Atsuki* beans likewise (*phascolus radiatus*) are ground to meal, of which small cakes are made with sugar. The common pea (*pisum sativum*), and the broad bean (*vicia faba*) I saw sown and made use of in some places. In like manner divers sorts
of

of grass are cultivated, for the sake of using their seeds for food both for man and beast, as the *awa* (*panicum verticillatum*), *kibi* (*holcus sorghum*), or millet; *ko kibi* (*panicum corri*), *nan ban kivi* (*cynosurus coracanus*), with several others. Turnips (*brassica rapa*) are sown in abundance, and are much used for food, as are likewise other esculent-rooted and bulbous plants, such as skirrets (*sium sisarum*), carrots (*daucus carota*), which here are of a colour very little inclined to yellow; radishes (*raphanus sativus*); batatas (*convolvulus edulus*); and, in a trifling quantity, potatoes (*solanum tuberosum*). In addition to these, lettuces (*lactuca sativa*); melons (*cucumis melo*), both with white and red pulp, to serve by way of desert at meals, and to refresh and cool the human body, and quench thirst in summer; pumpkins (*cucurbita pepo*), which are used in soups; cucumbers (*cucumis sativus*) both to be eaten raw, and for pickling; the conomon (*cucumis conomon*), for pickling and by way of dessert, as likewise to excite an appetite; *fokke fokkes*, or the fruit of the *solanum melongena*, to put into soups; calabasses, or bottle-gourds (*cucurbita lagenaria*), are cultivated for flasks and vessels of a similar kind. For seasoning are used, and sometimes cultivated, the *amomum mioga*, a new species of ginger; the pepper shrub (*fagara piperita*), of which both the leaves and fruit are taken, to give to soups and sauces a strong spicy savour; Cayenne pepper (*capsicum*), bamboo roots, and various sorts of mushrooms (*agarici*), which with these people are in great request, occur common in the shops, dried for sale, and are besides in almost daily

use, both for soups and sauces. The dessert at table consists of various well-tasted fruits, which are cultivated in the gardens, such as lemons, shadocks, Seville and China oranges; pears, peaches, plums, cherries, medlars (*mespilus Japonica*), figs of a very delicious taste (*diospyros kaki*), grapes (*vitis vinifera*), pomegranates (*punica granatum*), Spanish figs (*Cactus ficus*), chesnuts, walnuts, with a multiplicity of others. Hops (*humulus*) I saw in different parts, growing wild, but not cultivated nor made use of.

As every one's land lies open, without being fenced in with hurdles and pales, which are unknown in this country, it is very common to meet with a great number of culinary vegetables and kitchen-garden plants, growing wild in the open fields, and consequently there are no other gardens than those which are found near every house, which are of a very insignificant size, and are chiefly intended for the sake of ornament. In these are to be seen both trees, which make a splendid figure with their beautiful, large, and frequently double blossoms, and other vegetable productions, as well herbs as bulbous plants, adorned with the most elegant flowers, such as, for instance, the *azalea Indica*, *nandina domestica*, *prunus cerasus*, *gardenia florida*, *aucuba Japonica* the *spirea*, *magnolia*, the *tagetes patula*, *celosia christata*, *hovenia dulcis*, *aster Chinensis*, *pæonia officinalis*, *chrysanthemum Indicum*, *calendula officinalis*, *impatiens*, *balsamina*, *mirabilis dichotoma*, and an infinite number of others.

For materials for dying, I saw them cultivate the *polygonum Chinense barbatum* and *aviculare*: all of

se produced a beautiful blue r, much like that from indigo. leaves were first dried, then led, and made into small , which were sold in the shops. these, I was told, they can nen, silk, and cotton. When oil them up for use, they add to them; and the stronger the tion is made, of so much the r blue is the colour obtained; ice versa.

3 cultivation of cotton and silk object of the greatest import- n this country, and furnishes lothing of many millions. is purpose they cultivate and every year the cotton shrub *pium herbaceum*,) which yields fine and white cotton, fit for , wadding, and other uses. cultivation of silk depends the planting and propagation : mulberry-tree, by means of an incredible number of silk- s are bred, and the raw silk is ced, of which are made stuffs, thread, wadding, and t many more articles, both of ment and use.

: varnish-tree (*rus vernix*), the or-tree (*laurus camphora*), the *pinus sylvestris*, the tea-tree (*bohea*), the cedar (*cupressus ca*), and the bamboo-cane, or *arundo bambos*), do not only wild in every part of the coun- ut are likewise cultivated in l places, on account of the advantages which the inhabi- derive from all these articles. bamboo-reeds serve them for pipes, for levers, for mak- skets and cabinets, for writ- ns, fans, &c. Firs serve to the courts and places in the y of their houses, and the is used for building, as like-

.. XXXV.

wise in handicraft trades of every kind, even in the finest lackered work. Cedars are used for naval craft, household furniture, and ca- binet-work, in the same manner as fir. The *varnish-tree* contains a milky juice, which is the best of all gums for lackering. The *camphor-tree* grows wild in great abundance in the neighbourhood of *Satsuma*, and on the *Gotho* islands. From this tree is prepared the chief part of the camphor that is used in Europe. The Japanese split the wood and roots into very fine pieces, boil it up with water in an iron pot, covered with a wooden lid, which has a deep concavity on the inside. In this concavity they fasten a piece of straw or hay, so that the cam- phor, when it rises, may adhere to it. The gum camphor, on being separated from the straw, is in grains, and is packed up in wooden casks, and sold to the Dutch company by weight.

As in the whole of this extensive empire, there is neither any tallow to be found, nor any butter churned, the inhabitants have turned their attention to supply the place of these articles, by using sweet oils, both for dressing victuals, and for burn- ing in the house. The seeds of the *rhys succedanea* indeed, yield, on being pressed, an oil which soon congeals to the consistence of tallow, and from which they prepare can- dles; but these are by no means so much in use as lamps. So they sometimes likewise manufacture candles from the coagulated oil of the *laurus camphora*, and *glauce*, of the *rhys vernix*, and the *melia aze- darach*. For burning in lamps again, to light up their rooms in winter, they make use of several sorts of oil, as for instance, that of the

Y

dryandra

dryandra cordata, &c. but especially and most commonly the *brassica orientalis*. The fine oil of *sesamum* they use in the kitchen, for frying fish, and dressing other dishes.

The sugar-maple does not, to my knowledge, grow in Japan, neither have sugar-canes been hitherto imported for cultivation; the Japanese interpreters nevertheless shewed me that they had a juice, from which sugar may be prepared. This, they informed me, was made from the juice of a certain tree, which grows upon the islands that surround Japan. It had a sweet taste, but was of a brownish colour, and a disagreeable aspect. So that if sugar be a necessary commodity for a country, it seems to be the only one, which the Japanese need to receive from the hands of foreigners. That besides, they have, and that in the greatest abundance, every thing else which is needful, both for food, clothing, and the conveniences of life, results from that which was said above. And whereas in most other countries complaints are made more or less frequently about bad harvests and severe famine, such complaints are seldom heard in the populous empire of Japan, where the inhabitants live frugally, and without prodigality or dissipation, and where they providentially blend in the soil with their different species of corn, a considerable number of leguminous and esculent rooted vegetables. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, it sometimes happens, that even here famine is felt.

As the Japanese have such a variety of species of corn, such a plentiful diversity both of roots and pulse, besides the large supply of

provisions, which they fetch from the rich store-house of the circumambient sea, they neither need nor have any considerable stock-farms. They have few quadrupeds; for which reason there is no occasion to lay out the land in extensive meadows. The small number of horses to be met within this country, is chiefly for the use of their princes: some are employed as beasts of burden, and others serve travellers to ride on. Indeed I do not suppose that the sum total of all their horses amounts to the number of those made use of in one single town in Sweden. Here one neither hears mention made of stately chargers, nor of nettlesome coach-horses, nor of swift sledge trotters, nor of the masters of the horse so famous in Europe. Of oxen and cows they seem to have a still smaller number; and they neither make use of their flesh, nor yet of their milk, nor of the cheese, butter, and tallow prepared from them; the sole use they make of them is sometimes for drawing carts, and for ploughing such fields as lie almost constantly under water. A very few swine are to be seen in the vicinity of Nagasaki; and this mischievous animal, the most hostile to agriculture, if not confined, of any was probably introduced by the Chinese. Sheep and goats are not to be found in the whole country; the latter do much mischief to a cultivated land, and wool may easily be dispensed with here, where cotton and silk abound. During my stay at the Dutch factory, it happened that some Japanese arrived at the island with several sheep, of which they had had the custody for many years, having received them from some chief of the Dutch trade, who sailed

sailed to Batavia, and did not return again. *Dogs*, the only idlers in this country, are kept from superstitious motives; and *cats* are in general the favourites of the ladies. *Hens* and common *ducks* are also kept tame in their houses, chiefly, it is to be presumed, on account of the eggs, of which they are very fond, and make use of them on various occasions, boiled hard, and chopped into small pieces.

S H E E P.

From the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xix.

ON Friday, the 4th of January 1793, were slaughtered at Morton Pinkney, in Northamptonshire, by Mr. Thomas Brookes, of that place, two remarkable fat wether sheep, bred by Mr. Joseph Russel, of Cubington-heath, near Warwick, got by a ram of Mr. Knowles's, of Nelston, in Leicestershire, out of two ewes bred by Mr. Richard Russel, in Warwick-castle-park, which ewes were got by a

ram of C. Chaplain's, Esq. of Tathwell, in Lincolnshire. These wethers, for smallness of bone, lightness of offal, neatness of mould, weight, and fatness, were perhaps equal (if not superior) to any ever yet exhibited; the particulars of which are as follow:—weight of one carcase 28st. 1lb.; skin 3st. 5lb.; rough fat 3st. 7lb.; entrails 2st. 7½lb. blood 6lb.; — 8lb. to the stone. Average thickness of fat down the back, 3 inches; parting of the neck and breast, 6½ inches; parting of the haunch and loin, 6 inches.—Cut of wool last year, 16lb.—Weight of the other carcase, 24st. 3lb.; rough fat, 2st. 5lb.; entrails 2st. 2½lb.; blood, 6½lb.; skin, 3st. 6lb.—Average thickness of fat down the back, 3½ inches; parting of the neck and breast, 6 inches; haunches 5½ inches. A side of the last mentioned sheep was shewn in London, and allowed by competent judges, to be as complete a one as ever was exhibited there. Twenty-five guineas were refused for the two sheep when alive.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

The following Paper, issued by the Commissioners of the Board of Agriculture, we deem too important to be overlooked; we, therefore, present it to our Readers.

THE Board of Agriculture will have occasion to employ some very intelligent surveyors, or persons skilled in husbandry, in examining into the agricultural state of all the different counties of England and Scotland, and in pointing out in what respects there is room for improvements.

The inquiries principally to be made, will relate to the following points :

1. The nature of the soil and climate of the district to be examined ?
2. The manner in which the land is possessed, whether by great or by small proprietors ?
3. The manner in which the land is occupied, whether by great or by small farmers ?
4. The manner in which the land is employed, whether in pasture, in husbandry, or a mixture of both ?
5. If in pasture, what grasses are cultivated ; what species of stock is kept ; whether the breeds can be improved, or whether new breeds ought to be tried ?
6. Whether any of the land is watered, and whether any considerable extent of ground is capable of that improvement ?
7. If the land is employed in husbandry, what are the grains principally cultivated ?
8. What is the rotation of crops ; and, in particular, whether green crops, as turnip, clover, &c. are cultivated, and how they are found to answer ?
9. Whether fallowing is practised or otherwise ?
10. What manures are made use of ?
11. What are the usual sorts of ploughs, carts, and other implements of husbandry ?
12. Whether oxen or horses are made use of ?
13. What is the usual seed-time and harvest ?
14. Whether the land is inclosed or in open fields ?
15. What advantages have been found to result from inclosing land, in regard to the increase of rent,—quantity or quality of produce,—improvement of stock, &c.
16. What is the size and nature of the inclosures ?
17. Whether inclosures have increased or decreased population ?
18. Whether

18. Whether there are any common fields, and whether any division of them is proposed?
19. What is the difference of rent, or produce, between common fields and inclosed lands?
20. What is the extent of waste lands, and the improvement of which they are most capable, whether by being planted, converted into arable, or into pasture land?
21. What is the rate of wages, and price of labour, and what are the hours at which labour commences and ceases, at the different seasons?
22. Whether proper attention is paid to the draining of land, particularly the fenny part of it, and what sorts of drains are commonly made use of?
23. Whether paring and burning is practised, and how it is managed and found to answer?
24. Whether the country is well wooded, and whether the woodlands are kept under a proper system?
25. What is the price of provisions, and whether the price, is likely to be steady, to rise, or to fall?
26. What is the state of the roads, both public and parochial, whether they are in good order, or capable of improvement?
27. What is the state of farm houses and offices, whether in general they are well situated and properly constructed?
28. What is the nature of the leases commonly granted, and the covenants usual between landlord and tenant?
29. To what extent have commerce or manufactures been carried on in the district, and have they had either good or bad effects on its agriculture?
30. Are there any practices in the district that could be of service in other places?
31. Are there any societies instituted in the district for the improvement of agriculture?
32. Whether the people seem to have a turn for improvements, or how such a spirit could best be excited?
33. What improvements can be suggested, either in regard to the stock or the husbandry of the district?
34. What are the names, descriptions, and directions of those proprietors, or farmers, who are the most active, or the most skilful improvers in the district, and who are the most likely to be useful correspondents to the Board of Agriculture?

It is proposed, for the sake of making such surveys as easy as possible, that each person who may undertake them shall have a district that may be gone over in five or six weeks, so that it may be undertaken by those who have a good deal of business of their own, without much inconvenience. Thus also the Board will have a greater variety of information, and a greater mass of instructive operations, from a greater number of intelligent men, for their consideration and guidance.

It is farther proposed, that the reports received by the Board, shall first be circulated as much as possible in the counties to which they relate,

relate, for the benefit of receiving the observations and additional remarks of every farmer and gentleman in the district. From the information thus accumulated, a complete state of its agriculture will be drawn up and published; copies of which will be presented by the Board to every individual who may have favoured them with his assistance.

The Board can only make an allowance, at the rate of 5l. per week, for the expence of such a tour. Indeed some gentlemen, with great public zeal, and much to their credit, have undertaken to survey several districts gratuitously: but that is not always to be expected, particularly from professional men. The payment of their expences they are well entitled to expect, if they give their time and trouble for nothing. Profit, however, must not be the object of those who undertake such an employment, nor could such a Board wish to be concerned with any one who would not willingly make some sacrifices for the public good, and indeed who would not take a pride in having any share in promoting so useful an undertaking.

P. S. If the district is remarkable for its orchards, for its cyder, for its dairy, for its cheese, for its butter, for its breed of sheep, cattle, horses, hogs, &c. or the culture of woad, liquorice, &c. particular attention is requested to those articles, or to any other in which it may excel. Drawings also, and exact descriptions of the different breeds of sheep, cattle, and horses, in each district, would be particularly desirable. The quantity raised of each sort of crop in the different

parts of the district, cannot be too accurately ascertained and noted.

Letter to Michael Hillegras, Esq. respecting covering Houses with Copper. From Dr. Franklin's Works.

London, March 17, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I Received your favour of November 25, and have made inquiries, as you desired, concerning the copper covering of houses. It has been used here in a few instances only, and the practice does not seem to gain ground. The copper is about the thickness of a common playing card, and though a dearer metal than lead, I am told that as less weight serves, on account of its being so much thinner, and as slighter wood-work in the roof is sufficient to support it, the roof is not dearer, on the whole, than one covered with lead. It is said that hail and rain make a disagreeable drumming noise on copper; but this, I suppose, is rather fancy; for the plates being fastened to the rafters, must, in a great measure, deaden such sound. The first cost, whatever it is, will be all, as a copper covering must last for ages; and when the house decays, the plates will still have intrinsic worth. In Russia, I am informed, many houses are covered with plates of iron tinned, such as our tin pots and other wares are made of, laid on over the edges of one another, like tiles; and which, it is said, last very long; the tin preserving the iron from much decay by rusting. In France and the Low Countries I have seen many spouts or pipes for conveying the water down from the roofs

roofs of houses, made of the same kind of tin plates, soldered together, and they seem to stand very well.

With sincere regard, I am,
Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Letter from the same to Samuel Rhodes, Esq; on the same subject.

London, June 26, 1770.

Dear Friend,

IT is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you directly. Mrs. Franklin has, indeed, now and then acquainted me with your welfare, which I am always glad to hear of. It is, I fear, partly if not altogether, my fault that our correspondence has not been regularly continued. One thing I am sure of, that it has been from no want of regard on either side, but rather from too much business, and avocations of various kinds, and my having little of importance to communicate.

One of our good citizens, Mr. Hillegras, anxious for the future safety of our town, wrote to me some time since, desiring I would inquire concerning the covering of houses here with copper. I sent him the best information I could then obtain, but have since received the enclosed from an ingenious friend, who is what they call here a civil engineer. I should be glad you would peruse it, think of the matter a little, and give me your sentiments of it. When you have done with the paper, please to give it to Mr. Hillegras. I am told by lord Despencer, who has covered a long piazza, or gallery, with copper, that the expence charged in this account is too high, for his cost

but one shilling and sixpence per foot, all charges included. I suppose his copper must have been thinner. And, indeed, it is so strong a metal, that I think it may well be used very thin.

It appears to me of great importance to build our dwelling-houses, if we can, in a manner more secure from danger by fire. We scarcely ever hear of fire in Paris. When I was there, I took particular notice of the construction of their houses, and I did not see how one of them could well be burnt. The roofs are slate or tile, the walls are stone, the rooms generally lined with stucco or plaster, instead of wainscot, the floors of stucco, or of six-square tiles painted brown, or of flag stone or of marble; or if any floors were of wood, it was of oak wood, which is not so inflammable as pine. Carpets prevent the coldness of stone or brick floors offending the feet in winter, and the noise of treading on such floors, overhead, is less inconvenient than on boards. The stairs too, at Paris, are either stone or brick, with only a wooden edge or corner for the step; so that, on the whole, though the Parisians commonly burn wood in their chimnies, a more dangerous kind of fuel than that used here, yet their houses escape extremely well, as there is little in a room that can be consumed by fire except the furniture, whereas in London, perhaps scarcely a year passes in which half a million of property and many lives are not lost by this destructive element. Of late, indeed, they begin here to leave off wainscoting their rooms, and instead of it, cover the walls with stucco, often formed into pannels, like wainscot, which being

ing painted, is very strong and warm. Stone stair-cases too, with iron rails, grow more and more into fashion here. But stone steps cannot, in some circumstances, be fixed; and there, methinks, oak is safer than pine; and I assure you, that in many genteel houses here, both old and new, the stairs and floors are oak, and look extremely well. Perhaps solid oak for the steps would be still safer than boards; and two steps might be cut diagonally out of one piece. Excuse my talking to you on a subject with which you must be so much better acquainted than I am. It is partly to make out a letter, and partly in hope that by turning your attention to the point, some methods of greater security in our future building may be thought of and promoted by you, whose judgment I know has deservedly great weight with our fellow-citizens. For though our town has not hitherto suffered very greatly by fire, yet I am apprehensive that some time or other, by a concurrence of unlucky circumstances, such as dry weather, hard frost, and high winds, a fire then happening may suddenly spread far and wide over our cedar roofs, and do us immense mischief.

I am

Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Paper referred to in the preceding Letter.

The carpentry of the roof being formed with its proper descent is, in the first place, sheeted or covered with deals, nailed horizontally upon the rafters, after the same manner as when intended to

be covered with lead. The sheets of the copper for this covering are two feet by four, and for covering the slopes of the roof are cast so thin, as to weigh eight or nine pounds, and for covering the flats or gutters, ten or eleven pounds each, or about one pound, or a pound and a quarter, to the superficial foot.

A string of strong cartridge paper (over-lapping a little at its joints) is regularly tacked down upon the sheeting, under the copper covering, as the work proceeds from eaves to ridge. It prevents the jingling sound of hail or rain falling upon the roof, and answers another purpose, to be mentioned by and by.

In order to shew the regular process of laying down the roof, we must begin with fastening two sheets together lengthwise. The edges of two sheets are laid down so as to lap or cover each other an inch, and a slip of the same copper, about three and a half inches broad, called the reeve, is introduced between them. Four oblong holes, or slits, are then cut or punched through the whole, and they are fastened or riveted together by copper nails, with small round shanks and flat heads. Indents are then cut one inch and three quarters deep upon the seam at the top and bottom. The right-hand sheet and the reeve are then folded back to the left. The reeve is then folded to the right, and the sheets being laid on the roof in their place, it is nailed down to the sheeting with flat-headed short copper nails. The right-hand sheet is then folded over the reeve to the right, and the whole beat down flat

flat upon the cartridge paper covering the sheeting, and thus they are fastened and laid in their places, by nailing down the reeve only; and by reason of the oblong holes through them and the reeve, have a little liberty to expand or contract with the heat and cold, without raising themselves up from the sheeting, or tearing themselves or the fastening to pieces. Two other sheets are then fixed together, according to the first and second operations above, and their seam, with the reeve, introduced under the upper ends of the seam of the former, so as to cover down about two inches upon the upper ends of the former sheets; and so far the cartridge paper is allowed to cover the two first sheets. This edge of the paper is dipped in oil, or in turpentine, so far before its application, and thus a body between the sheets is formed impenetrable to wet; and the reeve belonging to the two last sheets is nailed down to the sheeting as before, and the left hand sheet is turned down to the right. Four sheets are now laid down, with the seam or joint rising to the ridge; and thus the work is continued, both vertically and horizontally, till the roof be covered, the sides and ends of each sheet being alternately each way, undermost and uppermost.

The price for copper, nails, and workmanship, runs at about eight pounds ten shillings per hundred, or two shillings and three-pence per foot superficial, exclusive of the

lapping; and about two shillings and eight-pence per foot upon the whole; which is rather above half as much more as the price of doing it well with lead.

Explanation of a new Invention for stopping the Progress of Fire on board of Ships, by Mr. John Read of Woolwich.*

FROM the great confusion occasioned by the alarm of fire on board a ship, with the difficulty often of ascertaining the precise spot where it is, it appears almost impossible to devise any means to prevent the progress of such an accident when once it has got head.

The only means that seem to promise success is, to convey water to any part of the ship according to the following method:—To place strong pipes through the decks, close to the sides of the vessel:—those going to the hold must be cased, to prevent their being damaged by moving stores between the decks. These may be so distributed, that every part between the decks may be within the reach of a stream of water issuing from them. The magazine and place where spirits and inflammable stores are kept ought to have the greatest number of pipes about them, to prevent the fire reaching those parts.

Streams of water to the part on fire may be directed by a lower

* This invention, being the best for the purpose which had been presented to the society of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and free from the objection of ever having been before the public, obtained for Mr. Read the honour of the premium; and to him it must ever be a gratifying reflection, that he has contributed a means to preserve seamen from one of the most dreadful calamities attending navigation.

fixed on the top of the pipe, the end of which corresponding with the aperture below, the same vertical plane will pass through the lever and the stream.

Small engines, such as those used for watering gardens, will be sufficient for the purpose. Two men only will be required for the service of each pipe, one to supply it, and the other to direct the stream.

JOHN READ.

Royal Military Repository, Woolwich.

An Improvement on Metallic Conductors or Lightning-rods.

From the Amer. Phil. Trans.

FROM the instances which now and then occur of houses being struck with lightning, that are furnished with metallic conductors, and the frequent instances of these conductors having their tops melted off by a stroke of lightning, it appears that this admirable contrivance for guarding houses against the dangerous effects of lightning is, in some degree still imperfect. Some improvement seems yet to be wanting at both extremities of the rod—at the upper extremity, to secure it against the accident of being melted, which renders it afterwards unfit to answer its original intention, viz. drawing off the electric fluid, or lightning, from the passing cloud, in a silent, imperceptible manner; for it is only pointed conductors that possess this property—and at the lower extremity, to afford a more ready passage for the fluid into the surrounding earth.

The first of these intentions would, I am persuaded, be effectually answered, by inserting in the top of the rod a piece of black-

lead, of about two inches long, taken out of a good pencil, and terminating in a fine point, projecting but a very little above the end of its metallic socket; so that, if the black lead point should happen to be broken off by any accident, of which, however, I think there can be but little danger, still the point of the rod would be left sharp enough to answer the purpose of a metallic conductor.

This substance is well known to be infusible by the greatest heat, and hence its use in making crucibles; nor is it evaporable, as remarked by Cronstedt, in his mineralogy, sec. 231, except in a slow calcining heat, to which it could never be exposed on the top of a lightning-rod.

At the same time its power as a conductor of electricity is perhaps equal, or but little inferior, to that of any of the metals. A line drawn on a piece of paper by a black-lead pencil will, as I have often experienced, conduct an electric explosion seemingly as well as a similar line of gilding would do, and that without ever losing its conducting power, which is not the case with gilding.

The second intention is to facilitate the escape of the electric fluid from the lower part of the rod into the surrounding earth. It is, in many cases, impracticable, from the interruption of rocks and other obstacles, to sink the rod so deep as to reach moist earth, or any other substance which is a tolerably good conductor of electricity. Nor even if this were practicable, would it, I presume, be alone sufficient to answer the desired intention. Iron buried in the earth, and especially in moist earth, will presently contract

contract a coat of rust, which will continually increase till the whole is converted into rust: but rust of iron, and indeed the calx of all metals, is a *non-conductor*, or at most but a very imperfect conductor of the electric fluid. Hence it is easy to see, that in a few years after a lightning-rod has been erected, that part of it which is under ground will contribute little or nothing towards the safety of the building. Besides, the surface of this part of the rod is *too small* to afford an easy and copious discharge of the electric fluid into the surrounding earth, when this is but an imperfect conductor.

As a remedy for these defects, I would propose, that the part of the rod under ground be made of tin, or copper, which are far less liable to corrosion or rust, by lying under ground, than iron. Or, which perhaps would answer the purpose better, let this part of the rod, of whatever metal it be made, be coated over with a thick crust of black lead, previously formed into the consistence of paste, by being pulverized and mixed with melted sulphur (as in the manufactory of the ordinary kind of black-lead pencils) and then applied to the rod while hot. By this means, the lower part of the rod would, I apprehend, retain its conducting powers for ages, without any diminution.

In order to increase the surface of the lower part of the conductor, let a hole or pit, of sufficient extent, be dug as deep as convenient; and into this pit let there be put a quantity of charcoal, round the lower extremity of the rod. Charcoal possesses two properties which, in a peculiar manner, fit it

for answering the purpose here in view. First, it is a very good conductor of electricity; and second, it will undergo little or no change of property by lying ever so long in the earth. Thus might the surface of that part of the conductor, in contact with the earth, be increased, with little trouble or expence, to any extent at pleasure; a circumstance which every one acquainted with electrical experiments must acknowledge to be of great importance to the end here proposed.

R. PATTERSON.

Effects of Mud, as a Manure, by
 Thomas Walford, Esq.

From the Annals of Agricul. vol. xix.

Dear Sir,

YOU mention, in your Annals, page 431, the great benefit, the Rev. Mr. Walford, of Boreham, received from pond mud, "fresh from a pond, the soil of which is an imperfect moory peat, on a gravelly loam."

I beg leave to lay before you three experiments with mud upon an upland pasture, laid down with grasses about eight years, the mud from a moat, the bottom of which is a white marly clay.

In September 1790, I cast the moat, one end of which adjoins the farm-yard, and had received the draining from it eighteen or nineteen years; this part, I was advised (contrary to my own opinion of its being proper) to cart immediately upon the land, and spread it as soon as it was dry enough: I did so—and the effect was, infinite injury to the succeeding crop of grass; it caked down

so very firm, that the rain and frost, that season, with the assistance of a great deal of labour, did not pulverize it sufficient for the grass to get through. The loss I sustained was very considerable, there being less hay than on any other part of the field. The following year I was much inclined to have harrowed it, with a heavy pair of harrows, and sow it again with seeds: I did not; yet am convinced the crop would have been more productive if I had; for it was very light, and not equal to the crop before the mud was carried on.

The third year, being a wet season, it began to work, and produced me a tolerable burthen, but not sufficient to repay the loss of the two former; yet the benefit was very visible, for the spot where it was laid might be traced to great exactness.

The mud from the other parts of the moat was thrown upon the banks and left to drain; this I wished to have let remain there a year, to have stirred it over, and then carried it upon the pasture, but was again prevailed upon to carry on two parts out of three as soon as it was dry enough to cart; being told it would save a considerable expence, and be equally beneficial, in both of which I was disappointed; the extra expence of bush-harrowing, and beating the clods to pieces, was more than the stirring over would have been; for, like the former, it caked down, and injured, instead of benefiting the succeeding crop of grass, but not in so great a degree—for I thought some advantage was derived from it the second year.

As the two methods above were

quite contrary to my ideas and opinion, I was determined with the mud that remained to adopt the following plan of my own, which probably may not be new in many other places, although it is in this parish.

Instead of carting the mud when dry, I turned it over with a spade, except about one rod at the end, which, from some cause or other, was neglected till March; I then dug it and planted potatoes. The other part, from having had the winter's frost and rains, was very full of mould, and I imagined would do exceedingly well for carrots; it was sown with carrots; but whether the dryness of the season, badness of seed, or the soil not being proper (the latter I believe), my crop was a very bad one; but the potatoes exceeded my expectation; had the whole been planted with them, the produce would have doubly paid me the expence of digging and planting; and the mud received great benefit, by being stirred over when they were taken up.

When the crops were cleared, I carted the mud upon the poorest part of the pasture, and was agreeably surprised to find it produced a very fine crop of grass the June following, superior to many parts of the field that had been well manured at the same time. The luxuriance of the crop was so conspicuous, as to attract the attention of the neighbouring farmers.

Therefore, having met with such great success from the latter experiment, I shall in future empty my ponds between hay-time and harvest, let the mud lie till it is dry enough to dig, then stir it over, and in March dibble in potatoes;
being

being convinced, if it is not the best method to adopt, it is a profitable one, where the mud is taken from a clay bottom.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,
THOMAS WALFORD.

An easy and expeditious Method of dissipating the noxious Vapour commonly found in Wells and other subterraneous Places, by E. Robinson.

From the Amer. Phil. Trans.

AFTER various unsuccessful trials, (a detail of which has been already communicated) I was led to consider, how I could convey a large quantity of fresh air from the top to the bottom of the well; supposing that the foul would necessarily give way to the pure air.—With this view I procured a pair of smith's bellows fixed in a wooden frame, so as to work in the same manner as at the forge. This apparatus being placed at the edge of the well, one end of a leathern tube (the hose of a fire engine) was closely adapted to the nose of the bellows, and the other end was thrown into the well, reaching within one foot of the bottom. At this time the well was so infected, that a candle would not burn at a short distance from the top; but after blowing with my bellows only half an hour, the candle burned bright at the bottom; then, without further difficulty, I proceeded in the work, and finished my well.

Wells are often made in a very slight manner, owing to the difficulty of working in them, and there have been several fatal instances of

the danger attending the workmen; but by the above method there is neither difficulty nor danger in completing the work with the utmost solidity.

It is obvious, that in cleansing vaults, and working in any other subterraneous places, subject to damp, as they are called, the same method must be attended with the same beneficial effect.

A Method of draining Ponds in level Grounds, by J. Higgins.

From the same.

AT a certain distance below the surface of the earth, there is a stratum of loose sand which freely admits the passage of water. This stratum is at various depths, in different elevations; but it will be generally found, that lands most subject to stagnant ponds, have but a shallow stratum of clay over the sand.

All that is necessary, therefore, is to dig a pit in the bottom of the pond, till you arrive at this stratum of sand, when the water will be immediately absorbed, and the pond emptied. Should there be too much water to permit a hole to be dug within the pond, it may be made at the edge of it, the communication afterwards made by a trench. It would be prudent not to make the sides of the pit so steep, as to prevent cattle from getting out, should they happen to go in.

The writer does not pretend to be the original author of this invention; the idea was suggested to him, by seeing it practised by a farmer, who enjoyed the benefit, though he did not appear to know the cause.

Account

Account of the Inventor and Invention of the Art of hardening and polishing Leather.

FOR the art of hardening and polishing leather, and the manufacturing of various implements and utensils from it, superior for many uses to those formed of other materials, the world is indebted to Gavin Wilson, a journeyman boot-maker, of the city of Edinburgh. The extensive circulation of the polished leathern powder-flasks, drinking-mugs, snuff-boxes, ink-cases, and numerous other useful articles in this branch of manufacture, of which he was the original maker, has rendered this invention famous not only over Europe, but in other quarters of the globe, although the name of the inventor is almost entirely unknown. His abilities were not limited to the producing of the articles in this line of manufacture which are in common use; his ingenuity enabled him to form a German flute and a violin, both of leather, which for neatness of workmanship and melodiousness of tone were neither of them inferior to any instruments of the same kind, formed of wood, by the workmen whose peculiar province it is to make these instruments. The exertions of his genius went yet farther, and he contrived artificial arms and legs of the same materials, which not only remedied the deformity arising from the want of a natural limb, but in a great measure supplied that loss, in itself one of the most distressing that can befall any individual. The unexampled success of his endeavours in this way, and the very imminent advantages the maimed derived from

his inventions, may be best instanced by a letter, written by a person who was unfortunate enough to be deprived of both his hands while serving in the royal navy: by the assistance of Gavin Wilson this man was enabled both to convey his sentiments by writing, and to perform many useful offices about his own person. The letter was first published in the Caledonian Mercury, for 1779, along with an advertisement of the ingenious mechanic who was the means of rendering this author a comfort to himself, and in some measure an useful member of society.

Were any farther testimony requisite to evince the high utility of this deserving artist's contrivances, besides the approbation of the patriotic board which honoured his ingenuity by a premium, the authority of two of the most celebrated medical practitioners of the present age might be produced; Dr. Alexander Monro, present professor of anatomy and surgery in the university of Edinburgh; and Mr. Benjamin Bell, author of the System of Surgery, published at Edinburgh.

Dr. Monro, in his lectures for these many years past, has annually honoured the memory of Gavin Wilson with a public encomium, as the inventor of the improved artificial arms and legs; and Mr. Bell, in the sixth volume of the work above mentioned, pays the following tribute to his merit.

"These artificial legs and arms are preferable to any I have ever seen. The leg, when properly fitted, proves equally useful with the common timber-leg, and is preferable for being neater; at the same

same time that it is not liable to break, an accident to which the others are very liable; and it answers better than a leg made of copper, from being considerably lighter, and not apt to be hurt in its shape by bruises—They are so constructed as to be fixed on by means of straps, and hooks and buckles, in such a manner, that the weight of the person's body does not rest upon the stump of the amputated limb, but hangs quite free within the case of the artificial leg. This in the most effectual manner prevents the pain and excoriation which otherwise would be apt to happen from the friction of the stump against the machine. When a limb is amputated above the knee, a joint is formed in the artificial limb at the knee. In walking, the limb is made steady by a steel bolt, running in two staples on the outside of the thigh, being pushed down: and when the patient sits down, he renders the joint flexible by pulling the bolt up. This is easily done, and adds much to the utility of the invention. Mr. Wilson's artificial arms, besides being made of firm, hardened leather, are covered with white lambskin, so tinged as very nearly to resemble the human skin. The nails are made of white horn, tinged in such a manner as to be a very near imitation of nature. The wrist joint is a ball and socket, and answers all the purposes of flexion, extension, and rotation. The first joints of the thumb and fingers are also balls and sockets made of hammered plate brass, and all the balls are hollow to diminish their weight. The second and third joints are similar to that which anatomists

term *ginglimus*, but they are so far different as to admit of any motion, whether flexion, extension, or lateral. The fingers and metacarpus [*wrist*] are made up to the shape, with soft shamoy leather and baked hair. In the palm of the hand there is an iron screw, in which a screw-nail is occasionally fastened. The head of this nail is a spring plate, contrived in such a manner as to hold a knife or fork, which it does with perfect firmness. And by means of a brass ring fixed on the first and second fingers, a pen can be used with sufficient accuracy for writing. When the arm is amputated above the elbow, the artificial limb is made with an elbow-joint. This part of it is made of wood, and has a rotatory motion, as well as that of flexion and extension.

Mr. Bell concludes his description with the following well-deserved panegyric.

"I have given this particular account of Mr. Wilson's invention, from a conviction of its being superior to any with which the public is acquainted. I am also pleased at having it in my power to let the merit of such an artist be more generally known than it otherwise might be. Indeed, his merit in matters of this kind is so conspicuous, as well as in the management of distorted limbs, that his death I would consider as a public loss; at the same time I have often wished that some public encouragement were given him, to enable him to communicate as much as possible the result of his experience to others."

Notwithstanding the benevolent wish expressed by Mr. Bell for rendering

dering the experience of this ingenious mechanic of permanent benefit to society, nothing was done in that respect; and he died, unnoticed, at Edinburgh, within these few years. From having but little intercourse with that city, I have been able to pick up but few anecdotes of his life, and cannot even give any account of his birth, parentage, or decease; the latter, however, must have happened at some period since the publication of Mr. Bell's work in 1789. His sign-board is still extant in the street called the Cannongate, with this humorous inscription, "Gavin Wilson, arm, leg, and boot-maker, *but not* to his royal highness the prince of Wales;" for this singular genius had also pretensions to wit, and was occasionally a votary of Apollo and the Tuneful Nine. The above sportful effort of his fancy was set up at a time when a rage for obtaining, even at an exorbitant price, the titled honour of an office under royalty was predominant amongst all ranks of his fellow-citizens. The ridicule in this mirthful effusion was so happily conceived, and so well directed, as to be universally well received; and probably it contributed in no small degree to exterminate the then prevalent and preposterous taste against which it was aimed. He was a regular attendant at the lodges of the free-masons, and a warm friend of the fraternity. By his propensity for verifying, and composing songs and short stories in rhyme, he contributed much to the social mirth and enjoyment of their meetings, and to the good-humour and amusement of all companies where he came. He frequently sang and re-

cited his own productions in the lodge-meetings: from this circumstance he was elected poet laureat to the lodge of St. David, at Edinburgh, of which he was a member. After receiving this distinguished mark of honour, in the year 1788, he published a collection of his poetical performances, under the title of "*A Collection of Masonic Songs, and entertaining Anecdotes, for the Use of all the Lodges.*" By Gavin Wilson, poet laureat to the lodge of St. David, Edinburgh." To this publication is prefixed a portrait of the author, decorated with masonic insignia. By people who were acquainted with him, I have been told that it was a very good likeness; it is drawn and etched by a very ingenious artist, Mr. John Kay, engraver and portrait-painter, in Edinburgh, whose abilities as a caricaturist have already acquired him extensive celebrity, and bid fair in the estimation of posterity, to rival the fame of the celebrated Hogarth. The author talks very contemptuously of his own compositions in his Preface; and, as an excuse for publishing of them, pleads the importunities of his friends.

The following whimsical advertisement may serve as a not unfavourable specimen of his poetical attempts:

G. Wilson, humbly, as before,
Resumes his thankfulness once more
For favours formerly enjoy'd
In, by the public, being employ'd,
And hopes this public intimation
Will meet with candid acceptation.
The world knows well he makes ~~books~~
neatly;
And, as times go, he sells them
cheaply;

'Tis

'Tis also known to many a hundred,
 Who at his late inventions wond' red,
 That polish'd *leather-boxes, cases,*
 So well known now in many places,
 With *powder-flasks,* and *porter-mugs,*
 And jointed *leather-arms and legs,*
 Design'd for use as well as show,
Exempli gratia, read below *,
 Were his invention; and no claim
 Is just by any other name.
 With numbers of productions more,
 In leather, ne'er perform'd before.
 In these dead times, being almost idle,
 He try'd and made a *leather fiddle,*
 Of workmanship extremely neat,
 Of tone quite true, both soft and
 sweet;
 And, finding leather not a mute,
 He made a *leather German flute,*
 Which play'd as well, and was as
 good,
 As any ever made of wood.
 He, for an idle hour's amuse-
 ment,
 Wrote this exotic advertisement,
 Informing you he does reside
 In head of Cannongate, South side,
 Up the first wooden-railed stair,
 You're sure to find his Whimship
 there.
 In Britain none can fit you better
 Than can your servant the *boot maker*.
 (Signed) GAVIN WILSON.

*Observations on the Treatment of
 Gun-shot Wounds. Communicated,
 in a Letter to Dr. Simmons, by
 Robert Jackson, M.D. Physician
 at Stockton, in the County of Dur-
 ham. From the London Medical
 Journal, vol. xi Svo.*

AS these observations appear to
 be highly deserving the no-
 tice of the public, and cannot be
 too generally known, we shall
 here give them in the author's own
 words:

"I am aware that the custom of
 dilating wounds made by fire-arms
 is so generally adopted by practi-
 tioners, and so formidably supported
 by great authorities, that it re-
 quires no small share of courage to
 raise doubts concerning its proprie-
 ty, or even its necessity. I am also
 aware that I am ill qualified to il-
 lustrate the subject in a regular and
 systematic discussion. I have little
 acquaintance with surgical writers,
 and cannot boast a very extensive
 range of experience: but I hope to
 be indulged with the liberty of relat-
 ing a few facts which occurred to me
 during the late war in America,
 and which seem to prove that the
 customary dilatation of wounds may
 be frequently omitted, not only
 without detriment, but even with
 obvious benefit to the patient.

"In the year 1779, a party of the
 loyal American militia, who had
 attacked a post of the enemy
 in the back parts of the pro-
 vince of Georgia, were obliged to
 retire without effecting their pur-
 pose. A considerable number of
 them were wounded; and as their
 distance from the army precluded
 them from surgical assistance, their
 wounds were only bound over with
 a bit of rag. Such was the fact:
 the consequence was not what
 might have been expected; for
 among the number of wounds which
 I afterwards saw there were several
 which we should have expected to
 be troublesome and tedious in cure,
 if treated according to the common
 rules of surgery, but in reality they
 healed speedily and well. Another
 action was fought, some time after,

* The Letter to the Printer of the Caledonian Mercury.

at Brier Creek. The greater number of the wounded were conveyed to the hospital, and furnished with proper accommodations and surgical assistance; but there were also some of the militia who remained in the woods, and paid no other attention to their wounds than simply to bind them up. The contrast in point of treatment was obvious in the present case, and the difference of effect was not less remarkable; for, in as far as I could judge from those examples which I had an opportunity of comparing, the progress towards healing was not less advanced in three weeks, where there was not any thing done, than in five, where art and skill were employed. There occurred likewise several accidental instances during the following campaigns, where the usual formality of surgical treatment did not appear to be attended with conspicuous advantage; but the fairest comparative trial which has yet fallen under my observation was after the action at Cowpen, in South Carolina, in January 1781. The scene of this action was near the mountains, in a district of country almost uninhabited. Not fewer than an hundred and twenty men lay wounded on the field, or dispersed themselves in the neighbourhood, where they accidentally found the shelter of a hut. As I was the only professional person who remained on the spot after the defeat, it was not in my power to visit every one; neither did I find out, till after several days, the abodes to which many had retired. I may observe, that I dilated freely, and treated according to the usual methods of surgeons, the wounds

of such as I saw early: but there was probably near a fifth of the whole to whom, from their remote situation, immediate help could not be given. Other surgeons were afterwards sent from the army by Lord Cornwallis, and such accommodations were provided for the wounded as a desolate country could afford. I still continued my assistance, and remained on this duty near six weeks, during which time I had the opportunity of observing, that those wounds to which little or nothing had been done generally healed more rapidly, and were seldom attended with so much pain and inflammation, as were dilatation, poulticing, &c. had been freely employed.

“It appears, then, that we may safely conclude from the above facts, that the indiscriminate dilatation of gun-shot wounds is not a measure of necessity. I will even add, that it often gives rise to pain, inflammation, and many troublesome symptoms, which are not merely the effects of the wound. I shall mention an observation in this place, which I have often seen verified, and which I should suppose can scarcely be overlooked by any one, viz. that the pain and inflammation are greater, and consequently that the cure is slower, in simple flesh wounds, where the surgeon has recourse to dilatation, than where the knife is not employed. This perhaps will be reckoned a small inconvenience; but I will add farther, that the effects of dilatation are peculiarly pernicious in wounds of the joints. It is well known that the access of air, which is favoured by an enlargement of the orifice,

is particularly hurtful in wounds which penetrate into cavities. In the joints, after being thus exposed, the growth of fungous excrescences is scarcely to be restrained, and ankylosis is the least bad effect to be expected.

"But though it appears that the dilatation of gun-shot wounds is hurtful or superfluous in the cases which I have mentioned, there are certainly others in which it is both necessary and proper. If, for instance, a ball, or the fragment of a bone, can be extracted by means of an enlargement of the orifice, no person will pretend to say that such enlargement ought not to be made. It is likewise proper, where wounds run superficially under the skin, that they be laid open through the whole of their length; and in many cases where inflammation comes upon a wounded limb, the muscles of which are covered by a tendinous expansion, and, as it were, girded by it, a deep and free dilatation is then of obvious and great service. Such dilatations, however, ought to be deferred till the occasion requires them.

"Such, as far as my observation goes, are the advantages and disadvantages of dilating gun-shot wounds. There are also other practices employed by surgeons, which, instead of being productive of benefit, often occasion no small share of harm. It appears to be an axiom in surgery, that a warm poultice, in the first stages of gun-shot wounds, is an application not to be dispensed with. I do not deny that in cold climates, where the fibre is tense and rigid, they often alleviate pain and promote digestion; but I am also of opinion, that, in the

tropical climates, or even in the southern provinces of North America, they are not only unnecessary, but sometimes actually the cause of very troublesome complaints. I have observed, in numerous instances, that pain and inflammation were obviously increased by the use of warm poultices, and even that suppurations, independent of the suppuration of the wounds, were sometimes produced merely from the heat and relaxation which that application occasioned. Besides, poultices are inconvenient and unpleasant in warm weather, and may be reckoned among the causes which promote the generation of maggots. I might, therefore, I believe, safely advise, that the practice be discontinued in the above-mentioned climates. I might even add, that I am sufficiently warranted to recommend a contrary one. Thus I have often found benefit from the application of bandages wet with laudanum or spirituous liquors, and, above all, from the pouring of cold water upon the wounded limb. The good effects of these, in disposing the wounds to heal, were very remarkable.

"To the above observations I shall beg leave to add another, which I believe is not commonly attended to. Rest and quiet are uniformly supposed to be proper in the treatment of wounds. Where wounds penetrate into the cavities of the body, motion would often be dangerous; and where the legs or thighs are broken, it cannot be attempted unless with great caution: but, in the ordinary circumstances of flesh wounds, the advantages of moving about, even of travelling, or continuing to march, are great

and obvious. Not to adduce the American militia only as a proof of this opinion, I shall mention, that after the action of Guildford, in North Carolina, every man who was capable of being conveyed either in litter, waggon, or on horseback, was carried with the army. The healing progress was rapid while we were upon the march; I imagined that it proceeded more slowly when we halted for a few days at Crosscreek; and when we came to fix our station at Wilmington it was, in some degree, retrograde: but this was probably owing to the soldiers having access to spirituous liquors.

A N T I Q U I T I E S.

Lawrence Hide's *Speech to the King of Poland. Anno Dom. 1677.*

Most illustrious prince,
THE king, my master, has commanded me to let your majesty know the resolution he has taken to concur in all points with the most Christian king, giving your majesty all possible assistance in the establishing your majesty's title, in such ways as your majesty shall judge most effectual to the securing your crown and dignity, and the further honour and safety of the queen and her royal issue; the king, my master, being truly sensible of the great misfortune of those princes whose power must be bounded and regulated by the fantastic humours of their subjects.

Till princes come to be freed from these inconveniencies, the king, my master, sees no probable prospect of establishing the most holy apostolick Roman Catholick religion.

In order to your majesty's affair, the king, my master, has written to the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and to the elector of Brandenburg, and other his majesty's allies in those parts; yet, notwithstanding the wars and differences betwixt those princes, they afford your majesty all possible assistance in your majesty's pretences to Dantzick.

He has also obliged the prince of Orange to divert the states of the United Provinces from interposing in that affair either by dissuading your majesty or giving assistance to the rebellious inclinations of those citizens of Dantzick.

And the king, my master, has commanded me to assure your majesty, that as soon as he can so dispose of affairs as to effect a general peace (the speedy accomplishment of which he doubts not, the most Christian king having left the whole affairs entirely in his hands), he does not question but by the assistance and concurrence of the kings and princes concerned, to put an end to all the frivolous and vain pretensions not only of the Free and Hans Towns, but also of the Dutch Republic, who have upon all occasions not only threatened the prince of Orange, but also all the kings and princes in these parts of the world; their pretended liberty having been of pernicious consequence by their rebellious example. And for the better effecting those good ends that are wished for and desired, (the particulars of which I shall set down more hereafter) I am further commanded by the king, my master, to joyne with the most Christian king's ambassador in this court the count de Bethune, to desire your majesty to give what succours can be

be afforded from this kingdom, in order to the giving life to the malcontents in Hungary, the better to dispose the emperor and the confederates to accept of such terms of peace as shall be judged reasonable for your majesty's service and interest, and the other good ends before premised.

Directions in what part of Greece to search for Statues and Antiquities. From Tanner's MSS. vol. lxxxviii. fol. 436—442.

THE things to be sought for are theis following: Statues clothed and naked, but the naked ones are of greatest value; heads of all sorts that can be found; marbles carved with half-round figures, which are called basso-relievo; Pilars of marble histored, the which are like troughs of marble carved with figures, vases, altars, or pedestals, with anie kinde of carving worke on them; or, if the vases be plaine, they are to be esteemed. Likewise beasts of all kinds for tombes or sepulchres; the most ancient are to be desired, for, as for those donn in the latter times of the Eastern emperors, they are of small value. Inscriptions of all sorts; and, if a statue have an inscription on the pedestall or bases, it is the more rare; or if a pedestall be standing with any inscription on it, and neere it by digging a statue chance to be found, it is of the like value: besides all theis, ther is to be provided manie great blocks of several Grecian marbles, to mend and repaire the statues and other things aforesaid. All things of brass-work that can be found, as statues, heads, peeces of basso-relevo; and likewise

all little figures in brass, or lamps, vases, instruments for sacrifice, medalls, or whatsoever else can be gotten, if they be of mettle, are of great value.

The places in Greece where theis things are to be found are infinite, but reduced to theis three general heads:

First, Peloponessus. Roundabout neer the sea-coast wher anie auncient citty hath beene, which will appeare by the ruines, and neer a port wher shippes may come, are to be searched, especially in Elijs, wher was aunciently that famous temple of Jove Olimpius, in honor of whom was celebrated the Olimpien games. Here were an infinity of statues both of bras and marble, and other rarities dedicated; for, besides that, all those that were victors in those games had their statues erected. All the common-wealths, principalities, and famous cities of Greece, dedicated their chiefest statues, rarities, and richest things: and to that purpose were many treasuries built, wher theis things were kept, and shewed by the guardians to all strangers that came, the temple being filled. Ther was a spacious place called the Alti, or sacred grove of Jupiter, as full as they coulde stand one by another. This place being found, the ruines will direct one where to digg; and heere must needs be had an infinite number, and all good, nothing being dedicated in that place but the works of most excellent masters. Within the land may manie things of theis kinds be had; but the conducting of them by carts and draggis wil be more chargeable; as in Phocis, a part of Achaia, lying on the gulfes of Corinth, now called Lapanto, are the ruines of Appoloe's temple,

temple, and Oracle of Delphus, in which were the works of old Grecian sculptors, comparable both in number and excellency to that of the Olimpian Jove aforesaid. Likewise, on thother side of the Isthmus, as farr as Athens, where yet remaineth standing a great part of the temple of Pallas, in which are manie excellent sculptures of basso-relevo; and on the sea-shore are lying certenie Lyons of marble much bigger than the life.

All along the coast of Asia near the sea, from *Cnydus*, standing on the point of Dorus, even as farr as *Ilium*, must need yeeld abundance of antiquities, ther remaininge the ruines of manie famous Grecian citties, as of *Hallecarnassus* *Heraclea*, *Ephesus*, *Colophon*, *Smyrna*, *Traianopolis*, &c.; and, farther into the land, *Pergamus*, wher manie excellent things may be had, onlie the charge will be more by carrying them to the sea as aforesaid.

In the islands *Cyclades*, now called *Archipelago*, are manie rare things to be found, for, in some of them, divers broken statues have been seene lying above-ground.

The island of *Delos* was the mart of all Greece, wher yet remaineth the ruines of Appollo's temple, neere unto which, by digging, manie statues of the best auncient sculptors may be had, and the like in *Samose*, *Icaria*, *Patmos*, *Paros*, *Amorgos*, &c. the perticulars of which, shunning prolixity, I omit. As for those islands ther belonging to the Penecians, as *Zant*, *Sefalonia*, *Candy*, &c. I doubt ther is little to be gotten in them, having been often searched.

The meanes to gett theis things are theis: ther must be a pass or safe conduct from the Great Turke,

procured by the ambassador at Constantinople, authorising and securing the man imployed in all the aforesaid places to search, digg up, and transport, theis things, only for curiosity; for the Turks must not know that they are of anie value. He that is imployed must allwaies weare poore apparrell, for by that meanes the Turk will imagine the things he seeks for to be of no great estimation. He must have letters of recommendation to the English consulls and marchants-factors at every place wher he goeth, with bills of exchange, and letters of credite, for the digging, carrying, or buying, of the things aforesaid. He must never be without great store of tobacco, and English knives, to present the Turkes withall who are governors of places, and other officers with whome he shall have to doe; for theis small presents, togeather with his shew of poverty, will save him from manie troubles which otherwise might happen. The men that he employes to digg he must pay by the day; and, if he meet with anie statues or colossus too great to be carried away whole, he must imploy men to saw it asunder with iron sawes and sharpe sand: he must use a great fearn with tackles and pullies, to load theis on draggas or carts: he must be very carefull to gather togeather all the smalest bits and fragments that are found or digged up neere to anie statue, and putt them up in boxes, which he must give to the masters of the shippes to be safelie delivered here: he must provide magazens or storehouses in the port-townes which lie most convenient for his purpose, wher the things are to be kept untill they be transported; the best things being putt in

in cases of boards, and thother in the ballace : he must take heed not to load theis in anie shipp wher butts of oyle ly on the top of them, for manie things have been spoiled by that meanes. He must send some hills of lading expressing every thing that he sendeth, with the name of the master and of the shipp. He must, as often as he can, send letters of what things he hath gathered, and what he hath sent, and of all other occurrants belonging to this business.

Two Speeches of Queen Elizabeth, one made at the Camp at Tilbury in 1588, and the other to both Houses of Parliament, April 10, 1593.

The Queen's Speech at the Camp at Tilbury.

My loving people,
WE have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear ; I have always so behaved myself, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, and to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman,

but I have the heart of a king, and a king of England too : and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms : to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I MYSELF will take up arms ; I MYSELF will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns ; and we do assure you on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead ; than whom never prince commanded more noble and worthy subject ; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

Speech to both Houses of Parliament, April 10, 1593.

THIS kingdom hath had many wise, noble, and victorious princes : I will not compare with any of them for wisdom, fortitude, or any other virtues ; but saving the duty of a child, that is not to compare with his father in love, care, sincerity, and justice, I will compare with any prince that ever you had, or shall have.

It may be thought simplicity in me, that all this time of my reign I have not sought to advance my territories and enlarge my dominions, for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect ; but though it hath not been

been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained: that hath only held me from such attempts. And I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign over mine own, and to rule as a just prince.

Yet the king of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller and the beginner of all these wars, in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be; for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts, wherein I have done him the least injury; but I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong that he hath done me.

I fear not all his threatenings; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me; for though he come against me with a greater power than ever was, his *Invincible Navy*, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him, for my cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. *But I swear unto you by God*, if I knew those persons, or any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.

The subsidies you gave me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good wills with them; but if the necessity of the time, and your preservations did not require it, I

would refuse them. But let me tell you that the sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a prince to have so much always in her coffers for your defence in time of need, and not to be driven to get it when we should use it.

You that be lieutenants and gentlemen of command in your counties, I require you to take care that the people be well armed and in readiness upon all occasions. You that be judges and justices of the peace, I command and straightly charge you, that you see the laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living laws when we have put life into them.

*Extracts from Alleyn's * Journal; entitled, The Founders 1st Booke of Accounts, from October 1617 to September 1622.*

30 Septr.

I CAME to London in the coach & went to the Red Bull - - 0 0 2

3 Octr. I went to the Red Bull & rd for the Younger Brother but 3 6 4—water - - 0 0 4

6 Pd for a bottle of wine - - - 0 1 1

19 Our wedding daye, theyr dined wt us Doc. Watt, owld Begt & his wife, Canterburie & his wife, Jo Boand, Mr. Harris, & his frend Po Foard.

22 P^d Mr. Travise rent for the Black Fryars - 40 0 0

31 I went to London to the Lo. Tresurers - 2 10 0

Supp. att Youngs ordinarye w^h the Starr Chamber men - - 0 6 0

* Alleyn the actor, founder of Dulwich college. A curious anecdote of Alleyn, —the Garrick of his time, is inserted in our Register, vol. 13, p. 107.

11 P ^d by Morton the Fortune quitt rent -	0	1	10	New drawing my bill	0	5	0
15 Given the boyes of Powles - - -	0	1	0	For ingrossing thereof	0	3	0
18 My dinner att Harts odynorie -	0	1	0	A copie of W. H. se-			
19 Sr Randelle Crewe a fee for a motion to alter W. H. petition, for having the cause referd to Mr. Mar & Mr. Woolveridge - - -	4	8	0	cond peticion - -	0	5	0
Bought a book of the generall practising of Phisick - - -	0	6	8	Drawing a breefe for Sr. Ra. Crew - -	0	2	6
Nov. 3 Porter to York howse att a Seale day for a motion mad by Sr. Ra. Crewe - - -	0	0	8	Wrighting 2 fayer copies of itt - -	0	2	0
Dec. 30th Bought a book the Bishop of Spalates - - -	0	0	6	Entring a copie of the order - - -	0	11	6
31st Water to Suffolk Howse - - -	0	1	0	A second copie made on the first hering	0	3	4
Given my La. my silver booke. P ^d forwrighting the verses - -	0	10	0	An affidavitt of Jo. H. death - - -	0	2	4
To Buckart for lyming itt—				The copie of the bill	0	11	0
To Mr. Brambeel for the glass work - -	1	2	0	Drawing & ingrossing an answer to itt -	0	12	0
The wholvalure was 15l.				Abreef for Mr. Geratts motion - - -	0	0	6
Jan. 1st Newe year's daye w ^t giftes given my La. Clarck a pr. of silk stock. - - -	1	10	0	For an attachment for W. H. - - -	0	2	10
Given Mr. Austen a pr. of silk stockins - -	1	10	0	Affidavit y ^t W. H. was served w ^t p ^e -	0	2	4
Given Mrs. Austen a pr. of gloves - -	1	10	0	For entring & drawing the last order - -	0	11	6
P ^d Tuchborne his bill for Michelmass Terme the Attorneys fee on the first bill - - -	0	3	4	Tuchborne's fee this Terme - - -	0	20	0
The copie of W. H. petition for Mr. Wolverig	0	2	6				
The Attorneys fee on the 2 bill - - -	3	3	4				
						5	7
							4
				16 A pr. of whight under stocking - -	0	1	10
				March 24 P ^d Mr. Younge, my Chapline & Schoolmr. for his qrters wages - - -	5	0	0
				P ^d Mr. Harrisone, my Chapline & Usher, for his qrters wages -	3	6	4
				M ^d —one Thursday the 26 of Marche John Hopkins the Organist came to me.			
				April 2 P ^d for 2 to-			
				kens att St. Saviours	0	0	4
				Given w ^b them back	0	0	2
				Given in their basone more - - -	0	0	2
				A pint of muskadell -	0	0	6
							17th

17th I was att Arundell Howse, when my Lord showed me all his Statues & Picktures that came from Italy—given his man

25 Sent Dr. Ligter my water & - - - 0 2 0

27 Bought a pair of Orgaines for the Chapell off Mr. Gibbs of Powles - - - 8 2 0

May 17 Pd for the bookes of examinacions in the Star-chamber being 94 sheets at 12d. the sheet - - - 4 14 0

Given Mr. Gressame, the wrighter of them - - - 0 2 0

July 11th I received my Pattent from Mr. Attorney, & he woud red. nothing, but Mr. Beal had for it - - - 5 10 0

His 2 men - - - 1 02 0

The Chamb. keepr. I gave - - - 0 05 6

6 17 6

1 Sept. This day the pore people dined and suppt wt. us, it being my birth daye, & 52 years owld, blessed be the Lord God the giver of Lyffe, Amen.

13 I invited to dinner Sr. Ed. Bowyar, La. Brice, Mr. Bowyar, Mr. Dennis, Mrs. Jane & a young gentlewoman; and wh theys came 5 men; then cam unlookt for Tho. Allen & his sone, Mr. Edmunds, & Mr. Juby & his wife, Mr. Kipitt, & his wife, & a gent. Jo. Hyne, & 3 psones from the Bank Sid.

18 Dinneratt the Mar-mayd in Bred streat to Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Brom-

field, Tho. Allen, & 5 of the Fortune company 0 5 0

More disbursed in the building in the Black Fryars for this yeare, & in an^o 1617 when it first beganne w^t the 200^l first disbursed by my fater; buyeing in off Leases, Chargis in Lawe, & the building itt self, w^t making meanes to keep them from being puld down, is - - - 1105 00 02

29th of September 1618.

Here ends the years account beginning at Michellmass 1617, & ending this Michellmass 1618, in which hath bene disbursed, in generall wth the charge off the Black Fryars Buildings 2093 12 08 Whereoff in pticulars as followeth: In Howshould Charge 137 14 08 For the Colledge 184 09 06 For Rente, - 258 02 07 For debts, building or

repairing - - - 1254 13 06

For Aparell - - - 010 13 06

For Lawe, the worst of awe - - - 067 05 06

Jan. 22 Bought between me and Jo. Harrison, my chapline, Mr. Minshawe's Dictionarie, being 11 languages; the price was 22s. whereoff I gave - - - 0 11 0

1619 Sept. 12 I rode to the Lo. of Canterburye, but he was sick & could not com.

13 This daye was the foundation off the Colledge finish, & ther wear present, the Lord Chancellor, the Lo. of Arondell, Lo. Coronell Cieccll, Sr. Jo. Howland, Highe Shreive, Sr. Ed. Bowyare, Sr. Tho. Grymes,

Grymes, Sr. Jo. Bodley, Sr. John
Tunstall, Inigo Jones, the K. Sur-
veyor, Jo. Finch, Councillor, Ric.
Tayle Boyer, Ric. June, Jo. An-
thony. They first herd a sermond,
and after the instrument of creacion
wase by me read, & after an an-
them they went to dinner, w^{ch}
wase as followeth :

A qter & a flank, 20			
stone 7 ^{lb}	-	1	12 9
16 lb of suett	-	0	05 4
13 mary boanes	-	0	04 4
12 neats tounge	-	0	12 0
A leg of mutton	-	0	01 10
3 pr. of cauves feet		0	00 10
P ^d a porter	-	0	01 4
		3	16 5

2 Mess of Meat.

Capons in whight broth
Boyl'd pigions
Boyl'd venson
Farct boyl'd meat
Could rost
Gran salade
A chin of beef rost
Shoulder of mutton w^h oysters
Baked vensone
Rost neate tong
A floringtyne
Rost capons
Rost ducks
Rost eel
Westfalya bacon
En

So on the other Mess.

2 Course.

Rost godwith
Aytychok pie
Rost partridges
Wett leche
Rost quayles
Codlyng tart
Howse pigions
Amber lech
Rost Rabitt
Dry neats tongs
Pickle oysters
Achoves

So the other Mess.

The CHARG of the DINER.

The Buchars Bill.

A chine of beefe, 12
stone - - - 0 18 0

The Powlers Bill.

9 capons	-	1	02 0
2 godwitts	-	0	06 0
6 howse pigions	-	0	04 4
18 felde pigions	-	0	04 6
6 rabbitts	-	0	04 2
Half a 100 of eages	-	0	02 0
		2	05 0

Cooke Bill.

2 dry neats tounge		0	04 0
3 ^{lb} of lard	-	0	02 6
A pottle of great oys-			
ters	-	0	03 0
Isingglass & turmsole		0	02 6
Damsones & codlings		0	01 6
Barberyes & grapes		0	01 6
A strayner	-	0	00 8
		0	15 6

Gardyners Bill.

2 colley storeys	-	0	03 0
13 artichocks at 30d			
the dosen	-	0	03 4
30 Lettis	-	0	00 4
Purslaine & beet roots		0	00 8
Carets, turneps, rose-			
mary, and bays	-	0	00 4
4 lemons	-	0	01 2

Saltys

ANTIQUITIES.

349

Saltiers Bill.

Olyves 1 qrt.	-	0	01	6
Capers $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb.	-	0	00	6
* $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb.	-	0	00	4
Anchovies 3 qrs. of a lb.	-	0	01	6
H. a bushel of salt	-	0	00	8
		0	04	6

5*	-	0	03	0
Sweet water	-	0	00	8
4 pipkins for the cooke	0	01	0	
		0	04	10

Confectionoure Bill.

Pine apple seed, 4 oz.	0	00	9	
Oringoes, 2 lb.	-	0	03	4
Whight biskett, a q. of a lb.	}	0	01	0
Colored biskett, a q. of a lb.				
Wett suckett, H. a lb.	0	01	0	
Musko dyamond	-	0	02	0
Almond past $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb.	0	00	10	
Wafers, $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb.	-	0	01	0
Lumpe sugar, 9 lb.	-	0	09	0
		0	18	11

Grocers Bill.

A sugar loaf wth. l. cla.	-	0	17	6
Pepp. 1 lb.	-	0	02	4
Nutt megges, 7 oz.	0	01	9	
Ginger, 5 oz.	-	0	00	1
Synamon, 1 oz.	-	0	00	4
Dry Cloves, 2 oz.	-	0	01	0
Long mace, 2 oz.	-	0	01	0
Jordayn allmonds, 8 oz.	0	00	8	
Figgs, 4 oz.	-	0	00	1
Reason solis, 2 lb.	-	0	00	11
Prunes piked, 2 lb.	0	00	4	
Curones, 4 lb.	-	0	02	0

Rice, 1 lb.	-	0	00	4
Dates, 4 oz.	-	0	00	6
Saffornes, $\frac{1}{4}$ an oz.	-	0	00	4
Beaten sinamon & gin-ger	-	0	00	1
Capp pap. 1 quier	-	0	00	3
Pack thred	-	0	00	4
		1	11	0

Vinteners Bill.

2 rundletts of clarett, contayning 8 gall.	-	0	16	0
A bottel of canory, 9 pints	-	0	02	6
3 qts. of sherry	-	0	02	0
3 qts. of whight wine	0	03	0	
1 qt. of wine vinegar	0	00	9	
		£.	1	02 6

Of my owne.

A mutton	-	0	10	0
Wheat for meal & flower, 8 bushlls.	-	2	00	0
30 lb. of butter	-	0	15	0
Chare coal & wood	-	0	10	0
2 hoggsheds of bere	1	04	0	
Use for a garnish of	0	01	6	
Carrowas, 1 lb.	-	0	00	6
Given them yt. wayted	0	05	0	
		5	05	0

Some of theys is 16 12 6
TheCokes labour 01 16 8 } 20 9 2
The buck, wh warrant
& feching 02 00 0
26 Oct. 1619, I rode to Sr. Tho. Edmunds, & after to the buriall of Mr. Benfeeld.

* Illegible.

24 March,

24 March, I rode to see
the tylyng, p^d for a
standing - - 0 1 0

9 May 1620, Bought
2 books, Googe Hus-
bandry, & a copie book,
& Rules off Lyfe - - 0 5 0

26 My wyfe & I acknowledge the
fine att the Common Pleasc Court
of all my lands to the College,
blessed be God y^t hath lent us lyfe
to doe itt.

13 Aug. John Lowen & his wyfe
dined with me.

16 April 1622, Dinner
at the Hart in, Smith-
field, w^h the Builders off
the Fortune - - 0 3 0

14 May, Paid the first
payment for the Fortune
building 25^l—spent - 0 1 6

*Account of the taking of King James,
and bringing him to Faversham.
Written by Capt. Southouse, at
that Time Mayor of the Town.*

Quæq; ipse miserrima vidi.

ON Tuesday, Dec. 11th, 1688,
were taken Sr. Tho. Jener,
Mr. Graham, & Mr. Burton, in a
coach at Faversham. At ye. same
time several coaches designing for
France were stopt at Ospringe.
"Amongst these was Obadiah
Walker, Mr. of University College
in Oxford, who was taken at Sit-
tingbourn by the 2 Mr. Napletons
and Mr. Edwards, & some of ye.
rabble, and brought to ye. Queen's
Arms at Faversham."

"Twas in a 4t. of an hour spread
abt. ye. town yt. Mr. Walker had
privately sent his man to Rochester
to desire ye. colonel of ye. Irish re-
giment yhere, to march his soldiers

yt. night to Faversham, in order to
rescue him and ye. rest yt. were
taken. Upon this ye. rabble threat-
ened to cut all their throats, and had
done it, if some good men had not
overpr.suaded ym.

"The eldest of ye. Napletons,
who had shewn his valour agt. un-
armed priests this day, could by no
means endure ye. very apprehension
of resisting ye. Irish red coats, who
were expected yt. night to bayle his
prisoners; but like a wise man (who
resolved to sleep in a whole skin)
mounts his horse, declaring yt. he
would go to Canterbury immediately
to ye. gent. there, and raise ye.
country troops for our assistance
here, & yt. he would be back again
by twelve at night, it being abt. six
when he set forth, where we will
leave him for a while and return to
his fellow Priest-catcher, Edwards,
in whose face one might pr.ceive all
ye. marks yt. a cowardly fear could
imprint," &c.

Edwards wrote letters to several
gent. to raise ye. country. One Mr.
Amis and John Hunt moved Captain
Southouse to send ym. some of his
men to take a vessel with the King's
Jack, wch. was seen off Sheerness.
The Capt. said he could not spare
ym. because of ye. Irish, w^m. it was
reported yt. my Ld. Tenam had
joynd with several horse. Abt. 20.
of ye. souldiers swore yey. would
goe, and accordingly went.

"I must not here forget to men-
tion ye. extraordinary diligence of
a neighbouring parson, by name
Bernard, who, (whether informed
by an emissary of Edwards's, or being
rogue enough was privy to ye.
damn'd design hims.) mounted his
steed, and tho' a very heavy horse-
man at another time, nimbly gal-
loped over his parish, and with a pul-
piteering

piteering Tone, pronounced destruction to man, woman, & child, if yey. 'tinued half an Hour longer in their beds; for ye. bloody Irish Papists were come to Sittingbourn, & had destroyed all as yey. came along: ye. poor Country-men being well acquainted with ye. voice, took it for granted yt. it was certainly true, & immediately all from 16. to 60. years seized wt. arms every one could lay hold on. & thus, after their church-militant leader, marcht into town."

The K. & Sr. Edw. Hales taken by Hunt, &c. Hunt gives ye. first notice, upon wch. Edwards begins his Health. Amis gives an acct. of ye. takeing of ye. vessel, and brought with him Sr. Edw. Hales's sword. Harry Moon, being one of ym. who were in ye. meantime left to guard ye. vessel, was very rude, especially to ye. K. not knowing him; "but was reprimanded several times by John Jeffery, ye. Pipe-maker, who shewed more civility to ye. K. tho' unknown, yn could be expected indeed by such a sort of man, & at such a time; for ye. K. sitting where ye. Rain beat down upon him, this Jeffery offered him his place, wch. was free fro ye. weather, & ye. K. readily accepted of it: after yt. ye. K. asked him his Name, and he told him: says ye. K. Thou art a civil fellow; but let me ask you one Qu. Do you believe yt. Papists go to Heaven? says Jeffery, God forbid, but yey. shd. go a great way abt. Sr. How so? said ye. K. Why, said Jeffery; suppose yt. you was to go to Canterbury from this Place, ye. nearest way is by Faversham; but if you go to Sheernesse, and then thro' Milton & Sittingbourn, you'l come to Canterbury at last, but you go a long way abt. wch. saying of ye. Pipe-maker's wonderfully pleased

ye. K. so yt. he repeated it several times, when he was at Faversham."

The Ferryman carryed Sr. Edw. Hales out of ye. Boat, but ye. K. was forced to walk thro' the Water. "When yey. alighted fro ye. Coach at ye. Queen's Arms, one Marsh, a Brewer of ye. town reported yt. one of ym. was ye. K. (wch. was no little surprise to ye. People). Immediately ye. Capt. of ye. Company (who was also Mayor) was sent for by Sr. Edw. Hales to come to ym. who (as soon as he entered ye. room) saw ye. K. walking and immediately knew him, notwithstanding ye. disguise he was in, and fell down on his knees to him; but ye. K. in passion, being unwilling as it was supposed to be known, cried, Stand up, what do you mean? The Mayor rose, and went to Sr. Edw. Hales and said, Surely this is ye. K.! Sr. Edw. turns abt. and with a low voice answers. 'Tis too true, wch. brought a flood of tears fro. his eyes. The Rable (who stood all this while at ye. door) seeing ye. Mayor kneel to him, and remembering Marshe's report, cryed out, Ye. K. ye K. When his Maj. found he was discovered, he admitted ye. Mayor to have ye. Honr. of kissing his hand. And soon after yt. ye. K. called ye. Mayor aside, & told him yt. he was fully resolved to go for France, & he wd. have him to assist in getting him off, and yt. he did believe, yt. Amis who took him, wd. be ye. most proper man to undertake ye. matter: for, added ye. K. I see he is a bold fellow by wt. he has done already. The Mayor told his Majty. yt. he was afraid Amis wd. not be true to him: because he had declared for ye. P. of O. along, and was also ye. active Head of ye. Mob. The K. reply'd, 'Tis

no

no matter for yt. I am sure, he will do any thing for mony, wch. he shall not want, if he pr.forms this: therefore go imediately and bring him to me."

When Amis was told by ye. Capt. yt. ye. K. was one of those whom he had taken, and yt. ye. Capt. was sent to bring him to his Maj.ty. he "seemed extreamey surprised at this, wch. his pale looks and violent Tremblings gave sufficient Testimony of: Assoon as he came before ye. K. he fell down on his knees, and told ye. K. yt. if Sir Edw. Hales or any one had but discovered to him, when he boarded ye. Vessel, who he was, he would certainly have landed him in France, or where he would go, befoye yt. time. The K. said to him, Will you serve me now, & carry me to France? Amis reply'd yt. he would wth. all his heart: so ye. K. pitched upon him to be ye. man to carry him off, & every thing for a while seemed obedient to his Maj.tie's wishes. But soon after ye. K. was pr.suaded fro trusting Amis, by one Mr. Sherman, who was collector of his Maj.ties' customs, who proposed one Rich. Maidstone, ye. chief Boatman of ye. Customhouse here, who indeed was a man yt. equal'd, if not exceeded Amis in skill and courage, and had 1000 times more and better Principles of honesty in him: The place was imediately affixt, where he shd. take water, & ye. Mayor told his Maj.ty yt. if he pleased to go to his house, he would convey him at Midnight out of his Back Gate to ye. Waterside; & ye. Town know nothing of it. The K. approved of it very well, & bid ye. Mayor get all things ready to go to France wth. him, and provide 12 stout, resolute men, yt. would be true to him, if any

thing shd. happen in his getting off. The Mayor went presently abt. it, & upon his return met wth. an old Townsman, who told him, he would be ready at 12. o'clock at his Back Gate to guard ye. K. The Mayor was very much surprised to hear yt. he knew ye. design, & pretended altogether ignorant of it: but ye. old man told him, yt. his Maj.ty had trusted him with it, & he would serve him as faithfully as any: ye. Mayor went to his Maj.ty, and asked him, if he had trusted yt. old man? His Maj.ty answered, yes; why, is he not honest? The Mayor replied, he doubted not, for he was turned out of commission in K. Ch. 2d's time, and was under confinement in Monmouth's Rebellion, as disaffected to yr. Maj.ties' Govnt. The K. made Answer, yt. he was sorry he knew it not before; & in less yn. a quarter of an Hour there was 1000 mob was gott abt. ye. House, yt. his Maj.tie's voyage was quite at an end.

An Account of some of the Antiquities of Babylon, found in the Neighbourhood of Bagdad: Also of what is deemed to have been the Tower of Babel, and of the Yezidis. By M. De Beauchamp, Vicar-General of Babylon, and Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

OF all the traces remaining of ancient Babylon, there are but two respecting the situation of which any thing can now be determined. These are what is called *Tak-Kore*, near the Tigris, six leagues S. E. of Bagdad, and twelve leagues from Babylon; and the ruins in the environs of Hella on the Euphrates, which

In the Arabs call *Makloribet*, which are the ruins of Babylon. The name of the former seems to be derived from Cosroes, called by the natives Kosrow; but, as I observe further on, the edifice appears to have been anterior to his, and a tradition of the Arabs generally accounts for it. They contend, that all temples of Idols ceased on the coming of their Prophet; it is still related at Bagdad, that an old man seeing the *Tak* shake, pronounced that a great Prophet was coming, who should convert all people to the worship of the true God. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that the first Arabian Mussulmen, who converted to their new religion, attributed a number of prodigies, would say, *El tak kesere*, "The portico is broken;" a speech extremely applicable to this famous portico, which has been cracked for ages. The *Tak-Kesre* is a building 270 [of Paris] long, and 86 high: the portico, which occupies the middle, is 148 feet long, and 76 wide, and its two façades are each of 100 feet. It is constructed of burnt bricks, ten inches square by two and a half thick, cemented with gypsum taken from the spot, the walls of which, like that round Bagdad, and in a great part of the city, contains much gypsum. The walls which support the vaulted roof are 23 feet thick; those of the façade are 18. The arch is a semi-circle, but consists of three arcs of equal radius, of which the centres are placed at a certain distance from each other. Those at Bagdad are very recently constructed, their curvature being considerable at their commencement, whilst at the key they terminate in a right line from each side.

The vault is pretty well preserved: there is no crack at the key, but it is fallen-in in two places. The first is near the centre of the façade, where it is half a foot narrower than in other places. The two walls which support it have been separated, either by an earthquake, or a sinking of the foundation. Throughout the vault are a number of holes, symmetrically arranged, and piercing it in the direction of its radii, and which have, as I believe, tubes of earth. The Arabs say, that a great number of lamps were lighted in this edifice, which they suppose to have been a temple, and that these holes were vents for the smoke. This idea, however, is destroyed by the reflection, that a vault so large, and entirely open in front, could not require such help for that purpose. Indeed I was puzzled to guess what could have been their use, unless for erecting the scaffolding; and in this opinion I was confirmed, on finding similar holes at the west end of the building, in the ruins of an arch which formed a cornice. The architecture is rude, as appears by the façade, which is adorned with sham doors and windows. It is generally supposed at Bagdad, that these were niches for statues: but they are too shallow, in proportion to their height, for that purpose, being not more than a foot deep, and are not rounded. The pillars of the lower story, which are in pairs, are plain, as are those that join the other stories, and project from the wall to the thickness of their semi-diameter. It is to be observed, that those of the higher range do not rest on those of the former, and are distributed unequally; which shows, that little taste is displayed in this vast pile of building.

building. The portico has three gates; one at the end, eight feet wide, 14 deep, and 18 high; and two others, eight feet wide, and 23 deep each. I imagined, that the latter had led to two other apartments, according to the ancient usage of the East, which is still retained: and this I was induced to believe, from observing the ruins of an arch at the posterior part of the building: on an attentive examination, however, I remarked, that the curvature of this arch, to judge by what remained, was not considerable enough to make a room of a breadth proportionate to the length of the building; and that there was no trace of such an arch above the side gates, the walls of which were very well preserved: I concluded, therefore, that it was only a very large cornice by way of ornament. This part of the building is much less injured than the eastern front. It is plain from the cornice to a certain height, where, on each side of the porticoes, are ten false windows, separated by a projecting wall 10 or 12 feet high, by six feet thick, a part of which only remains. I convinced myself that this wall never reached the ground, as its lower part is perfectly smooth, and not a brick of it is wanting. At the height of the ten false windows the wall narrows, forming a cordon, like a kind of irregular stair, descending to the salient wall just mentioned, and ascending to the extremity of the building. The external part of the vault has suffered most injury from the hand of time. The wall which supported it appears, though disfigured, to have decreased in thickness every ten or twelve feet, in the form of steps.

Examining the position of the building with a good compass, I found it due East and West, the grand front facing the East. What leads me to attribute it to a period far anterior to Kosroes, who reigned A. D. 600, is the rudeness of its architecture. That which prevailed in his days we may presume to have been not very different from that of the time of the Caliphs of Bagdad. Now the remains we have of the latter are in a very different style. In the neighbourhood of Tak-Kesre there is a mosque, called Soliman Pak, in which, according to the Arabs, the Barber of Mohammed was buried. This has been rebuilt, though badly; but there still exists in it a gateway acknowledged to have been built by the Caliphs, in which we find a certain elegance that is also to be seen in many ancient edifices at Bagdad. I am of opinion, therefore, that the Tak-Kesre was built by some King of Babylon. On what grounds Delisle attributes it to Nebuchadnezzar, called by the Arabs Bakt-Nasser, "fortunate and victorious," I know not.

I was at first surprised to find this enormous building situated a quarter of a league from the Tigris, and was inclined to believe, that its walls had formerly been washed by that river. But I was undeceived by a Sheik of the Arabs, who informed me, that the foundations of the walls of a very large city, which extend on both sides of the river, were still to be seen. These the Arabs call Medaine, or the Two Cities; that is to say, Celeucia and Ctesiphon; which are placed here by Delisle. I have been told by the Chaldee Patriarch of Babylon, that it is recorded in the archives of his church, that

that his predecessors resided there. It is beyond a doubt, however, that Tak-Keare is far more ancient than these two cities founded by the Greeks.

I ought not to omit, that near Tak-Keare are found urns of clay, filled with a friable calcareous substance, which is evidently burnt bones. Eight years ago the Arabs found there a statue of an infant in white marble, admirably executed. I saw the legs, attached to a kind of pedestal. They were presented by the Pacha of Bagdad to the English Agent, who sent them to Constantinople to Sir Robert Ainslie. The head is in the possession of M. Rousseau, the French consul. This I presume to have been the work of a Greek.

The ruins of Babylon are very visible a league north of Hella. There is in particular an elevation flat on the top, of an irregular figure; and intersected by ravines. It would never have been suspected for the work of human hands, were it not proved by the layers of bricks found in it. Its height is not more than sixty yards. On my first journey to Hella, in 1784, I wrote M. de la Lande, that I could not believe this to be what was once the Tower of Babel, though it is even now called Babel by the Arabs. The learned have long ago passed their judgment on the imaginary descriptions given of this monument by such travellers as the Jew Benjamin, Detudelle, and others. A person skilled in Arabic will not easily believe, that the word Babel is derived from the root of bel-bel, which signifies to confound; as commentators pretend. Be it as it may, this mount is so little elevated, that the least ruin we pass in the

road to it conceals it from the view. To come at the bricks it is necessary to dig into the earth. They are baked with fire, and cemented with zepht or bitumen: between each layer are found osiers.

Above this mount, on the side of the river, are those immense ruins, which have served, and still serve, for the building of Hella, an Arabian city, containing 10,000 or 12,000 souls. Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to Abbé Barthelémy. This place, and the mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs Makloube; that is, "turned topsy-turvy." I was informed by the master-mason employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and about eight years ago a statue as large as life, which he threw amongst the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks. Sometimes idols of clay are found, representing human figures. I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half-moon in relief. The bricks are cemented with bitumen, except in one place, which is well preserved, where they are united by a very thin stratum of white cement, which appears to me to be made of lime and sand.

The master-workman informed me, that there were three cities in which antiquities are found: Babel, or Makloube; Brousa, two leagues S. E. of Hella in the Desert; and Kaidas, still farther distant than

A a 2

Brousa.

Broussa. I was told that many marble statues were found in the latter, but it is dangerous to go thither without a strong guard.

Most of the bricks found at Makloube have writing on them : but it does not appear that it was meant to be read, for it is as common on bricks buried in the walls as on those on the outside. I observed that each quarter has a peculiar impression : I mean, that we find but one series of letters, and arranged in the same manner, in one place. The bricks are every where of the same dimensions ; one foot three lines square, by three inches thick. Occasionally layers of osiers in bitumen are found, as at Babel. The quantity of the bitumen that must have been employed in building Babylon, is scarcely credible. Most probably it was procured from Hitt on the Euphrates, where we still find it. The master-mason told me that he found some in a spot which he was digging about twenty years ago ; which is by no means strange, as it is common enough on the banks of the Euphrates ; I have myself seen it on the road from Bagdad to Juba, an Arabian village seated on that river.

The master-mason led me along a valley which he dug out a long while ago to get at the bricks of a wall, that, from the marks he showed me, I guess to have been sixty feet thick. It ran perpendicularly to the bed of the river, and was probably the wall of the city. I found in it a subterranean canal, which, instead of being arched over, is covered with pieces of sand-stone, six or seven feet long, by three feet wide. These ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hella, and incontestibly mark the situation of

ancient Babylon. I employed two men for three hours in clearing a stone which they supposed to be an Idol. The part which I got a view of appeared to me nothing but a shapeless mass : it was evident, however, that it was not a simple block, as it bore marks of the chisel, and there were pretty deep holes in it ; but I could not find any inscription on it. The stone is of a black grain ; and, from the large fragments of it found in many places, it appears there were some monuments of stone built here. On the eastern side, I found a stone nearly two feet square and six inches thick, of a beautiful granite, the grain of which was white and red. All these stones must have been brought from some distance, as this part of the Desert contains none. On the same side of the city, as I was told by the master-mason, there were walls of varnished bricks, which he supposed to have been a temple : Idols would probably be found there, if any one would be at the expence of digging : but it would be necessary to satisfy the avarice of the Mussulmen, who are never very willing for Europeans to search lands occupied by them.

Besides the bricks with inscriptions, which I have mentioned, there are solid cylinders, three inches in diameter, of a white substance, covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis mentioned by Chardin. Four years ago I saw one ; but I was not eager to procure it, as I was assured that they were very common. I mentioned them to the master-mason, who told me, that he sometimes found such, but left them amongst the rubbish as useless. Black stones which have inscriptions engraved on them

them are also met with. These, I was told, were found at Broussa, which is separated from Makloubé by the river. I was informed, that an Arab at Halla had one in his possession, and did all I could to procure it, or at least to obtain a sight of it, but I could not succeed. In 1782 one was sent to Paris, by M. And. Michaux, a botanist, who was at that time at Bagdad. I have been assured by the Arabs, that a day's journey from the last-mentioned city, and six leagues from the Tigris, there is a stone of enormous size covered with inscriptions. May we not presume, that this stone is of the same origin as the Pillars of Thaut?

I visited the ruins of Broussa six years ago. These are, properly speaking, nothing but a mountain of earth and bricks. The difficulty of transporting them across the river prevents the latter being dug for. We find there a kind of hall still standing, which I conceive to be more modern than the city itself, as well as a square tower, which, though ancient, appears to have been built on its ruins.

The city of Hella is not the remains of Babylon: it is a league more to the south. I assured myself on the spot, that Hella did not exist before Cuffa. Its name is written *Helle*, which in Arabic signifies place, habitation, and, according to the mussulmen, the place between the two sacred places Imam-Hassein and Imam-Ali. A league from Hella, towards Makloubé, is seen an ancient portico called diemjeme, signifying in Arabic the skull of the head. It is pretended, that Ali here passed the Euphrates, in his road to Cuffa, where he was killed by Giezid. I

must observe here, that Delisle, in his map of Babylonia, places that ancient city and the celebrated mosque of Imam-Ali too near each other. They are five leagues distant. Sultan Selim begun an aqueduct for conveying water to the latter from the Euphrates, which was continued by Nadir Shah, but has never been finished. Many Mussulman pilgrims assured me, that they drank very bad well-water there. The soil is a sandy gypsous desert, producing nothing.

I imagine medals must be found in the ruins of Babylon, if sought after: but the Arabs pick them up only when they know Europeans are desirous of them. One of copper was brought me whilst I was there. On comparing it with different Parthian medals, I observed, that all the heads of the latter bore a kind of mitre; that of the former, a crown of flowers. Last year I procured a cup with unknown characters, which had been found, with a hundred medals in it, a few years ago, near Nemrod, and sent it to count de Choiseul-Gouffier. From this, I was informed by Ab. Barthelémy, no information could be drawn, without the medals. Of these I believe I now possess a part. Mr. Rousseau, the French consul, purchased at that period just 100 medals of a base silver, and all of the same coin. They are very ancient, and I believe Parthian or Babylonian; but of this the learned will judge. M. Rousseau intrusted me with forty to dispose of for him, as well as some others which I have brought to Paris.

The latitude of Hella I have ascertained to be 32° 38': its longitude I conclude to be 41° 53' 30' east from Paris, from three observations;

vations; an eclipse of the moon Nov. 3, 1789, the immersion of the second satellite of Jupiter on the same day, and the entrance of Mercury on the sun's disk the 5th of the same month. Five years ago, I observed by the compass, that Hella was nearly under the same meridian as Bagdad, to the S. S. E. of which Mr. Delisle has placed it. I have constructed a map of Babylonia on the spot: that of Mr. Delisle was formed from erroneous information. By that illustrious geographer Borsippa, or Bursita, is placed on the river, near Madjed Hassein. That city, which does not now exist, can be no other than what the Arabs call Broussa, or Boursa, is placed on the river, as I have already said, are two leagues S. E. of Hella, in the desert. The city and mosque of Madjed-Hassein are equally misplaced on the map: they are not on the Euphrates, but in the desert, seven leagues from Hella, and as many from Messeib, where the pilgrims going thither from Bagdad pass the river. The same may be said of Kesil, or the tomb of Ezekiel, which Delisle places on the river in Mesopotamia. I visited that Mosque after the ruins of Broussa, and took its position by the compass: it is on the other side the river, mid-way between Hella and Imam-Ali. Indeed Mr. Delisle's longitudes and latitudes are in general erroneous: Bagdad he places in long. 67° , whilst it is but 62° . Other differences will appear from the new map which I hope to publish.

I requested of the Chaldean patriarch of Babylon, who resides a day's journey from Moussoul, a catalogue in Arabic of all the books written in Chaldee or Syriac, pre-

served in his house, in which the pastoral or patriarchal staff has been fixed for 6 or 700 years, descending from uncle to nephew, and particularly the date of the year in which they were written. Amongst them perhaps will be found some curious manuscripts. I also requested of him some information respecting the religion of the Yezidis, his neighbours, and the Grand Sheik, Sholi-Beig, his friend. The Yezidis neither fast nor pray. It is not known that they have any book, though they pretend to have one which they keep concealed. They call it Lohi-Mani, which I am inclined to believe a corruption of Lokman, the famous Asiatic philosopher. Every morning they present themselves thrice before the rising sun. It is said, that they will not pronounce the letter *shin*, because it is the first of the word *sheitan*, which signifies Satan, or devil. Blue is a colour they hold in abhorrence. The Yezidis in the neighbourhood of Moussoul, are probably Christians who have embraced the ancient sect of Manicheism; for they still retain a respect for the Chaldean Patriarch and his churches. I have even met with some of them who bore the names of our apostles.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Wilmot to Joseph Planta, Esq. Secretary to the British Museum.

Bedford-Row,
10 December, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I TAKE the liberty of transmitting to you, to be deposited in the British Museum, an original letter of Oliver Cromwell, which
con-

contains many interesting particulars of the period in which it was written, viz. 11th September, 1643. Cromwell was at this time commander of a troop of Horse, under the earl of Manchester, general of the parliament forces in the North. The only date on the letter is Sept. 11, but, from the events mentioned in it, it is clear it must have been 11th Sept. 1643, which was a short time after Bristol had surrendered to the king, and a few days only after Beverley had been taken by the marquis of Newcastle. Dugdale, in his short view of these troubles, says, "all the north of England, beyond Trent, except Hull, and some few inconsiderable places, being, by the marquis of Newcastle, reduced to the king's obedience; and also the west by prince Rupert and prince Maurice, excepting Poole, Lime, and Plymouth; the members, sitting at Westminster, became so startled, that some of the leading men prepared for quitting the realm."

The low ebb at which the affairs of the parliament were at this time, is an interesting circumstance in this letter, and this is increased by the confidential manner in which it is written, and by the character and situation of the person to whom it is addressed, namely, Oliver St. John, a leading member of the parliament, who had been lately solicitor-general to the king, and was about that time appointed one of the commissioners of the great seal by the parliament. The tide, indeed, soon turned against the king, which is sufficiently apparent from the dates of the subsequent events: Lynn was taken by the earl of Manchester and Cromwell, the 16th September; Lincoln the

20th; the siege of Gloucester was raised by Fairfax, and the battle of Newbury fought, in the course of that month. Speaking of this period, Whitelocke says, "the lord Willoughby kept the town of Hull against the marquis of Newcastle's forces, till, overpowered with numbers, he was forced to surrender it upon honourable conditions. Colonel Cromwell gave assistance to lord Willoughby, and performed very gallant services against the earl of Newcastle's forces. This was the beginning of his great fortunes, and now he began to appear in the world."

The circumstance, therefore, of the greatest curiosity, in this letter, is the opportunity it affords of observing at this early period of his military career, several traits in the history and character of this extraordinary man: *Quem vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt nisi ut simul laudent*; and who, lord Clarendon says, "could never have accomplished his designs without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a magnanimous resolution."

With regard to the history of this letter, I apprehend it bears internal evidence of its authenticity, both as to its signature, and other particulars. It was given to me by a lady, who was allied to the family of that great constitutional lawyer, sir Robert Atkyns; and there is a tradition in the family, that he succeeded Oliver St. John in his chambers at Lincoln's Inn; and that on some alteration in his chambers, this letter was found behind the wainscot.

You will observe it is very fair and legible, except in one place, where one or two words are torn off

off at the edge of the sheet ; but these are easily supplied by the context.

I have great pleasure in depositing this in the British Museum, as, from the nature of its establishment, and the urbanity of those who have the care of that noble repository, it is not only the most safe, but the most easy of access, of any I know.

I am, dear Sir,
Your very faithful, &c.

J. W.

Joseph Planta, *Esq. Secretary to the Trustees of the British Museum, &c.*

Copy of Oliver Cromwell's Letter presented by J. Wilmot, Esq. to the British Museum.

SR. of all men I should not trouble you with monie matters, did not the heavie necessityes my troupes are in, presse mee beyond measure, I am neglected exceedinglye I am now ready for my march towards the enemie whoe hath intrrenched himselfe over against Hull, my L. Newcastle^l. havenige besieged the towne. Many of my L^d of Manchesters troupes are come to mee, very bad, and mutenus, not to bee confided in, they payen to a week almost, mine noe wayes provided for to support them, except by the poore sequestrations of the county of Hunt ; my troupes increase, I have a lovely companie, you would respect them did you knowe them, they are noe Anabapt. they are honest sober christians, they expect to be used as men, If tooke pleasure to write to the house in bitternesse I have occasion, the 3000^l. allotted mee, I cannott gett

the part of Norfolke nor Hartfordsheire, it was gonn before I had itt, I have minded your service, to forgetfulnessse of my owne and souldiers necessityes, I desire not to seeke my selfe, I have little monie of my owne to help my souldiers, my estate is little, I tell you the businesse of Ireland and England hath had of mee in monies between eleven and 1200 pounds, therfour my private can doe little to helpe the publike you have had my monie, I hope in God I desire to venter my skinn, soe doe mind, lay waite upon their patience but break itt not, thinke of that web may bee a real helpe, I believe 5000^l. is due if you lay aside the thought of mee and my letter I expect noe help pray for

Youre true friend and servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sept. 11th.

There is noe care taken how to maintaine that force of horse and foote raised and a raisinge by my L^d. of Manchester he hath not one able to putt onn, the forces will fall if some helpe nott weake counsils and weake actings under all that is come that come and all will be lost if God help not, & remember whoe tells you,

To my honored friend
Oliver St. John Esquire
these psent
Lincolns Inn.

A Dissertation upon the Ancient carved Stone Monuments in Scotland, with a particular Account of one in Dumfriesshire, by Robert Riddell, of Glenriddell, Esq. Captain of an Independent Company of Foot, F. A. S. and Member of the Literary

*Literary and Philosophical Society
of Manchester.*

Read Dec. 2, 1791.

THERE is not perhaps a more universal feature in the history of man, from the most early dawn of historical information to the present advanced period, than that every nation before the introduction of letters, made use of hieroglyphical symbols to communicate to their posterity, their discoveries in the arts and sciences, the fundamental principles of their religion and laws, and the most celebrated exploits of their princes and heroes.

In Egypt we find many monuments remaining, covered with hieroglyphic symbols, the art of deciphering which was entirely lost in the time of Herodotus, the historian; and when Hernando Cortes conquered Mexico, the most civilized of any American nation, we find they then transmitted their annals to posterity, by hieroglyphical and symbolical paintings.

In Scotland, particularly along the east, many hieroglyphic monuments are still to be met with. Mr. Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*—Mr. Pennant, in his tour in Scotland, and the rev. Mr. Cor-diner, have given to the world, prints, accompanied with descriptions of many of these monuments, in their respective elegant and useful publications. Captain Grose and Mr. de Cardonnel have it in their power to add considerably to these monuments already published.

They appear to have been the work of the Scotch Norwegians and Danes, perhaps from the ninth and tenth centuries to the time of David 1st. when the general use of

letters over all Scotland, rendered laboured sculptures of this kind unnecessary. Several of them bear undoubted marks of their being erected by Christians—others I believe to have been the work of Pagans.

In Dumfries-shire are the remains of some of these very ancient monuments. The one in Ruthwell church-yard has been published by the Antiquarian Society of London, with very great accuracy and elegance, from a drawing of Adam de Cardonnel, Esq. and the one I mean to describe, has been delineated with the utmost fidelity by the accurate pencil of my learned friend Francis Grose, Esq. F. A. S.

This very ancient obelisk stands upon the banks of the river Nith, near the village of Thornhill, in Nithsdale, a district of the shire of Dumfries. Mr. Maitland is the only Scottish historian I can at present recollect, who has taken notice of it, and he does it very slightly.

All tradition respecting it is lost; so that the date of its antiquity can be conjectured only by comparing it with those published in the before-mentioned works. It is a stone about fourteen feet in height, with a pedestal, or socket, into which it is sunk, rudely hewn into two steps. At the bottom where it rises from the pedestal, it is two feet in breadth, tapering at the top to twelve inches. The sides or edges at the bottom are about six inches, tapering at the top to four.

The one side has five distinct compartments, besides a space at the top, wholly defaced. The opposite side appears to consist of two compartments, and is much more defaced than the other. The sides or edges
are

are carved in an elegant kind of chain pattern. Upon the two sides are figures of animals, the bodies of which are formed into unnatural and grotesque shapes, but the annexed drawing will convey a better idea of this monument than it is possible to describe in words.

A gentleman from Ross-shire informed me, that in the island of Lewis, there still stands a very entire and highly ornamented stone pillar, not much inferior to the one near Horres, either in point of size or carving. The remarkable circumstance attending this obelisk is, that it stands on a small hill in the midst of an almost inaccessible bog, some miles from the sea. It is the general opinion, that it must have been brought to the island, as there is no stone to be seen in Lewis of the same kind as this obelisk. I have made applications to different gentlemen in the neighbourhood to procure a drawing of this stone pillar, but have not as yet been able to procure one.

I have often thought, that were drawings of all those carved monuments in Great Britain and Ireland collected into one work, they might then be classed by an antiquary, well versed in the Runic, Celtic, and ancient Irish characters; and then perhaps, it might with certainty be determined whether they were intended to mark the sepulchres of heroes—the fields of battles—or to record historical events, or religious ceremonies.

Anecdotes of Dress.

THE first clothes we read of were immediately after the fall, when “Adam and Eve sewed

fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons.” A poor sort of covering! but when God turned them out of Paradise he provided warmer clothes for them: “Unto Adam and also unto his wife did the Lord God make coats of skin, and clothed them.”—After this, garments of knit work, then woven clothes, came into use. At Cæsar’s arrival, the Britons in the south part of the isle were attired with skins; but as civility grew under the Romans, they assumed the Roman habit. The English or Saxons, at their first arrival here, wore long jackets, were shorn all over the head, excepting about the crown, and under that an iron ring. Afterwards they wore loose and large white garments, with broad borders of divers colours, as the Lombards. Somewhat before the conquest they were all gallant, with coats to the mid-knee, head shorn, beard shaved, face painted, and arms laden with bracelets. But *totus homo in vultu est*, as the whole man is seen by his face, it will not be amiss to observe, that Edward the confessor wore very short cropt hair, whiskers and beard exceeding long. William the conqueror wore short hair, large whiskers, and a short round beard. Robert his eldest son, it is well known, used short hose, and from thence called courthose; courtoise, curtis: on his monument, yet extant at Gloucester, he is portrayed with short stockings of mail, reaching scarce up to the place where some garter below knee; no breeches, but a coat, or rather shirt, of mail instead of them. However, breeches and stockings are new terms, and, in the sense we now understand them, different things, being at first one and the same, all made

made of one piece of cloth, and then called hose.

William Rufus wore the hair of his head a degree longer than his father; but no beard or whiskers. In 1104 (4 Henry I.) Serlo bishop of Seez, preaching at Charenton before the king against long hair, caused him and all his courtiers to get their hair cropt as soon as they left the church; and accordingly Henry I. in his broad seal (as appears in Sandford) has no hair, beard, or whiskers. Stephen observed the same fashions. Henry II. brought in the short mantle, and therefore had the name of court-mantle. In his time the use of silk was first brought out of Greece into Sicily, and other parts of Christendom. Richard I. in his first and second broad seals, has longish hair, no beard or whiskers. John, in his broad seal, has short hair, large whiskers, and short curled hair. The ladies in the three last mentioned reigns, wore long cloaks from their shoulders to their heels, buttoned round the neck, and then thrown over the shoulders, hanging down behind.

Henry III. wore whiskers, and a short round beard. The same king returning out of France, in 1243, commanded it to be proclaimed all over the kingdom, *ut qualibet civitate vel burgo quatuor cives vel burgenses honorabiliores ei obviam procederent in vestibus pretiosis et desiderabilibus*; his design in which was to obtain presents from them. Edward I. wore short hair, and no whiskers or beard. Edward II. continued this fashion. Edward III. in his first and second broad seals, has long hair, but no beard or whiskers; in his third broad seal, shorter hair, large whis-

kers, and a two pointed beard; and on his monument in Westminster Abbey, a very long beard. The same king, in our common prints of him, is generally pictured with a sort of hat on; but as hats are a deal more modern, wherever I see him drawn with a hat on, I conclude that picture to be a counterfeit. And indeed it may be questioned, whether there are any pictures of any of our kings painted before his time now extant. Philippa, consort to this king, according to her monument at Weaminster wore a pretty sort of network cawl over her hair, with a long end of the same hanging down each ear.

In this reign I conceive it was that history says, "the commons were besotted in excess of apparel, going some in wide surcoats reaching to their loins; some in a garment reaching to their heels, close before, and strutting out on both sides, so that on the back they make men seem women, and this they call by a ridiculous name gown. Their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the women's, but set with gold, silver, and precious stones. Their lerrippes reach to their heels, all jagged. They have another weed of silk, which they call paltocks, without any breeches. Their girdles are of gold and silver; their shoes and pattens snouted, and piked above a finger long, crooking upwards, and fastened to the knees with chains of gold or silver."

In 1369 they began to use caps of divers colours, especially red, with costly linings; and in 1373 they first began to wanton it in a new round curtain weed called a cloak; in Latin *armiclausa* (*q. armiclausa*),

clausa), as only covering the shoulders.

But this cloak, as I take it, was no more than a monk's hood, or cowl. Richard II. in his picture in Westminster abbey, is drawn with short curling hair and a small curling two-pointed beard. Queen Anne, Richard II's consort (who first taught the English women to ride on side-saddles, who heretofore rid astride), brought in high head attire, piked with horns, and long-trained gowns. Their high heads had sometimes one point, sometimes two, shaped like sugar-loaves; to which they had a sort of streamers fastened, which wantoned and hung down behind, and turning up again, were tied to their girdles. Henry IV. wore long hair, whiskers, and a double-pointed beard; in his time the long-pocketed sleeve was much in vogue. Henry V. wore much the same: in this reign the shoes were remarkably broad, which Camden speaking of, says, "Not many years after, it was proclaimed, that no man should have his shoes broader at the toes than six inches. And women trimmed themselves with foxes tails under their garments, as they do now with French farthingals; and men with absurd short garments*." Henry VI. Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII. wore their hair moderately long, no whiskers or beard. Henry VIII. had short cropped hair, large whiskers, and a short curled beard, his gown furred, the upper

parts of his sleeves bowed out with whalebone, and open from his shoulders to his wrists, and there buttoned with diamonds; about his neck and wrists short ruffles. Queen Mary wore a close head-dress, with a broad flat long end or train hanging down behind; strait sleeves down to her wrist; there and on her neck a narrow ruffle. On the 27th of May 1555 (2. Queen Mary) sir William Cecil, being then at Calais, bought, as appears by his MS. Diary, three hats for his children. These are the first hats I have yet read of; and it should seem, at their first coming in, they were more worn by children than men, who yet kept to caps.

Queen Elizabeth wore no head-dress, but her own or false hair in great plenty, extravagantly frizzled and curled; a bob or jewel dropped on her forehead; a huge laced double ruff, long piked stays, a hoop petticoat, extended like a go-cart; her petticoats prodigious full; her sleeves barrell'd and hooped from the shoulders to the elbows, and again from the elbows to the wrists. In one picture of her, she is drawn as above, with five bobs, one on her forehead, one above each ear, and one at each ear. This queen is said to have been the first person in England who wore stockings: before her time both men and women wore hose, that is breeches, or drawers, and stockings all of one piece of cloth. Sir Philip

* This fashion appears to have continued unto the reign of Edward IV. By the stat. 22. of that prince, 1482, c. 1. (Pickering's edition, vol. III. p. 455) it is enacted, "That no manner of person under the estate of a lord shall wear from the said feast any gown or mantle unless it be of such length, that he being upright it shall — (the indelicacy of our ancestors obliges us to refer to the statute) — upon pain to forfeit to our sovereign lord the king at every default twenty shillings." It would be difficult to assign a reason for this singular privilege of the peerage.

Sidney, one of her favourites, wore a huge high collar, stiffened with whalebone; a very broad stiff laced ruff; his doublet (body and sleeves) bombasted or barrelled, and pinked and slashed all over, small oblong button, and a loose long cloak. The custom of men sitting uncovered in the church, is certainly very decent, but not very ancient. Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, died 1581, whose funeral procession I have seen an admirable old drawing of; as likewise of the assembly sitting in the choir to hear the funeral sermon, all covered and having their bonnets on. John Fox the martyrologist, who died in 1587, when an old man (as appears by his picture) wore a strait cap, covering his head and ears, and over that a deepish-crowned shallow-brimmed slouched hat. This is the first hat I have yet discovered in any picture. Hats being thus come in, men began then to sit uncovered in the church, as I take it; for as hats look not so well on men's heads in places of public worship as hoods or bonnets (the former wear), this might probably be the first occasion of their doing so.

James I. wore short hair, large whiskers, and a short beard; also a ruff and ruff ruffles. In 1612 (10 Jac. 1.) Mr. Hawley, of Gray's Inn, coming to court one day, Max-

well, a Scotsman, led him out of the room by a black string which he wore in his ear, a fashion then much in use; but this had like to have caused warm blood, had not the king made up the quarrel. Prince Henry, eldest son of James the 1st, wore short hair, filleted and combed upward, short barrelled breeches, and silk thistles or carnations at the tie of his shoes. The young lord Harrington, this prince's contemporary, is painted in the same manner, with the addition of ear-drops, a double ruff, and barrelled doublet.

The great tub farthingal was much worn in this reign; the famous countess of Essex is pictured in a monstrous hoop of this sort. In conformity to the ladies of that age, the gentlemen fell into the ridiculous fashion of trunk hose, an affectation of the same kind, and carried to so great a height by stuffing them out, that they might more properly have been called the farthingal breeches*.

Charles I. wore long hair, particularly one lock longer than the rest, hanging on the left side†, large whiskers, a piked beard, a ruff, shoe roses, and a falling band. His queen wore a ruff standing on each side and behind, but her bosom open. Sir Francis Bacon, who died in 1626, in his fine monument

* The extravagance in this article of dress will appear from the following extract from Commentar. Hieron. Wolfii in Demosthenem, p. 1132, 6 Edit. Francof. 1604. "*Nostrates quidem milites patrum nostrorum memoria, eas semorum partes quæ a pudendis ad genua pertinent, nudos habuerunt. Nunc contra, easdem ulnis panni aut serici novem et nonaginta (centum enim brevior est numerus) solent infarcire; credo ut id suppleant quod patribus et avis deficit. O insaniam singularem! quam tamen homines (si Diis placet) studiosi non imitari sed vincere student. O secula! O mores! O disciplinam academiarum! sed quid illæ possunt sine eorum auctoritate, qui, cum prohibere talia et possent et deberent, ipsi faciunt.*" Whoever would be further informed about Farthingall hose, or breeches, may consult Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, printed 1653.

† Prynne had a spite against this lock, and therefore wrote "The Unloveliness of Love Locks. 4to. 1628."

at St. Alban's is represented with monstrous shoe roses, and great bombast paned hose, reaching to the knees. About 1641, the forked shoes came into fashion, almost as long again as the feet, not less an impediment to the action of the foot than to reverential devotion, for our boots and shoes were so long snouted, we could hardly kneel. But as a short foot was soon thought to be more fashionable, full as much art became necessary to give it as short an appearance as possible. About 1650 both men and women had the whim of bringing down the hair of their heads to cover their foreheads, so as to meet their eyebrows. In 1652 John Owen, dean of Christ Church and vice-chancellor of Oxford, went in querpo, like a young scholar, with powdered hair, his band strings with very large tassels, a large set of ribbands at his knees, with tags at the ends of them; Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cocked. After the close-stool-pan sort of hat, which had now been many years in wear, came in the sugar-loaf or high-crowned hat; these, though mightily affected by both sexes, were so very incommodious, as that, every puff of wind blowing them off, they required the almost con-

stant employment of one hand to secure them. Charles II. in 1660 appears to have worn a large thick cravat with tassels, a short doublet, large ruffles, short boots with great tops, a very short cloak, and long hair (one lock on the right side longer than ordinary), all pulled forward, and divided like a long wig on each side of his face: soon after he wore a perriwig.

There is no end of the whims, vagaries, and fancies in dress which men and women have run into. Whole volumes might be wrote on the subject. However, these rude notes may serve as a sketch of the former times.

Old fables tell us of one Epimenides, who after a sleep of fifty years, awaked with amazement, finding a new world everywhere both of men and fashions. Let this sleep go (as it well may) for a fabulous invention, the effects of it, his amazement, I am sure, might have been credible enough, though the sleep had been shorter by many years. In some countries, if men should but put on those clothes which they left off but four or five years before, and use those fashions which were then in use, they would seem even to themselves ridiculous, and unto many little less than monstrous.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Art of Swimming*.—*In a Letter from Dr. Franklin to M. Duborg, the French Translator of his Work, in answer to some Inquiries of the latter on the subject.*

I AM apprehensive that I shall not be able to find leisure for making all the disquisitions and experiments which would be desirable on this subject. I must therefore content myself with a few remarks. The specific gravity of some human bodies, in comparison with that of water, has been exhibited by Mr. Robertson, in our Philosophical Transactions, vol. L. page 30, for the year 1757.—He asserts that fat persons with small bones float most easily upon water.

The diving bell is accurately described in our Transactions.

When a youth I made two oval pallets, each about ten inches long, and six broad, with a hole for the thumb, in order to retain it fast in the palm of my hand, They much resembled a painter's pallets. In swimming I pushed the edges of these forward, and I struck the water with their flat surfaces as I drew them back. I remember I swam faster by means of these pallets, but they fatigued my wrists. I also fitted to the soles of my feet a kind of sandals, but I was not satisfied with them, because I ob-

served that the stroke is partly given by the inside of the feet and the ancles, and not entirely with the soles of the feet.

We have here waistcoats for swimmers, which are made of double sail-cloth, with small pieces of cork quilted in between them.

I know nothing of the *scaphandre* of M. de la Chapelle.

I know by experience, that it is a great comfort to a swimmer, who has a considerable distance to go, to turn himself sometimes on his back, and to vary in other respects the means of procuring a progressive motion.

When he is seized with the cramp in the leg, the method of driving it away is to give to the part affected a sudden vigorous and violent shock, which he may do in the air as he swims on his back.

During the great heats of summer there is no danger in bathing, however warm we may be, in rivers which have been thoroughly warmed by the sun. But to throw oneself into cold spring water when the body has been heated by exercise in the sun, is an imprudence which may prove fatal. I once knew an instance of four young men, who having worked at harvest in the heat of the day, with a view of refreshing themselves, plunged into a spring of cold water; two died

* In our volume for 1777, p. 123, we gave Dr. Franklin's useful hints for learning to swim.

upon the spot, a third the next morning, and the fourth recovered with great difficulty. A copious draught of cold water, in similar circumstances, is frequently attended with the same effect in North America.

The exercise of swimming is one of the most healthy and agreeable in the world. After having swam for an hour or two in the evening, one sleeps coolly the whole night, even during the most ardent heat of summer. Perhaps the pores being cleansed, the insensible perspiration increases and occasions this coolness. It is certain that much swimming is a means of stopping a diarrhoea, and even of producing a constipation. With respect to those who do not know how to swim, or who are affected with a diarrhoea at a season which does not permit them to use that exercise, a warm bath, by cleansing and purifying the skin, is found very salutary, and often effects a radical cure. I speak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others to whom I have recommended this.

You will not be displeased if I conclude these hasty remarks by informing you, that as the ordinary method of swimming is reduced to the act of rowing with the arms and legs, and is consequently a laborious and fatiguing operation when the space of water to be crossed is considerable, there is a method in which a swimmer may pass great distances with much facility, by means of a sail:—This discovery I fortunately made by accident, and in the following manner:

When I was a boy I amused myself one day with flying a paper

kite; and approaching the bank of a pond which was near a mile broad, the weather being very warm, I tied the string to a stake, and the kite ascended to a very considerable height above the pond, while I was swimming. In a little time, being desirous of amusing myself with my kite, and enjoying at the same time the pleasure of swimming, I returned; and loosing from the stake the string with the little stick which was fastened to it, I went again into the water, where I found that lying on my back and holding the stick in my hands, I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond, to a place which I pointed out to him on the other side, I began to cross the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the least fatigue, and with the greatest pleasure imaginable. I was only obliged occasionally to halt a little in my course, and resist its progress when it appeared that by following too quick I lowered the kite too much, by doing which occasionally I made it rise again. I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is still preferable.

The Way to make Money plenty in every Man's Pocket. By the same.

AT this time, when the general complaint is, that "money is scarce," it will be an act of kindness to inform the moneyless, how they may reinforce their pockets. I will

will acquaint them with the true secret of money-catching; the certain way to fill empty purses, and how to keep them always full. Two simple rules, well observed, will do the business.

First, let honesty and industry be thy constant companions; and,

Secondly, spend one penny less than thy clear gains.

Then shall thy hide-bound pocket soon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly-ach; neither will creditors insult thee, nor want oppress, nor hunger bite, nor nakedness freeze thee. The whole hemisphere will shine brighter, and pleasure spring up in every corner of thy heart. Now therefore embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand: for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then be wise, and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny, when all thy expences are enumerated and paid: then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall be thy shield and buckler, thy helmet and crown; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse because the hand which offers it wears a ring set with diamonds.

VOL. XXXV.

Hints.—By the same.

REMEMBER that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expence; he has really spent, or thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember that credit is money. If a man lets money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum, if a man has good and large credit, and makes a good use of it.

Remember that money is of a prolific, generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on; five shillings turned is six; turned again it is seven and three-pence, and so on till it becomes an hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning; so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown destroys all it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember that six pounds a-year are but a groat a-day. For this little sum, which may daily be wasted in time or expence, unperceived, a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant use and possession of a hundred pounds. So much in stock, briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantage.

Remember this saying, "That
B b the

the good paymaster is lord of another man's purse." He that is known to pay punctually and exactly to the time he promises, may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This is sometimes of great use; therefore never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse for ever.

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer. But if he sees you at a billiard-table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day. Finer clothes than he or his wife wears, or greater expence in any particular than he affords himself, shocks his pride, and he duns you to humble you. Creditors are a kind of people that have the sharpest eyes and ears, as well as the best memories of any in the world.

Good-natured creditors (and such one would always choose to deal with if one could) feel pain when they are obliged to ask for money. Spare them that pain, and they will love you. When you receive a sum of money, divide it among them in proportion to your debts. Do not be ashamed of paying a small sum because you owe a greater. Money, more or less, is always welcome; and your creditor would rather be at the trouble of receiving ten pounds voluntarily brought him, though at ten different times or payments, than be obliged to go ten different times to

demand it before he can receive it in a lump. It shews that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful as well as an honest man; and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this keep an exact account for some time of both your expences and income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect, you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expences amount up to large sums; and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience.

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words—*industry* and *frugality*; i. e. Waste neither time nor money, but make the best use of both. He that gets all he can, and saves all he gets (necessary expences excepted), will certainly become rich; if that Being who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavours, doth not in his wise providence otherwise determine.

Necessary Hints to those that would be rich. Written Anno 1736. By the same.

THE use of money is all the advantage there is in having money.

For six pounds a year you may have the use of 100l. provided you are

are a man of known prudence and honesty.

He that spends a groat a day idly, spends idly above six pounds a year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds.

He that wastes idly a groat's worth of his time per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using 100l. each day.

He that idly loses five shillings worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He that loses five shillings, not only loses that sum, but all the advantage that might be made by turning it in dealing, which by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a considerable sum of money.

Again, he that sells upon credit, asks a price for what he sells equivalent to the principal and interest of his money, for the time he is to be kept out of it; therefore, he that buys upon credit, pays interest for what he buys; and he that pays ready money, might let that money out to use: so that he that possesses any thing he has bought, pays interest for the use of it.

Yet, in buying goods, it is best to pay ready money, because he that sells upon credit, expects to lose five per cent. by bad debts; therefore he charges, on all he sells upon credit, an advance that shall make up that deficiency.

Those who pay for what they buy upon credit, pay their share of this advance.

He that pays ready money, escapes, or may escape, that charge.

A penny saved is two pence clear;
A pin a day's a groat a-year.

On early Marriage. To John Alleyne, Esq. By the same.

Dear Jack,

YOU desire, you say, my impartial thoughts on the subject of an early marriage, by way of answer to the numberless objections that have been made by numerous persons to your own. You may remember when you consulted me on the occasion, that I thought youth on both sides to be no objection. Indeed, from the marriages that have fallen under my observation, I am rather inclined to think, that early ones stand the best chance of happiness. The temper and habits of the young are not yet become so stiff and uncomplying, as when more advanced in life; they form more easily to each other, and hence many occasions of disgust are removed. And if youth has less of that prudence which is necessary to manage a family, yet the parents and elder friends of young married persons are generally at hand to afford their advice, which amply supplies that defect; and by early marriage, youth is sooner formed to regular and useful life; and possibly some of those actions or connections, that might have injured the constitution or reputation, or both, are thereby prevented. Particular circumstances of particular persons, may possibly sometimes make it prudent to delay entering into that state; but, in general, when nature has rendered our bodies fit for it, the presumption is in nature's favour, that she has not judged amiss in making us desire it. Late marriages are often attended too with this further inconvenience, that there is not the same chance

B b 2

that

that the parents should only live to see their offspring educated. "Late children," says the Spanish proverb, are early orphans!" A melancholy reflection to those whose case it may be! With us in America, marriages are generally in the morning of life; our children are therefore educated and settled in the world by noon; and thus our business being done, we have an afternoon and evening of cheerful leisure to ourselves, such as our friend at present enjoys.

By these early marriages we are blessed with more children; and from the mode among us, founded by nature, of every mother suckling and nursing her own child, more of them are raised. Thence the swift progress of population among us, unparalleled in Europe. In fine, I am glad you are married, and congratulate you most cordially upon it. You are now in the way of becoming a useful citizen; and you have escaped the unnatural state of celibacy for life—the fate of many here, who never intended it, but who having too long postponed the change of their condition, find at length, that it is too late to think of it, and so live all their lives in a situation that greatly lessens a man's value. An odd volume of a set of books bears not the value of its proportion to the set. What think you of the odd half of a pair of scissors? It cannot well cut any thing; it may possibly serve to scrape a trencher.

Pray make my compliments and best wishes acceptable to your bride. I am old and heavy, or I should ere this have presented them in person. I shall make but small use of the old man's privilege, that of giving advice to younger friends.

Treat your wife always with respect; it will procure respect to you, not only from her, but from all that observe it. Never use a slighting expression even in jest; for slights in jest, after frequent handings, are apt to end in angry earnest. Be studious in your profession, and you will be learned. Be industrious and frugal, and you will be rich. Be sober and temperate, and you will be healthy. Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy. At least, you will, by such conduct, stand the best chance for such consequences. I pray God to bless you both! being ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

*On the Painting of the Ancients.
From the German.*

IT has hitherto been a controverted point between the connoisseurs and the antiquarians, how far the art of painting kept pace with the art of sculpture among the ancients. The disputants on both sides have alternately called in the assistance of arguments *a priori*, and probabilities, for want of proofs, both on one side and the other. Previous to the discovery of Portici, but few remains of ancient paintings were known to exist, except the Akdbrandine marriage, which S. Bartolli drew, and the count de Caylus etched. And even after the publication of the latter, the question still remained, whether these monuments found in Portici were remains of the Grecian or the Roman school? Whether they might be admitted as proofs of the utmost pitch of the art of painting, to which the ancients had attained?

tained? Or whether they were not rather the production of later times, when the art was declining? The antiquarian, charmed with the famous works in sculpture of the ancients, and their unattainable skill, concluded, from what he saw, concerning what might be; and maintained, that even if not one single picture by the ancients had been preserved, and even if all the authors had been silent on these monuments, yet it would be manifest that the nation, among whom the one art had been carried to such a height, must necessarily have produced equally great masters in that so nearly related to it. They, moreover, appealed to the express testimony of the ancients, concerning the existence of even the most circumstantial and numerous compositions. Pliny alone, in his thirty-fifth book, speaks of great paintings by Apelles: of a Diana's bath, of a sacrifice of Iphigenia, of the assembly of the Gods, the Hours, by the hand of Asclepiodorus; of a feast of satyrs and another of bacchants, by Timanthes; of a pantheon, where Jupiter is seated on his throne amidst the other deities, by the hand of Zeuxes; of the battle of Marathon, of a work of Panæ-nus, and the battle of the Magnesians, by Bularchus. What can be advanced against the descriptions of Philostratus? And what of all the accounts dispersed about the works of the other authors of antiquity? They appealed to the declaration of Alexander, who certainly would not have granted exclusively to Apelles the prerogative of delivering his likeness to posterity, unless that great prince had known him to have had already high precedence above all others in the art. Num-

berless passages were cited from the ancients, expressive of the wonderful effects of painting, with their accounts of the gradual progress of the arts in various nations.

The artist began his inquiries into this matter with somewhat greater unbelief, or rather with a modest scepticism, and the authorities of the ancients were not so implicitly adopted by him as by the literati. He examined as a workman the worth of the ancient paintings in particular, allowed them their proper merit, but denied that they possessed some parts of the art in so high a degree as the moderns. To speak honestly, the passages in the ancients prove little or nothing: since none of them, neither Pliny, nor Quintilian, nor Plutarch, nor Philostratus, have expressed themselves in such manner, concerning these works, as to allow us to assign them the rank of real judges. All the translators of the thirty-fifth book of Pliny, which is taken up in speaking of artists, have been forced to confess, that it is either made up entirely of insignificant accounts of the second progress of the art, or, if the author intended to give a kind of dissertation of his own, his expressions and his applications were capable of so many crude and shallow interpretations, that, in order to come off with honour, they have been obliged to give a new sense to the passage, which could not otherwise be rendered significantly or determinately by any translation, to be justified by the rules of language. How have Durand, Poinset, Jaucourt, Falconet, and so many others, with more or less knowledge of the matter itself, puzzled and tormented themselves to discover his meaning, and

and at last in numberless places have been obliged to do violence to the text.

The artists justly admire, in the Aldrovandine marriage, the accurate drawing, the simplicity of the attitudes, the beautiful draperies, and the ease and boldness of the pencil. The same thing is said, in a letter from a modern artist, of great repute, concerning the paintings at Portici. "I have seen a couple of antique painted figures, which for noble drawing, grandeur of character, knowledge of the muscles, lightness of touch, and vigour of colouring, yield in no respect to the best works of Raphael."

Let us be honest, and here adjust the dispute. The ancients well understood the art of drawing single figures, of giving them graceful attitudes and a light and proper colouring. But the modern art of surrounding them with air, of producing various distances by means of perspective, of degrading the colours, of grouping the figures, &c. was utterly unknown to them. Accordingly, their pictures were a kind of bas-reliefs, and the disposition of them, so that several detached figures proceeded from one dark ground. The literati objected to them the Aldobrandine marriage, and the paintings at Portici do not evince so much, but that these remains are of later times when the old genuine art of painting was already lost. However, it is not probable, that an invention of such importance could ever be entirely lost; but we may, without fear of mistaking, affirm, that even though painting should decline from henceforward, and continue gradually to do so for several cen-

turies, yet in the works of the latest times, feeble and imperfect essays of this general taste would still remain. Besides, *Herculaneum* was a city of remote antiquity which had always a connexion with Greece, and the monuments whereof, inscribed with the names of the Grecian masters, clearly shew, that these masters, or their works, were in great esteem with them. Statius, who was born and died at Naples, expressly says, that in his time, in that city, the works of Polycletes, of Phidias, and of Apelles, were set up. The performances of these great masters were still in being over all Greece and Italy, long after the misfortune that befel the town of *Herculaneum*. For at the destruction of the library of Constantinople, under *Leo Isauricus*, in the year 726, the last most remarkable paintings and statues were destroyed.

But even the testimony of their contemporary authors sufficiently prove, that they had no idea of our manner of grouping the figures, of connecting or separating them by masses of light and shade. *Quintilian* says: "*Nec pictura, in qua nihil circum litum est, eminet. Ideoque artifices, etiam cum plura in unam tabulam opera contulerunt, spatiis distinguunt, ne umbræ in corpore cadant.*" *Instit. Orat. lib. viii. cap. 5.* According to our modern maxims and experiences, we should say the contrary. With us it is impossible, without contrast of light and shade, to raise the figures from the ground, and their proper distribution and regular degradation it is that gives to the whole its keeping and truth. However, the art among the ancients suffers no great injury in divesting it

it of this advantage which was reserved for modern times, any more than we can depreciate their military skill, because cannons and gunpowder were unknown to them. The possibility of practising the magic of the clear-~~obscure~~, and of carrying the air perspective to that high degree of truth, which we admire in the works of a Correggio, a Titian, and others, was merely connected with the invention of oil-colours. All the paintings of the best Italian masters before that time, are destitute of all keeping, and are grouped exactly like the antiques. On a crayon ground and in water colours it was impossible to employ the number of colours that are so easily mixed on the pallet. The faintness of the sketch, the diversity of the *ueber-mahlens* and *losirens* depended merely on the time now allowed to persevere in oil-painting, without apprehending the drying of the colours. And this possibility it was that gave wings to genius, to exercise itself in fore shortenings, whereof the drawing, without colour-degradations, is only disgusting; to give so many tints to middle and distant grounds, to form so much harmony with the sky and the objects that are enlightened by it, to lay so much truth in local colours, and by these so very much to help up the effect of the light. In the paintings of the ancients we complain that there are so few, and these only glaring colours. But hence we see that they never conceived the principle of a once adopted light, and its particular effect, but neglected it altogether. Their imitation of objects was just as if they viewed them under the open sky; that is, saw them in the

mind of the painter without peculiar light, because as soon as light concentrated, falling from a certain point, and confined, was imagined, such effects arise as cause the thousand deadenings and heightenings of the proper colours, and never admit of an unbroken abstracted red, blue, or yellow.

Cow-keepers of Middlesex; by Mr. Thomas Baird; from the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xxi.

ALL round London, but particularly near Hackney, Islington, and for several miles thereabouts, the cow-keepers engross every inch of land they can procure. The quantity of milk, consumed by the metropolis, must be very great indeed. Some of these cow-keepers have remarkable large stocks of cows, for the purpose of supplying this necessary article; one farmer (Mr. West, of Islington) has, on the different farms he possesses, in that neighbourhood, very near one thousand; in one yard I saw about three hundred cows; and, at this season of the year (July), they are in the finest order, and their colours are different, and beautifully variegated; I could not help being much pleased with a scene, so near London, at once so rich and rural. The cow-keepers are not particular as to their breed; for you will find in their hands beasts as various in their kinds, as in their colours,—a cow that gives a great quantity of milk is naturally preferred; quantity, not quality, being the object. They are in general bought from drovers in the northern parts in England, who make it a business to purchase cows for

for the London cow-keepers, for which they give from six to ten pounds per cow, when with calf. The spotted cows sell for more by twenty shillings than cows of equal goodness, but all of one colour. The Holderness breed certainly give the largest quantity of milk, but they are more tender than the Lancashire and Staffordshire, which, on that account, are in general preferred. The price of the Holderness, per head, is from ten to twelve guineas, at least at Islington, where a fresh supply from Yorkshire is regularly exposed to sale.

From what I could observe, the milk is delivered entirely free from adulteration, to the people who retail it in London; and as they have it unadulterated, at the rate of three-farthings per pint, and retail it at three halfpence, their profit is surely so great, as ought not to tempt them to any adulteration. But when it is considered how much their milk is lowered by water, and other worse mixtures, it is mat-

ter of regret, that no method has hitherto been fallen upon to prevent the abuses, so justly complained of, in regard to this very necessary article of life*. This is an object well entitled to the particular consideration of those who supply the metropolis with milk, as it cannot be doubted but the generality of the inhabitants of London would be satisfied, high as the price is, to give some addition to the sum they now pay, if they could purchase so useful an article perfectly genuine.

The cow-keepers breed very few cattle, and those they do breed, only from favourite cows, which become so, merely from their giving much milk, and with very little attention to the choice of their bulls. Even in summer, and when the grass is in the greatest plenty, the cows are regularly fed with grains, which, though the quantity of milk may be thereby increased, does by no means add to its quality. The general allowance is forty-five quarters of

* Not satisfied with the profit above stated, which, considering the difference of measure, is above one hundred per cent. it is a common practice with the retailers of this useful article, to carry the milk first home to their own houses, where it is set up for half a day, when the cream is taken from it, at least all that comes up in that time, and it is then sold for new milk.—by which means, what is delivered in the morning, is no other than the milk of the preceding afternoon, deprived of the cream it throws up by standing during that time. By this means a farther considerable profit accrues to the retailer, and the milk is greatly reduced in point of strength and quality. This cream, poor as it is, is afterwards, it is said, mixed with other ingredients, and yet finds a quick and ready market in the metropolis.

It is a matter of surprise, that in the city of London, so long and deservedly famous for the attention and vigilance of its magistrates, in the conduct and regulation of the markets, no notice has hitherto been taken, or any effectual means adopted, to prevent the abuses so generally and justly complained of, in an article, the consumption of which (in London and its environs alone) is greater than in half the cities of Europe.—Milk has always been a favourite part of the food of Britons; and, in a great and populous city, it is highly conducive to the health of the inhabitants.—*Lacte et carne vivunt*, says Cæsar, in his Commentaries.

grain

grain per week, at one shilling and ten pence per quarter, for twenty-five cows. They are given them twice a day, and they have besides two meals of turnips and hay. Some of them have tried salt, mixed with the grains, more with a view to preserve the grains longer in a sound state, than from any consideration of the health of their stock, or the improvement of the quality of the milk. It is acknowledged, that the cows eat the grains so mixed with greater avidity, but the proprietors not getting an adequate return for their trouble and expence, I do not find that it is now much practised. Sometimes the grains are buried for a little time, during the brewing season, if they are not much in demand, and afterwards dug up again, when they are still found perfectly fit for use. Five or six men only are employed in attending near three hundred cows; but as one woman cannot milk above eight or nine twice a day, that part of the business would necessarily be attended with a very heavy expence, were it not that the retailer agrees for the milk of a certain number of cows, and takes the milking upon himself. Sometimes men undertake this branch of female employment,

though in general they are very awkward at it.

Consumption of Milk in London.

The quantity of milk consumed in the metropolis, and the sum of money it costs the inhabitants to be supplied with that article, it would be extremely desirable to ascertain; but there are not sufficient data to do it with any great precision. The following calculation, however, may be improved and perfected by more minute and careful inquiries, which the board may afterwards cause to be instituted.

Though the yielding a great quantity of milk, is naturally the principal quality wished for by the London cow-keepers, in the cows they purchase, yet so indifferently have they as yet succeeded in attaining that object, that though it is well known that cows in Scotland, of the true Dutch breed, yield at the rate of sixteen Scotch pints or eight English gallons per day, and sometimes more, yet in the neighbourhood of London they seldom give more than six gallons even in the height of the season; indeed five gallons in summer, and four in winter, is a high enough average.

The account of each cow will then stand as follows:

	No. of Galls.	Value of Milk.
Five gallons per day, for 183 days,	} 910 }	£.22 15 0
at 6d. per gallon, —		
Four gallons per day, for 183 days,	} 732 }	18 6 0
• at 6d. per gallon, —		
Total each cow, —	1642	£.41 1 0

On the supposition that there are six thousand cows necessary for the supply of London and its suburbs, there are consequently nine millions

millions eight hundred and fifty-two thousand gallons of milk sold there in a year, or, at an average, about twenty-seven thousand and forty-six gallons daily, for which the cow-keepers get 246,300l.; and as the retailers get 1s. per gallon, it costs the inhabitants of London 492,600l. per annum, or about 1350l. per day, to be supplied with milk and cream. The butter consumed there comes at a greater distance, particularly from Epping, Cambridge, &c.

*London Brick Fields, by the same.
From the same.*

THERE is one mode of making use of earth, which is, probably, carried to a greater extent in Middlesex than in any part of the kingdom, namely, in the manufacture of bricks. Some years ago, the sum usually paid for an acre of brick, was 100l.; but the price of this, like that of other commodities, has been rapidly increasing, and indeed has gone as high as 350l. per acre. The common way now is, for the proprietor to get 1s. per thousand, and to receive the ground in a level state, within a foot of the height of the adjoining road, when the brick earth is completely manufactured. The common calculation is, that there is one million of bricks per acre, in every foot depth of brick earth (at least with the addition of the ashes that is mixed with the earth), and, one field with another, that the brick earth is four feet deep. The bricks called *greystocks*, for the outside of houses, sell at from 27s. to 28s. per thousand, carriage included. Common bricks,

for inside work, at a guinea. Unless the earth, with which the ground is filled up, is of a very good quality, or unless great quantities of manure are laid upon it, some time must elapse before the field recovers its former fertility. There are many who object to such a manufacture being suffered in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, considering it offensive and unwholesome. On the other hand, it is contended, that fire is a great purifier of the atmosphere, and that, in close and hot weather, a number of brick-kilns all round London, is of real use to the health of the inhabitants.

*House and Grass Lambs, by the same.
From the same.*

AMONG the articles for which Middlesex is celebrated, that of breeding and fattening house-lambs, for the London market, is undoubtedly one which merits particular attention. It is an art which, it is believed, originated in this county, though it is now gradually spreading itself over other parts of the island, but it still continues to be carried on here to more advantage, and on a larger scale, than in any other part of the kingdom. Without entering into any minute detail of this species of traffic, it may be sufficient, in this hasty sketch, to remark, that it not only involves in it a very profitable branch of farming, but also furnishes a market for the aftermath of the country, when made into hay, which, if stacked, in tolerable order, is said to afford a food very proper for the ewes during the time of suckling; and, if the season

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS. 379

son proves so unfavourable, that this *second* (and sometimes *third*) crop of grass is not fit for the above use, it is sold in London for packing china, glass, and other goods for which the softness of its texture makes it a proper material. Some calves are also reared in this county, but not to the same extent as house-lamb.

Early Grass Lamb.

The vicinity to Smithfield market makes early grass-lambs an object of considerable importance. The Dorset ewes are chiefly selected for this purpose. They are purchased at Wey-hill-fair the beginning of October, forward enough to drop their lambs about Christmas. The price from 24s. to 28s. They give them turnips in the spring, and will sometimes sell the lambs in the months of April and May, at 20s. a head. The ewes being dried early, are brought to market before Michaelmas, and will weigh, perhaps, from seven to eight stone; average value about 11. 1s. The wool about three pounds, which, at 10d. amounts to 2s. 6d. The whole of the stock is cleared within the year, and the profit or loss thereby ascertained. The profit is, in general, as follows:

	£.	s.	d.	
The lamb sells for	-	1	0	0
The ewe for	-	1	1	0
The wool at	-	0	2	6
		2	3	6
Deduct prime cost	-	1	0	6
Profit per head	-	0	17	6

* It has been said, that a learned Gentleman intends to re-publish Joe Miller's Jests, with illustrations from the Greek writers. I expect impatiently the restoration of several of his Irish stories to Hierocles the Philosopher, from whose *Aetna* those ridiculous blunders have wandered abroad, and having lost their original country, are most unfairly quartered upon Ireland.

Comments on Sterne. By John Ferriar, M. D. From the Manchester Philosophical and Literary Transactions for 1793.

*Vos adeste,
Risus, blanditiæ, procracitates,
Lusus, nequitia, facetiæque,
Joci, deliciæque et illecebra.*

Buchanan.

THIS is almost the only satirical and ethical writer of note, who wants a commentator. The works of Rabelais, Butler, Pope, Swift, and many others, are overloaded with explanations, while Sterne remains, in many places, unintelligible to the greater number of his readers. I would gladly discharge this debt of gratitude to an author who has afforded me much delight; but my leisure hours can but produce some general traces, or occasional hints, that amount only to an amusing relaxation. Some person whose zeal is greater, and his literary repose complete, may work the mine I have opened, with profit and splendor.

Indeed, there is some danger in attempting to detect the sources from which Sterne drew his rich singularities. It has been fashionable of late, to decry the analysis of objects of admiration, and those who wish to trace the mysteries of wit and literary pleasure, are held to be profane dissectors, who mangle the carcase of learning, out of spleen and idle curiosity*. Besides, the originality of Sterne has scarcely been made a problem; on the contrary, he is considered as the in-

ventor

ventor of a new style in our language. I cannot help thinking, however, with honest Mungo in the farce, that it imports us little to hear what we do not understand; and though far beneath the dignity of Horace or Pope *, who professed to admire nothing, I think it very unphilosophical, to let wonder conquer reason, especially in the closet.

To be too curious in the survey of beautiful performances, is to invite disgust. The colossal statues of Phidias, though polished to perfection without, bore a rude appearance to those who examined them within †: but if a limb, or a feature of a work, should appear to be purloined from the labours of a former artist, it would be right to look for his mark.

In tracing some of Sterne's ideas to other writers, I do not mean to treat him as a plagiarist; I wish to illustrate, not to degrade him. If some instances of copying be proved against him, they will detract nothing from his genius, and will only lessen that imposing appearance he sometimes assumed, of erudition which he really wanted.

It is obvious to every one, who considers *Tristram Shandy* as a general satire levelled chiefly against the abuse of speculative opinions, that Rabelais furnished Sterne with the general character, and even many particular ideas, of his work. From that copious fountain of learning, wit, and whim, our author drew deeply. Rabelais, stored with erudition, poured lavishly out, what Sterne directed and expanded with care, to enrich his pages ‡. And to this appropriation, we owe many of his most pleasing sallies. For being bounded in his literary acquisitions, his imagination had freer play, and more natural graces. He seized the grotesque objects of obsolete erudition, presented by his original, with a vigour untamed by previous labour, and an ardour unabated by familiarity with literary folly. The curious Chapters on Noses § afford the strongest proof of this remark. About the time when Sterne wrote, it was not forgotten indeed, that the physiognomy of the nose had been a kind of fashionable subject among philosophers: but little was written, and little remains on the controversy,

* Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque, quæ possit facere et servare beatum.

Hor. Ep. Lib. 1. Ep. vi.

For fools admire, but men of sense approve. Pope.

† ἐκείνων γὰρ ἑκαστὸν τὰ ἐκτὸν, ὁ μὴ Πασιδῶν, ἢ Ζεὺς ἐστὶ πάγκαλόν, χρυσὸν καὶ ἰλιφαντὸν ξυμμεγασμείον, ***** ἢν δὲ ὑποκίψας ἰδῆς τὰ ἐνδόν, ὅψεαι μοχλεῖς τινάς, καὶ γόμφους, καὶ ἥλως διαμπαῖς πτερυνημίνας, καὶ κομῆς, καὶ σφῆνας, καὶ πῖτταν ὑπόπλον, καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ πολλὴν ἀμορφίαν υποκῆρυσαν.

‡ καθάπερ ἐκ πολλῶν ναμάτων εἰ τις κομίσας ῥιμᾶ τι, εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μεταχίτευσι.
Dionys. Halicarn. Ἀρχ: Κρσ:

§ Sterne would have made much of a passage in the *Memoirs of La Porte*: it respects the views of *Mademoiselle* to a marriage with Louis XIV.—"Je dis tout

versy, and what Sterne gives us, is founded on the following passage of Rabelais: "Pourquoy, dit Gargantua, est ce que frere Jean a si beau nez? Par ce (repondit Grangousier) qu'ainsi Dieu l'a voulu, lequel nous fait en telle forme, & telle fin, selon son divin arbitre, que fait un potier ses vaisseaux. Par ce (dit Ponocrates) qu'il fut des premiers à la foire des nez. Il prit de plus beaux & des plus grands. Tout avant (dit le moine) selon la vraye Philosophie Monastique, c'est, par ce que ma Nourrice avoit les tetins molets, en l'allaitant, mon nez y enfondroit comme en beurre, & la s'eslevoit et croissoit comme la paste dedans la mets. Les durs tetins des Nourrices font les enfans camus. Mais gay, gay, ad formam nasi cognoscitur ad te levasti *."

"Now Ambrose Paræus convinced my father, that the true and efficient cause of what had engaged so much the attention of the world, and upon which Prignitz and Scro-

derus had wasted so much learning and fine parts—was neither this nor that—but that the length and goodness of the nose, was owing simply to the softness and flaccidity of the nurse's breast—as the flatness and shortness of puisne noses was, to the firmness and elastic repulsion of the same organ of nutrition in the healthy and lively—which, though happy for the woman, was the undoing of the child, inasmuch as his nose was so snubbed, so rebuffed, so rebated, and so refrigerated thereby, as never to arrive ad mensuram suam legitimam;—but that in case of the flaccidity and softness of the nurse or mother's breast—by sinking into it, quoth Paræus, as into so much butter, the nose was comforted, nourished, &c. †."

"—the causes of short and long noses. There is no cause but one, replied my uncle Toby,—why one man's nose is longer than another's, but because that God pleases to have it so. That is Grangousier's

tout cela à la Reine, qui se moqua de moi, me disant: ce n'est pour son nez, quoiqu'il soit bien grand."—

Mem. de la Porte, p. 275.

The following precious anecdote on this subject, occurs in the curious Miscellany published under the assumed name of Vigneul Marville: "Les nés camus déplaisent, et sont de mauvaise augure. Le Connétable Anne de Montmorency étoit camus; et on l'appelloit, à la Cour, le Camus de Montmorency. Le Duc de Guise, fils de celui qui fut tué à Blois, étoit aussi camus; et j'ai connu un Gentilhomme qui ayant une vénération singulière pour ces deux Maisons de Guise et de Montmorency, ne se pouvoit consoler de ce qu'il s'y étoit trouvé deux camus, comme si ce défaut en diminueoit le lustre." Tom. 1. p. 140.

"He" (Mr. Shandy) "would often declare, in speaking his thoughts upon the subject, that he did not conceive how the greatest family in England would stand it out against an uninterrupted succession of six or seven short noses."—Tris. Shandy, vol. 3. chap. 33. This is a curious coincidence; I pretend to call it no more.—But it must be added, that Marville's Miscellanies appear to have been much read, about the time when Sterne wrote.

* Liv. 1. Chap. xli.

† Tristram Shandy, vol. iii. chap. 36.

solution, said my Father.—'Tis he, continued my Uncle Toby, looking up, and not regarding my father's interruption, who makes us all, and frames and puts us together, in such forms and proportions, and for such ends, as is agreeable to his infinite wisdom *."

I wish Sterne had known enough of Taliacotius to have done him justice on the subject of noses. The practice of that extraordinary man, which has been obscured by misplaced raillery, and the imputation of follies entirely foreign to his method, deserves to be better known †. It was both rational and successful; and it is a considerable addition to his fame, that he anticipated later physiologists in some surprising and important facts respecting the re-union of living parts.—Sterne has played unaccountably with the public curiosity, on the subject of a very silly book, which he attempts to pass off as curious, merely because it is obscure. This is the more surprising, because his fiction of Slawkenbergius is admirable. Mr. Shandy has the good fortune, we are told, to get *Bruscambille's Prologue on Noses* almost for nothing—that is, for three half-crowns. "There are not three *Bruscambilles* in Christendom—said the stall-man, except what are chained up in the libraries of the curious."—This is well calculated to excite the appetites of epicures in literature, which perhaps was all the Author intended; and which is ill supported

by the work in question. That no future collector may sigh for *Bruscambille*, I will give as much of his Prologue on Noses as deserves the patience of a reader. I shall only premise, that the book consists of a set of prose discourses, printed at Cologne, in 1741, which seems to have ushered in comedy ‡, farce, or puppet-show, according to the exigencies of the night: they resemble the Prologues of Terence, only in the freedom with which Mons. *Bruscambille* treats his audience.

"Je n'entreprend point de faire ici une ample description des differens nez, avec les proprietés singulieres qui leur sont annexées; j'en dirois peut-etre trop des grands nez au préjudice des nez mediocres, des petits nez, des nez cornus, des nez plats, & autres de toute sorte d'espece, je me contente de dire que les grands nez ont beaucoup l'avantage sur les petits pour les odeurs dont ils sont l'organe naturel, d'autant que par leur capacité plus étendue ils peuvent recevoir plus de vapeurs odoriférentes & que celles qui montent de bas en haut leur peuvent moins échapper qu'aux petits nez: en un mot, Messieurs, si c'est quelque chose de beau, de bon, de louable, d'avantageux en tout genre d'avoir du nez, il le doit être encore plus d'avoir du grand nez," &c. Jam satis §.

The mock quotations, explanatory of the *Promontory of Noses*, in *Slawkenbergius' tale*, are merely

* Id. chap. 41.

† See his Book, *De Curtorum Chirurgia*.

‡ The first is entitled, *Premier Prelude, en forme de Galimatias, pour l'ouverture du theatre*. Several others are said to be *en forme de Galimatias*, but the specification was needless.

§ *Pensées Facetieuses de Bruscambille*. P. 48.

designed to cover the use made of Rabelais's proverb; "il fut à la foire des nez." Sterne has diverted himself sometimes with references to some parts of this author, that appear ænigmatical enough. For instance; "Who was Tickletohy's Mare *?" I believe many of Rabelais's readers would be puzzled to answer. Sterne alludes to the story of poor Tappecoue†, who fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the devils of Poitiers.

At other times, Sterne indulges in all the Galimatias of the old Frenchman. — "Bon jour! good morrow! so you have got your cloak on betimes! but 'tis a cold morning, and you judge the matter rightly — 'tis better to be well mounted than go o' foot—and obstructions in the glands are dangerous—And how goes it with thy concubine—thy wife—and thy little ones o' both sides? and when did you hear from the old gentleman and lady," &c. †

I believe this brilliant passage is founded on the Prologue to Rabelais's fourth book. Some of Sterne's other imitations do him more credit; but in the eighth volume of Tristram he was not very nice in taking assistance. "Gens de bien," says Rabelais, "Dieu vous sauve et garde. Ou estes vous? je ne peux vous voir. Attendez que je chausse mes lunettes. Ha, ha, bien & beau s'en va quaresme, je vous voy. Et doncques? Vous avez eu bonne

vinee, à ce que l'on m'a dit—Vous, vos femmes, enfans, parens et familles estes en santé désirée. Cela va bien, cela est bon, cela me plaist —&c." Certainly this trash must be one of those passages, escaped, as Rabelais declares that he wrote 'en mangeant et buvant,' after he had taken a cup too much.

Perhaps it would do violence to the analogy, to say that the exquisite dialogues, scattered through Tristram Shandy, took any colour from those delivered by Rabelais.—At least, it would appear to be refining too far. Yet the contrast and contention of characters and professions so striking in both romances; the strong ridicule thrown upon the love of hypothesis; and the art with which absurdities in every walk of science are exposed, have always impressed me with a general idea of resemblance; and have recalled Pantagruel, Panurge, and Epistemon, in many of the Shandean conversations. If there be any degree of imitation in this respect, it is greatly to Sterne's honour. A higher polish was never given to rugged materials. But there can be no doubt respecting Sterne's obligations to another author, once the favourite of the learned and witty, though now unaccountably neglected. I have often wondered at the pains bestowed by Sterne, in ridiculing opinions not fashionable in his day, and have thought it singular, that he should produce the portrait of his

* Chap. 36. vol. ii. Tr. Shandy.

† Rabelais. Liv. IV. Chap. XIII. That strange fellow, Sir Thomas Urquhart, the Romancer of Chrichton, translates this word, Tickletohy.

‡ Vol. viii. chap. 8.

Sophist, Mr. Shandy, with all the stains and mouldiness of the last century about him. For the love of scarce and whimsical books, was no vice of the time when Tristram Shandy appeared. But I am now convinced, that all the singularities of that character were drawn from the perusal of *Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy*; not without reference*, however, to the peculiarities of Burton's life, who is alleged to have fallen a victim to his astrological studies. We are told, accordingly, that Mr. Shandy had faith in astrology †.

The *Anatomy of Melancholy*, though written on a regular plan is so crowded with quotations, that the reader is apt to mistake it for a book of common-places. The opinions of a multitude of authors are collected, under every division, without arrangement, and without much nicety of selection, to undergo a general sentence; for the bulk of the materials enforces brevity on the writer. In the course of a moderate folio, Burton has contrived to treat a great variety of topics, that seem very loosely connected with his subject; and, like Bayle, when he

starts a train of quotations, he does not scruple to let the digression outrun the principal question. Thus, from the Doctrines of Religion, to Military Discipline; from Inland Navigation to the Morality of Dancing Schools, every thing is discussed and determined. The quaintness of many of his divisions seems to have given Sterne the hint of his ludicrous title to several chapters ‡, and the risible effect resulting from Burton's grave endeavours, to prove indisputable facts by weighty quotations, he has happily caught, and sometimes well burlesqued. This was the consequence of an opinion, prevalent in the last age, which a late writer has attempted to re-establish respecting history; that authorities are facts.

But where the force of the subject opens Burton's own vein of prose, we discover valuable sense and brilliant expression. The proof of this will appear in those passages, which Sterne has borrowed from him without variation. Burton was likewise a Poet; a copy of verses in Latin, and another in English, prefixed to his book, afford no mean proofs of his genius §. The Ana-

* Even the name of Democritus junior, affected by Burton, may have led to Sterne's assumption of the title of Yorick. Burton too was a Clergyman.

† Vol. iii. chap. 23. Vol. v. chap. 28.

‡ The Tale of a Tub, and the Memoirs of Scriblerus, must come in for a share of this influence.

§ The late Mr. Warton, in his edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, has noticed the analogy between these English verses, and the Allegro and Penseroso. Burton alternates them thus:

When I go musing all alone,
Thinking of divers things fore-known,
When I build Castles in the air,
Void of Sorrow, void of Fear,

Pleasing myself with phantoms sweet,
Methinks the time runs very fleet.

tomy of Melancholy has always been a source of surreptitious learning; Anthony a-Wood speaks of it, as a compilation highly useful to gentlemen who were negligent at college; and Archbishop Herring alledged that the wits who flourished under Queen Anne and George the First were under great obligations to it*. In literature, the springs are commonly more copious than their derived streams, and are therefore more highly honoured. But though this applies to Burton, and most of his imitators, it fails in respect of *Tristram Shandy*, where, though much is directly drawn from our author, there are many delightful windings, widely distant from his influence. I would therefore beware of imitating the rashness of a traveller, who should fancy he had discovered the secret head of a mighty river, while deceived by imperfect intelligence, he had only explored the source of an auxiliary stream.

The first four chapters of *Tristram Shandy*, are founded on some passages in Burton, which I shall transcribe. Sterne's improvements I shall leave to your recollection.

"*Filii ex senibus nati raro sunt firmi temperamentis, &c. Nam spiritus cerebri si tum male afficiantur, tales procreant, & quales fuerint affectus, tales filiorum, ex tristibus tristes, ex jucundis jucundi nascuntur* [Cardan.] "If she" (the mother) "be over-dull, heavy, angry, peevish, discontented, and melancholy, not only at the time of conception, but even all the while she carries the child in her womb (saith Fernelius) her son will be so likewise, and worse, as Lemnius adds, &c. — So many ways are we plagued and punished for our fathers' defaults†; insomuch that as Fernelius truly saith, it is the greatest part of our felicity to be well-born, and it were happy for human kind‡, if only such parents as are sound of body and mind, should be suffered

All my joys to this are folly,
Nought so sweet as melancholy.

When I go walking all alone,
Recounting what I have ill done,
My thoughts on me then tyrannize,
Fear and sorrow me surprize;
Whether I tarry still or go
Methinks the time moves very slow.

All my griefs to this are jolly,
Nought so sad as melancholy, &c.

There is a direct imitation of these verses in Voltaire's
'*Jean qui pleure, & Jean qui rit.*'

* Biograph. Dict. Art. Burton (Rob.)

The story of Dr. Parnell's beautiful allegory on Man, is taken from Burton, p. 64.

† This idea runs through *Tristram Shandy*.

‡ See *Tristram Shandy*, vol. viii. chap. 33.

to marry. Quando id diligentius in procreandis liberis observandum *." I cannot help thinking, that the first chapter or two of the *Memoirs of Scriblerus* whetted Sterne's invention, in this, as well as in other instances of Mr. Shandy's peculiarities.

The forced introduction of the sneer at the term non-naturals †, used in medicine, leads us back to Burton, who has insisted largely and repeatedly, on the abuse of the functions so denominated.

It is very singular, that in the introduction to the *Fragment on Whiskers*, which contains an evident copy, Sterne should take occasion to abuse Plagiarists. 'Shall we for ever make new books, as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring only out of one vessel into another?' *Ex ore tuo*—'Shall we be destined to the days of eternity, on holidays, as well as working-days, to be shewing the relics of learning, as monks do the relics of their saints—without working one—one single miracle with them?'—Here we must acquit Sterne: he has certainly done wonders, wherever he has imitated or borrowed.—

'One denier, cried the order of mercy—one single denier, in behalf of a thousand patient captives, whose eyes look towards heaven and you for their redemption.

'—The Lady Baussiere rode on.

'Pity the unhappy, said a devout venerable, hoary-headed man, meekly holding up a box, begirt with iron, in his wither'd hands—I beg, for the unfortunate—good, my lady, 'tis for a prison—for an hospital—'tis for an old man—a poor man undone by shipwreck, by suretyship, by fire—I call God and all his angels to witness—'tis to clothe the naked—to feed the hungry—'tis to comfort the sick and the broken-hearted.

'—The Lady Baussiere rode on.

'A decayed kinsman bowed himself to the ground.

'—The Lady Baussiere rode on.

'He ran begging bare-headed on one side of her palfrey, conjuring her by the former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, &c.—cousin, aunt, sister, mother,—for virtue's sake, for your own, for mine, for Christ's sake, remember me—pity me.

'—The Lady Baussiere rode on ‡."

The citation of the original passage from Burton will confirm all I have said of his style.

"A poor decay'd kinsman of his sets upon him by the way in all his jollity, and runs begging bare-headed by him, conjuring him by those former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, &c. uncle, cousin, brother, father,—shew some pity for Christ's sake, pity a sick man, an old man, &c. he cares not, ride

* *Anat. of Melanch.* p. 37. Edit. 1676.

Quanto id diligentius in liberis procreandis cavendum, sayeth Cardan.

Tris. Shandy, vol. vi. ch. 33.

† *Tr. Sh.* vol. i. chap. 23.—"Why the most natural actions of a man's life should be called his non-naturals, is another question."—See Burton, p. 39. The solution might be easily given, if it were worth repeating.

‡ *Tristram Shandy*, vol. v. chap. 1.

on: pretend sickness, inevitable loss of limbs, plead suretyship, or shipwreck, fires, common calamities, shew thy wants and imperfections, — swear, protest, take God and all his angels to witness, quære peregrinum, thou art a counterfeit crank, a cheater, he is not touched with it, pauper ubique jacet, ride on, he takes no notice of it. Put up a supplication to him in the name of a thousand orphans, an hospital, a spittle, a prison as he goes by, they cry out to him for aid: ride on — Shew him a decayed haven, a bridge, a school, a fortification, &c. or some public work; ride on. Good your worship, your honour, for God's sake, your country's sake: ride on*."

This curious copy is followed up, in *Tristram Shandy*, by a chapter, and that a long one, written almost entirely from Burton. It is the consolation of Mr. Shandy, on the death of Brother Bobby.

'When Agrippina was told of her son's death, Tacitus informs us, that not being able to moderate the violence of her passions, she abruptly broke off her work.' This quotation did not come to Sterne from Tacitus. "Mezentius would not live after his son — And Pompey's wife cry'd out at the news of her husband's death, Turpe mori post te, &c.—as Tacitus of Agrippina, not able to moderate her passions. So when she heard her son was slain, she abruptly broke off her work, changed countenance and colour, tore her hair, and fell a roaring downright †."

'Tis either Plato,' says Sterne, 'or Plutarch, or Seneca, or Xenophon, or Epictetus, or Theophrastus,

or Lucian—or some one, perhaps of later date—either Cardan, or Budæus, or Petrarch, or Stella—or possibly it may be some divine or father of the church, St. Austin, or St. Cyprian, or Bernard, who affirms, that it is an irresistible and natural passion, to weep for the loss of our friends or children—and Seneca (I'm positive) tells us somewhere, that such griefs evacuate themselves best by that particular channel. And accordingly, we find that David wept for his son Absalom — Adrian for his Antinous ‡—Niobe for her children—and that Apollodorus and Crito both shed tears for Socrates before his death'—This is well rallied, as the following passage will evince; but Sterne should have considered how much he owed to poor old Burton.

"Death and departure of friends are things generally grievous; Omnium quæ in vita humana contingunt, luctus atque mors sunt acerbissima, [Cardan. de Consol. lib. 2.] the most austere and bitter accidents that can happen to a man in this life, in æternum valedicere, to part for ever, to forsake the world and all our friends, 'tis ultimum terribilium, the last and the greatest terror, most irksome and troublesome unto us, &c.—Nay, many generous spirits and grave staid men otherwise, are so tender in this, that at the loss of a dear friend they will cry out, roar, and tear their hair, lamenting some months after, howling O hone, as those Irish women, and Greeks at their graves, commit many indecent actions," &c. §. All this is corroborated by quotations from Ortellius, Catullus, Virgil,

* Anat. of Melanch. p. 269.

† The time has been, when this conjunction with the King of Israel would have smelt a little of the faggot.

‡ Anat. of Melanch. p. 213.

§ Anat. of Melanch. p. 213.

Lucan and Tacitus. I take them in the order assigned them by Burton. For he says with great probability of himself, that he commonly wrote as fast as possible, and poured out his quotations just as they happened to occur to his memory. But to proceed with Mr. Shandy's consolation.

'Tis an inevitable chance—the first statute in Magna Charta—it is an everlasting act of parliament, my dear brother—all must die*.'

"Tis an inevitable chance, the first statute in Magna Charta, an everlasting act of parliament, all must die †."

'When Tully was bereft of his dear daughter Tullia, at first he laid it to his heart—he listened to the voice of Nature, and modulated his own unto it, &c.—But as soon as he began to look into the stores of philosophy, and consider how many excellent things might be said upon the occasion—nobody upon earth can conceive, says the great orator, how joyful, how happy, it made me ‡.'

"Tully was much grieved for his daughter Tulliola's death at first, until such time that he had confirmed his mind with some philosophical precepts, then he began to triumph over fortune and grief, and for her reception into Heaven to be much more joyed than before he was troubled for her loss §."

Sterne is uncharitable here to poor Cicero.—

'Kingdoms and provinces, and towns and cities, have they not their periods? Where is Troy, and

Mycene and Thebes, and Delos, and Persepolis, and Agrigentum.—What is become, brother Toby, of Nineveh, and Babylon, of Cyzicum and Mytilene; the fairest towns that ever the sun rose upon, are now no more ||.'

"Kingdoms, provinces, towns, and cities," says Burton, "have their periods, and are consumed. In these flourishing times of Troy, Mycene was the fairest city in Greece, — but it, alas, and that Assyrian Ninive are quite overthrown. The like fate hath that Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes, Delos, the common council-house of Greece, and Babylon, the greatest city that ever the sun shone on, hath now nothing but walls and rubbish left.—And where is Troy itself now, Persepolis, Carthage, Cizicum, Sparta, Argos, and all those Grecian cities?

"Syracuse and Agrigentum, the fairest towns in Sicily, which had sometimes seven hundred thousand inhabitants, are now decayed." Let us follow Sterne again: 'Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, I began to view the country round about. Ægina was behind me, Megara was before, Pyræus on the right hand, Corinth on the left. What flourishing towns now prostrate on the earth! Alas! alas! said I to myself, that a man should disturb his soul for the loss of a child, when so much as this lies awfully buried in his presence. Remember, said I to myself again — remember that thou art a Man.'

* Tristram Shandy, vol. 5th, chap. 3.

† Anat. of Melancholy, p. 215.

‡ Sterne.

§ Burton.

|| Sterne.

This is, with some slight variations, Burton's translation of Servius's letter. Sterne alters just enough to shew that he had not attended to the original. Burton's version follows.

"Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, I began to view the country round about. Ægina was behind me, Megara before, Pyræus on the right hand, Corinth on the left; what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes? Alas, why are we men so much disquieted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter? When so many goodly cities lie buried before us. Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself."

'My son is dead,' says Mr. Shandy; 'so much the better*'; 'tis a shame, in such a tempest, to have but one anchor.'

"I—but he was most dear and loving friend," quoth Burton, "my sole friend—Thou maist be ashamed, I say with Seneca, to confess it, in such a tempest as this, to have but one anchor."

'But,' continues Mr. Shandy, 'he is gone for ever from us! be it so. He is got from under the hands of his barber before he was bald. He is but risen from a feast before he was surfeited—from a banquet before he had got drunken. The Thracians wept when a child was

born, and feasted and made merry when a man went out of the world, and with reason. Is it not better, not to hunger at all, than to eat? not to thirst, than to take physic to cure it? Is it not better to be freed from care and agues, love and melancholy, and the other hot and cold fits of life †, than like a galled traveller, who comes weary to his inn, to be bound to begin his journey afresh?'

I shall follow Burton's collections as they stand in his own order ‡. "Thou dost him great injury to desire his longer life. Wilt thou have him crazed and sickly still, like a tired traveller that comes weary to his inn, begins his journey afresh? — he is now gone to eternity — as if he had risen, saith Plutarch, from the midst of a feast, before he was drunk — Is it not much better not to hunger at all, than to eat; not to thirst, than to drink to satisfy thirst; not be cold, than to put on clothes to drive away cold? You had more need rejoice that I am freed from diseases, agues, &c. The Thracians wept still when a child was born, feasted and made mirth when any man was buried: and so should we rather be glad for such as die well, that they are so happily freed from the miseries of this life §."

Again—'Consider, brother Toby,—when we are, death is not, and when death is, we are not.'— So Burton translates a passage in

* This is an awkward member of the sentence.

† This approaches to one of Shakespeare's happy expressions:
Duncan in his grave:
After *Life's fitful fever* he sleeps well.

‡ Sterne has commonly reversed the arrangement, which produces a strong effect in comparison.

§ Anat. of Melancholy, p. 216.

Seneca: "When we are, death is not; but when death is, then we are not*." The original words are, *quum nos sumus, mors non adest; cum vero mors adest, tum nos non sumus*.

'For this reason, continued my father, it is worthy to recollect, how little alteration in great men the approaches of death have made. Vespasian died in a jest — Galba with a sentence—Septimius Severus in a dispatch; Tiberius in dissimulation, and Cæsar Augustus in a compliment.' This conclusion of so remarkable a chapter is copied, omitting some quotations, almost verbatim, from lord Verulam's Essay on Death."

We must have recourse to Burton again, for part of the Tristram-Pædia. 'Oh blessed health! cried my father, making an exclamation, as he turned over the leaves to the next chapter,—thou art above all gold and treasure; 'tis thou who enlargest the soul,—and openest all its powers to receive instruction, and to relish virtue.—He that has thee, has little more to wish for,—and he that is so wretched as to want thee,—wants every thing with thee†.'

"O blessed health!" says Burton, "thou art above all gold and treasure; [Ecclesiast.] the poor man's riches, the rich man's bliss, without thee there can be no happiness‡."

O beata sanitas, te presente, amœnum
Ver floret gratiis, absque te nemo
beatus.

But I should, in order, have noticed first an exclamation at the end of chapter ix in the spirit of which nobody could expect Sterne to be original. 'Now I love you for this—and 'tis this delicious mixture within you, which makes you dear creatures what you are—and he who hates you for it—all I can say of the matter is, That he has a pumpkin for his head, or a pippin for his heart,—and whenever he is dissected, 'twill be found so.'—Burton's quotation is: *Qui vim non sensit amoris, aut lapis est, aut bellua*: which he translates thus: "He is not a man, a block, a very stone, aut Numen, aut Nebuchadnezzar, he hath a gourd for his head, a pippin for his heart, that hath not felt the power of it."

In chap. 36, vol. vi. Sterne has picked out a few quotations from Burton's Essay on Love-Melancholy§, which affords nothing very remarkable except Sterne's boldness in quoting quotations.

By help of another extract|| from Burton, Sterne makes a great figure as a curious reader: 'I hate to make mysteries of nothing;—'tis the cold cautiousness of one of those little souls from which Lessius (lib. 13. de moribus divinis, ch. 24.) has made his estimate, wherein he setteth forth, That one Dutch mile, cubically multiplied, will allow room enough, and to spare, for eight hundred thousand millions, which he supposes to be as great a number of souls (continuing from the fall of Adam) as can possibly be

* P. 213.

† Chap. 33, vol. 5.

‡ Page 104. Ibid. Page 276.

§ See Burton, p. 310, & seq.

|| Tristram Shandy, vol. vii. c. 13.

damn'd to the end of the world. — I am much more at a loss to know what could be in Francisus Ribera's head, who pretends that no less a space than one of two hundred Italian miles, multiplied into itself, will be sufficient to hold the like number—he certainly must have gone upon some of the old Roman souls,' &c.

The succeeding raiillery is very well, but unfair with respect to the mathematical Theologist, as the original passage will prove. "Franciscus Ribera, in cap. 14. Apocalyps. will have hell a material and local fire in the centre of the earth, 300 Italian miles in diameter, as he defines it out of those words, *Exivit sanguis de terra—per stadia mille sexcenta*, &c. But *Lessius*, lib. 13. *de moribus divinis*, cap. 24, will have this local hell far less, one Dutch mile in diameter, all filled with fire and brimstone; because, as he there demonstrates, that space cubically multiplied will make a sphere able to hold eight hundred thousand millions of damned bodies (allowing each body six foot square), which will abundantly suffice." [I believe the damned, upon Lessius's scheme, would be less crowded, than the victims of the Africans lave-trade have often been, on the middle passage.] "*Cum certum sit, inquit, facta subductione, non futuros centies mille millones damnandorum* *."

Again, at the end of the same chapter in Tristram Shandy; 'but where am I? and into what a delicious riot of things am I rushing? I—I who must be cut short in the midst of my days,' &c. Burton concludes his chapter "on Maids', Nuns', and Widows' Melancholy,"

in the same manner. "But where am I? into what subject have I rushed? What have I to do †?" &c.

I shall just observe by the way, that a pretty passage in the Story of the King of Bohemia and his seven castles;—"Modesty scarce touches with a finger what Liberality offers her with both hands open"—alludes to a picture of Guido's, the design of which it describes tolerably well.

Retournons à nos moutons, as Rabelais would say; in matters of painting, it is dangerous for a man to trust his own eyes, till he has taken his degree of connoisseur.

It confirms me strongly in the belief, that the character of Mr. Shandy is a personification of the authorship of Burton, when I find such a passage as the following in Sterne. "There is a philippic in verse on somebody's eye or other, that for two or three nights together had put him by his rest; which, in his first transport of resentment against it, he begins thus:

"A devil 'tis—and mischief such doth work,
"As never yet did Pagan, Jew, or Turk."

This choice couplet is quoted by Burton‡ from some bad poet, now unknown, of whose name he only gives the initials.

'Hilarion the hermit, in speaking of his abstinence, his watchings, flagellations, and other instrumental parts of his religion—would say—though with more facetiousness than became an hermit—That they were the means he used to make

* Anat. of Melanch. p. 156.

† Page 124.

‡ Page 331.

his ass (meaning his body) leave off kicking*.

"By this means Hilarion made his ass, as he called his own body, leave kicking too Hierome relates of him in his life) when the devil tempted him to any foul offence†."

"I wish, Yorick, said my father, you had read Plato; for there you would have learnt that there are two loves — of these loves, according to Ficinus's comment upon Velasius, the one is rational—the other is natural—the first ancient—without mother—where Venus has nothing to do; the second, begotten of Jupiter and Dione—‡."

"§ One Venus is ancient, without a mother, and descended from heaven, whom we call celestial. The younger, begotten of Jupiter and Dione, whom commonly we call Venus. Ficinus, in his comment upon this place, cap. 8, following Plato, called these two loves, two devils, or good and bad angels according to us, which are still hovering about our souls||."

That part of the letter to Uncle Toby, which consists of obsolete medical practices, is taken from one of the chapters on the Cure of Love Melancholy¶. Many curious quotations might be added to what Sterne knew, out of Dr. Fer-

rands Erastomania; but this essay is already long enough.

There is another writer, whose pathetic manner Sterne seems to have caught; it is Marivaux,—the father of the sentimental style. A careful perusal of his writings, and of those of the younger Crebillon, might perhaps elucidate the serious parts of Tristram Shandy, and the Sentimental Journey. But I must leave this undertaking to those who have sufficient time to sacrifice to the task. From these authors, I think, Sterne learnt to practise what Quintillian had made a precept: Minus est totum dicere quam omnia. With genius enough for the attempt, one has frequently failed in producing pleasure by the length of his digressions, and the other by affecting an excessive refinement and ambiguity in his language. *Les bons écrivains du siècle de Louis XIV. says Voltaire, ont eu de la force, aujourd'hui on cherche de contorsions.* Our own writers are not free from this error; and it would not be unworthy their consideration, that a sentence, which is so much refined as to admit of several different senses, may perhaps have no direct claim to any sense**. Sterne has seldom indulged these lapses, for which he was

* Tr. Shandy, vol. viii. chap. 31.

† Tr. Shandy, vol. viii. chap. 33.

§ Velasius is quoted through all the preceding passages in Burton.

|| P. 260.

** Maynard puts this very well:

Mon ami, chassé bier loin
Cette noire Rhetorique,
Tes ouvrages ont besoin
D'un devin qui les explique.
Si ton esprit veut cacher
Les belles choses qu'il pense,
Di-moi, qui peut t'empêcher
De te servir du silence?

† Burton, p. 333.

¶ P. 333 to 335.

probably

probably indebted to the buoyant force of Burton's firm old English sinews.

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing Sterne's Dialogue with his own feelings, in the Sentimental Journey *, to that of Jacob with his avarice and his honour, in the first part of the Paysan Parvenu, will perceive a near resemblance. It would be cruel to insert the French declamation. A shorter passage from the same work will shew that the Shandean manner is very similiar to that of Marivaux.

Le Directeur avoit laissé parler l'ainée sans l'interrompre, & sembloit meme un peu piqué de l'obstination de l'autre.

Prenant pourtant un air tranquille et benin : ma chere Demoiselle, écoutez moi, dit il à cette cadette ; vous savez avec quelle affection particulière je vous donne mes conseils à toutes deux.

Ces derniers paroles, à toutes deux, furent partagées de façon que la cadette en avoit pour le moins les trois quarts & demi pour elle, et ce ne fut meme que par reflexion subite, qu'il en donna le reste à l'ainée†.

The curious hypothesis respecting christian names, contains a just satire on what was once a popular superstition, and even cherished by the learned.

Pasquier, in his *Recherches*, has a chapter on the fortune of some

christian names. In the present state of knowledge, it would be unpardonable to omit a remark, with which an author like Sterne would make himself very merry. It relates to the passage, in which Mr. Shandy treats the name of Tristram with such indignity, and demands of his supposed adversary, 'Whether he had ever remembered,—whether he had ever read,—or whether he had ever heard tell of a man, called Tristram, performing any thing great or worth recording?—No,—he would say,—Tristram!—The thing is impossible?' A student of the fashionable black-letter erudition would have triumphed in proclaiming the redoubted sir Tristram, knight of the round-table, and one of the most famous knights-errant upon record. Sterne might have replied :

Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit ‡ ;

and indeed his pleasant hero has no resemblance to the *preux Chevalier*. I am sorry to deprive Sterne of the following pretty figure, but justice must be done to every one.

' In short, my father - - - - - advanced so very slowly with his work, and I began to live and get forward at such a rate, that if an event had not happened - - &c. I verily believe I had put by my father, and left him drawing a sun-

* Compare also the first Conversation with Mc. Freval, in the Paysan Parvenu, with a scene in the Sentimental Journey. Wherever Sterne picked up his Fragment, as he calls it, in the Sentimental Journey, on the power of Love, it is evidently ill copied from the exordium of Lucian's admirable essay on the method of writing History.

† Paysan Parvenu, Partie 2me.

‡ Martial, lib. 2.

dial, for no better purpose than to be buried under ground*."

Donne concludes his poem entitled *The Will*, with this very thought :

And all your graces no more use
shall have
Than a sun-dial in a grave.

There is a strange coincidence between Sterne and a mystic writer, in the insertion of a black page in each of their works. I cannot consider it as an imitation, for it must appear by this time, that Sterne possessed no great store of curious reading.

Every one knows the black pages in *Tristram Shandy*; that of prior date is to be found in Dr. Fludd's *Utriusque cosmi Historia*†, and is emblematic of the chaos. Fludd was a man of extensive erudition, and considerable observation, but his fancy, naturally vigorous, was fermented and depraved by astrological and cabbalistic researches. It will afford a proof of his strange fancies, and at the same time do away all suspicion of Sterne in this instance, to quote the ludicrous coincidence mentioned by Morhoff, between himself and this author. "Cogitandi modum in nobis et speculationes illas rationum, mirificè quodam in loco, videlicet in libro *de mystica cerebri anatome* [Fluddius] ob oculos ponit. Solent ab anatomicis illic delincari genitalia membra, utriusque sexus, quod processus quidam et sinus, cum in modum figurati sunt. Hic

Fluddius invenit, non quod pueri in faba, illic dicit generari cogitationes; quod mihi mirum visum est, cum ego aliquando jocularè carmen *de Entre rationis* scriberem, et, ferente ita genio carminis, joci gratia finxissem, illic generari Entia rationis, postea cum incidi in istud Fluddii, quod ne somniando quidem cogitaveram, invenisse me, serio hæc asseri a Fluddio ‡."

I am not acquainted with the foundation of the curious passages respecting the possibility of baptizing infants *in utero*||, but I find that Mauriceau adverts to the circumstance, in his attack on the Cæsarian operation: "il n'y a pas d'occasions où on ne puisse bien donner le baptême à l'enfant, durant qu'il est encore au ventre de la mère, étant facile de porter de l'eau nette par le moyen du canon d'une seringue jusques sur quelque partie de son corps."—He then obviates a difficulty unthought of by Sterne's doctors; which persuades me that this passage of Mauriceau had not occurred to him—"et il seroit inutile d'alleguer que l'eau n'y peut pas être conduite, à cause que l'enfant est envelopé de ses membranes, qui en empêchent; car ne sçait-on pas qu'on les peut rompre très aisément, en cas qu'elles ne le fussent pas, après quoi on peut toucher effectivement son corps §."

This writer has also mentioned the mischievous effects of strong pressure applied to the heads of very young children; which is connected with another theory that Sterne has diverted himself with. I have not

* Tr. Shandy, vol. v. chap. 16.

† Page 26.

‡ Morhoff. Polyhist. Philos. lib. ii. p. 1. cap. 15.

|| Tristram Shandy, vol. i. chap. 20.

§ Mauric. *Maladies des Femmes Grosses*, p. 347 (edit. 3me. 4to. 1681.

met with the original of it in my reading, but will give a passage from Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis*, analogous to Mauriceau's*.

The north-west passage to learning, obscurely mentioned in the *Tristra-Pædia*, is described by Dr. Warton, in his excellent observations on the *Genius and Writings of Pope*, and was well burlesqued by Swift, in the *Voyage to Laputa*†.

The best commentary on chap. v. vol. 8th, is Montague's essay on the subject.

There is one passage in the 7th volume, which the circumstances of Sterne's death render pathetic. A believer in the doctrine of presentiment would think it a prop to his theory. It is as striking as Swift's Digression on Madness, in the *Tale of a Tub*.

'Was I in a condition to stipulate with death - - - I should certainly declare against submitting to it before my friends; and therefore I never seriously think upon the mode and manner of this great catastrophe, which generally takes up and torments my thoughts as much as the catastrophe itself, but I constantly draw the curtain across it with this wish, that the Disposer of all things may so order it, that it happen not to me in my own house—but rather in some decent inn— - - - in an inn, the few cold offices I wanted, would be pur-

chased with a few guineas, and paid me with an undisturbed but punctual attention.' It is known that Sterne died in hired lodgings, and I have been told, that his attendants robbed him even of his gold sleeve-buttons, while he was expiring.

I have seen, not very long ago, a charge of plagiarism brought against Sterne, respecting his *Sermons*.

From what author the passages were said to be borrowed, I do not remember; but it has long been my opinion, that the manner, the style, and the selection of subjects for those sermons, were derived from the excellent *Contemplations* of bishop Hall. There is a delicacy of thought, and tenderness of expression in the good bishop's compositions, from the transfusion of which Sterne looked for immortality.

Let us compare that singular Sermon, entitled *The Levite and his Concubine*, with part of the bishop's contemplation of the *Levite's Concubine*. I shall follow Sterne's order.

'—Then shame and grief go with her, and wherever she seeks a shelter, may the hand of justice shut the door against her†.'

"What husband would not have said—She is gone, let shame and grief go with her; I shall find one

* I knew a gentleman who had divers sons, and the midwives and nurses had with headbands and strokings so altered the natural mould of their heads, that they proved children of a very weak understanding. His last son only, upon advice given him, had no restraint imposed upon the natural growth of his head, but was left free from the coercive power of headbands and other artificial violence, whose head, although it were bigger, yet he had more wit and understanding than them all. *Artificial Changeling*, p. 42.

† See the description and print of the literary turning machine.

‡ Sterne, Sermon xviii.

no less pleasing, and more faithful*."

'Our annotators tell us, that in Jewish *æconomicks*, these (concubines) differed little from the wife, except in some outward ceremonies and stipulations, but agreed with her in all the true essences of marriage†.'

"The law of God, says the bishop, allowed the Levite a wife; human connivance a concubine; neither did the Jewish concubine differ from a wife, but in some outward compliments; both might challenge all the true essence of marriage."

I shall omit the greater part of the Levite's soliloquy, in Sterne, and only take the last sentences.

'Mercy well becomes the heart of all thy creatures, but most of thy servant, a Levite, who offers up so many daily sacrifices to thee for the transgressions of thy people.'

— 'But to little purpose,' he would add, 'have I served at thy altar, where my business was to sue for mercy, had I not learned to practise it.'

"Mercy," says bishop Hall "becomes well the heart of any man, but most of a Levite. He that had helped to offer so many sacrifices to God for the multitude of every Israelite's sins, saw how proportionable it was, that man should not hold one sin unpardonable. He had served at the altar to no purpose, if he (whose trade was to sue for mercy) had not at all learned to practise it."

It were needless to pursue the parallel.

Sterne's twelfth Sermon, on the Forgiveness of Injuries, is merely a dilated commentary on the beautiful conclusion of the *Contemplation* 'of Joseph.'

The sixteenth sermon contains a more striking imitation. 'There is no small degree of malicious craft in fixing upon a season to give a mark of enmity and ill-will;—a word, a look, which, at one time, would make no impression,—at another time, wounds the heart; and, like a shaft flying with the wind, pierces deep, which, with its own natural force, would scarce have reached the object aimed at.'

This is little varied from the original: "There is no small cruelty in the picking out of a time for mischief; that word would scarce gall at one season, which at another killeth. The same shaft flying with the wind pierces deep, which against it, can hardly find strength to stick upright‡."

In Sterne's fifth sermon, the *Contemplation* of Elijah with the Sareptan, is closely followed. Witness this passage out of others: 'The prophet follows the call of his God:—the same hand which brought him to the gate of the city, had led also the poor widow out of her doors, oppressed with sorrow||.'

"The prophet follows the call of his God; the same hand that brought him to the gate of Sarepta,

* Bp. Hall's Works, p. 1017.

† Sterne loc. citat.

‡ Hall's *Shimei Cursing*.

|| Sterne.

led also this poor widow out of her doors*."

The succeeding passages which correspond are too long for insertion.

Sterne has acknowledged his acquaintance with this book, by the disingenuity of two ludicrous quotations in *Tristram Shandy*†.

What assistance the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau afforded Sterne, I omit to inquire. The former was the first author of this age, who introduced the terms and operations of the modern art of war into works of entertainment; but Sterne's military ardour seems to have been inspired by the prolix detail of honest Tindal. Voltaire himself reviewed the first volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, in one of the foreign Journals, and did not charge their author with the imitation of any persons but Rabelais and Swift. He was probably not very jealous of the reputation of a modern English writer.

Such are the casual notes, with the collection of which I have sometimes diverted a vacant half-hour. They leave Sterne in possession of every praise but that of curious erudition, to which he had no great pretence, and of unparalleled originality, which ignorance only can ascribe to any polished writer. It would be enjoining an impossible task, to exact much knowledge on subjects frequently treated, and yet to prohibit the use of thoughts and expressions rendered familiar by study, merely

because they had been occupied by former authors. There is a kind of imitation which the antients encouraged, and which even our Gothic criticism admits, when acknowledged. But justice cannot permit the Polygraphic copy to be celebrated at the expence of the original.

Voltaire has compared the merits of Rabelais and Sterne, as satirists of the abuse of learning, and, I think, has done neither of them justice. This great distinction is obvious; that Rabelais derided absurdities then existing in full force, and intermingled much sterling sense with the grossest parts of his book; Sterne, on the contrary, laughs at many exploded opinions, and abandoned fooleries, and contrives to degrade some of his most solemn passages by a vicious levity. Rabelais flew a higher pitch, too, than Sterne. Great part of the voyage to the *Pays de Lanternois*‡, which so severely stigmatizes the vices of the Romish clergy of that age, was performed in more hazard of fire than water.

The follies of the learned may as justly be corrected, as the vices of hypocrites; but for the former ridicule is a sufficient punishment. Ridicule is even more effectual to this purpose, as well as more agreeable than scurrility, which is generally preferred, notwithstanding, by the learned themselves in their contests, because anger seizes the readiest weapons;

* Bp. Hall, p. 1323.

† Vol. I. chap. 22. and vol. 7. chap. 13.

‡ I do not recollect to have seen it observed by Rabelais's Commentators, that this name, as well as the plan of the Satire, is imitated from Lucian's *True History*. Lucian's town is called *Lychnopolis*.

*Jamque faces et saxa volant ; furor
arma ministrat :*

And where a little extraordinary power has accidentally been lodged in the hands of disputants, they have not scrupled to employ the most cogent methods of convincing their adversaries. Dionysius the younger sent those critics who disliked his verses, to work in the quarries *; and there was a pleasant tyrant, mentioned by Horace, who obliged his delinquent debtors to hear him read his own compositions, *amaras historias*, by way of commutation. I say nothing of the "holy faith of pike and gun," nor of the strong cudgel with which Luther terminated a theological dispute, as I desire to avoid religious controversy. But it is impossible, on this subject, to forget the once celebrated Dempster, the last of the formidable sect of Hoplomachists, who fought every day, at his school

in Paris, either with sword or fist, in defence of his doctrines in *omni scibili* †. The imprisonment of Galileo, and the example of Jordano Bruno, burnt alive for asserting the plurality of worlds ‡, among other disgraceful instances, shew that laughter is the best crisis of an ardent disputation.

The talents for so delicate an office as that of a literary censor, are too great and numerous to be often assembled in one person. Rabelais wanted decency, Sterne learning, and Voltaire fidelity. Lucian alone supported the character properly, in those pieces which appear to be justly ascribed to him. As the narrowness of party yet infests philosophy, a writer with his qualifications would still do good service in the cause of truth. For wit and good sense united, as in him they eminently were, can attack nothing successfully which ought not to be demolished.

* Plutarch.

† Jan. Nic. Erythræ. *Pinacothie*.

‡ Brucker. *Hist. Critic. Philosoph.* tom. v. p. 28, 29. The famous Seleppius published a shocking letter of exultation on this execution.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1793. By Henry James Pye, Esq.
Poet Laureat.

NOT with more joy from desert shades,
Where prowl untam'd the savage train,
From pathless moors and barren glades,
Sad desolation's gloomy reign
Averted, bends the weary eye
To seats of rural industry,
Where harvests wave in yellow pride,
Where spreads the fertile champaign wide,
The lucid stream while Commerce leads
Through peopled towns and laughing meads;
Than turns the mind from scenes of woe,
Where ceaseless tears of anguish flow,
Where Anarchy's insatiate brood
Their horrid footsteps mark with blood,
To shores where temperate Freedom reigns,
Where Peace and Order bless the plains,
Where men the Sovereign of their choice obey,
Where Britain's grateful Sons exult in George's sway.

Yet Albion ne'er with selfish aim
To her own race her care confines,
On all, the sacred gift who claim,
The golden beam of Freedom shines,
Sad out-cast from his native shore,
The wretched Exile wafted o'er,
Feels Pity's lenient hand assuage
The wounds of Faction's cruel rage;
Her laws, to all protective, yield
Security's impartial shield;
Who breathes her air, breathes purest liberty,
Gaunt Slavery flies the coast; who treads her soil is free.
Ambition's

Ambition's clarion has not charm'd
 Her dauntless legions to the war,
 Nor have her Sons, by fury arm'd,
 Follow'd Oppression's iron car ;
 Tho' prompt at honour's call to brave
 The hostile clime, the adverse wave,
 Their thunder 'neath the burning zone
 Shook the proud Despot on his throne ;
 Yet while aloft in orient skies
 Conquest's triumphant banner flie-,
 The generous Victor bids the conflict cease,
 And midst his laurels twines the nobler wreaths of peace.

Blest Peace ! O may thy radiance mild
 Beam kindly on the op'ning year !
 Yet, should with frantic vengeance wild
 The fiends of Discord urge their rash career, . . .
 Not cold in Freedom's sacred cause,
 Nor slow to guard her holy laws,
 Faithful to him their hearts approve,
 The Monarch they revere, the man they love ;
 Britannia's sons shall arm with patriot zeal,
 Their Prince's cause their own, his rights the general weal.

ODE for His MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, by H. J. Pye, Esq.

WHEN blind Ambition drives his car,
 Impetuous, through the ranks of war,
 Though Fame her notes of triumph breathe,
 Though shouts of conquest soothe the ear,
 Yet, o'er the victor's blood-stain'd wreath
 Reflection drops the pensive tear ;
 But at Oppression's lawless head,
 When War's vindictive bolts are sped,
 When at the Despot's shrinking breast,
 When o'er Sedition's haughty crest
 Stern Battle shakes the avenging spear,
 And teaches headstrong Arrogance to fear,
 Mercy herself shall consecrate the cause,
 While Justice points the sword that indignation draws.

Though Albion many an ancient scar
 Still bears on her indented breast,
 In every age by Gallic war
 Or Gallic perfidy impress'd ;

Yet,

Yet, o'er their fields when Rapine stood,
 When faction drench'd their towns with blood,
 No memory of insult past
 Urg'd her to swell Contention's blast ;
 With grief she viewed their sinking state,
 With tears deplor'd her rival's fate ;
 Their chiefs, whose falchions yet were red
 With her best blood in battle shed,
 Found friendly refuge on her happy shore ;
 She knew they were distress'd, nor e'er remember'd more.

Yet, when Invasion's raging flood
 Burst dreadful o'er each ruin'd mound,
 And, swell'd by carnage and by blood,
 Threaten'd the trembling nations round ;
 While Europe, from Batavia's wat'ry plain
 By commerce snatch'd from Ocean's wide domain
 To southern seas, that gently lave
 Baia's mild shores with tepid wave,
 Look'd up whereon her rocky throne
 Unaw'd Britannia sits alone,—
 " Go forth, my sons, in Freedom's cause !" she cry'd,
 Check'd was the torrent's course, and reflux roll'd the tide.

What though on this auspicious day
 Her offering to the best of kings,
 Pluck'd from the sober olive's spray,
 The duteous Muse no longer brings ;
 Yet, while the laurel's warrior bough
 Now decks his youthful hero's brow
 Untouch'd by Rapine's hand profane,
 Unsoil'd by dark Ambition's stain,
 Albion once more with kindling flame
 Renews her scenes of ancient fame,
 Again she sees, in fields of glory, shine,
 Her sons of dauntless breast, her chiefs of royal line.

An EPIGRAPH on the late JOHN ELWES, Esq. of Stoke, Suffolk.

HERE to man's honour, or to man's disgrace,
 Lies a strong picture of the human race ;
 In Elwes' form—whose spirit, heart, and mind,
 Virtue and vice in firmest tints combin'd.
 Rough was the rock, but blended deep with ore,
 And base the mass, that many a diamond bore ;
 Meanness to grandeur, folly join'd to sense,
 And avarice coupled with benevolence.

Whose lips ne'er broke a truth, nor hands a trust,
 Were sometimes warmly kind, and always just ;
 With powers to reach Ambition's highest birth,
 He sunk a mortal, growling to the earth ;
 Lost in the lust of adding self to self,
 Poor to the poor ; still poorer to himself.
 A foe to none, to many oft a friend ;
 Callous to give, though readiness to lend.
 In each amusement temperance was taste,
 A virtuous habit from the dread of waste ;
 To pleasure's joys he virtue's joys deny'd,
 Want all his fear, and riches all his pride :
 Yet ev'n that fear, which bent to all but stealth.
 Ne'er in his country's plunder dug for wealth ;
 Call'd by her voice,—but call'd without expence,—
 His noble nature rous'd in her defence ;
 And in the senate, labouring in her cause,
 The firmest guardian of the fairest laws
 He stood ;—and, each instinctive taint above,
 To every bribe preferr'd a people's love.
 But still, with no stern patriotism fir'd,
 Wrapt up in wealth, to wealth again retir'd ;
 By penury guarded from pride's sickly train,
 Living a length of days without a pain,
 And, adding to the million never try'd,
 Lov'd, pity'd, scorn'd, and honour'd—Elwes dy'd.
 In this contracted character we see
 Wealth lov'd for wealth is study'd misery,
 Who with such parching avarice is curst
 Feels of all pangs of penury the worst ;
 For, while the springs of plenty round him rise,
 Dreading to taste, he thirsts,—and thirsting dies !
 Learn from this proof that, in life's tempting scene,
 Man is a compound of the great and mean ;
 Discordant qualities together ty'd.
 Virtues in him, and vices, are ally'd ;
 The sport of follies, or of crimes the heir,
 We all the mixture of an Elwes share ;
 Pond'ring his faults then,—ne'er his worth disown,
 But, in *his* nature, recollect *thine own* ;
 With humble awe thy mingled map survey,
 A soul of spirit in a frame of clay :
 And think, for life and pardon, where to trust,
 Was God not mercy, when his creature's dust.

A GIPSY BALLAD. *By* PETER PINDAR.

A Wandering Gipsy, Sirs, am I,
 From *Norwood*, where we oft complain,
 With many a tear and many a sigh,
 Of blust'ring winds and rushing rain.

No rooms so fine, nor gay attire,
 Amid our humble shed appear,
 Nor beds of down, nor blazing fire,
 At night our shiv'ring limbs to cheer.

Alas! no friends come near our cot!
 The Red-breasts only find the way,
 Who give their all,—a simple note,—
 At peep of morn, and parting day.

But fortunes here I come to tell;
 Then yield me, gentle Sir, your hand;—
 Amid those lines what thousands dwell!
 And bless me what a heap of land!

This surely, Sir, must pleasing be,
 To hold such wealth in every line!
 Try, pray now try, if you can see
 A little treasure lodg'd in mine.
(Holding out her hand.)

An ODE to PRUDY. *By the same.*

(Never before published)

O PRUDY, who, in household matters,
 Art grown most wonderfully expert,
 As cleaning chambers, chairs, and platters,
 Or airing at the fire, a shirt!

I greet thee that thou lov'st deep reading,
 Surpassing numbers of thy betters,
 And that thou constantly art feeding
 Thy brain with ev'ry kind of letters.

Resolv'd by learning's steps to climb
 As high as that proud creature man,
 O'er wash-tub nymphs to soar sublime,
 And ladies of the dripping-pan ;

'Tis said, amidst a dirty room,
 Full oft a damsel thou art seen,
 Nobly to fling away thy broom
 To ponder on a magazine.

Yet, yet, O stoop, advice to take,
 Nor call thy Bard an envious snarler ;
 Amidst thy learning deign to make
 A better fire in the parlour.

Large knobs of coal, as big's my head,
 Loading the grate each morn, adrot'em,
 Most unjudgmatically laid,
 I find for ever at the bottom.

To mend this fault, and whip each cur,
 O nymph, but make the future study !
 The Bard his Pagasus shall spur,
 And give the stars the name of *Prudy* !

C A N T A T A. *By the same.*

R E C I T A T I V E.

LO ! I who erst a MIGHTY MONARCH'S RAGE,
 Made the bold subject of heroic page ;
 Disclos'd the secrets of the ROYAL HOUSE,
 And sang the GUILLOTINISM of—a louse,
 Taught greasy cooks and scullions how to moan,
 And gave to porters language not their own ;
 Now meek as lamb in humbler measures creep,
 And sing the virtues of—a flock of sheep !

A I R.

Adieu ! every sheep that I've got !
 Ye playful and innocent lambs !
 Ye ewes, the support of my flock !
 Ye sober and reverend rams !

No more to my arms shall ye run,
 As together we frisk it and play,
 In the summer to feed you with grass,
 In the winter to feed you with hay.

! shall

I shall lead you no more to the fold,
No more shall I bring you together,
No more to a sweet little ewe
Shall I couple a merry bell-wether*.

Lack-a-day! how I'm alter'd of late,
As I fear by my visage appears,
Ah! I am not the same as I was †,
For I'm older by sixty good years!

Oh! list to this maxim, my friends,
Which at once is both NOVEL and TRUE,
"Ye too must resign your sweet breath,"
For *who* his *past years* can renew?

What thanks to your love do I owe!
In the sun-shine whenever I sleep,
Reposing my limbs on the ground,
How sweet to be guarded—by sheep.

Let me copy your virtues so rare,
Then receive my last thanks and last sigh,
Your *simplicity* taught me to live,
Let your INNOCENCE teach me to *die*!

Then no more shall my mortified spirit
Use any unfortunate imp ill;
But all, whilst they envy, shall own
The VIRTUES of—PETER—the *simple*!

PAPER. A POEM. By Dr. FRANKLIN.

SOME wit of old, such wits of old there were,
Whose hints show'd meaning, whose allusions care;
By one brave stroke to mark all human kind,
Call'd clear blank paper ev'ry infant mind;
When still, as op'ning Sense her dictates wrote,
Fair Virtue put a seal, or Vice a blot.

* I am well aware of the objection the critics may make to my coupling an *ewe* to a *bell-wether*; but I shall beg leave to refer them to Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Act iii. Scene 2d, an authority I conceive fully sufficient to answer any objection they may think proper to bring against me.

† Non sum qualis eram.

The thought was happy, pertinent, and true;
 Methinks a genius might the plan pursue.
 I (can you pardon my presumption!) I—
 No wit, no genius, yet for once will try.

Various the papers, various wants produce—
 The wants of fashion, elegance, and use.
 Men are as various; and, if right I scan,
 Each sort of *paper* represents some *man*.

Pray note the fop—half powder and half lace,
 Nice as a band-box were his dwelling place:
 He's the gilt-paper, which apart you store,
 And lock from vulgar hands in the 'scrutore.

Mechanics, servants, farmers, and so forth,
 Are copy paper, of inferior worth:
 Less priz'd, more useful, for your desk decreed,
 Free to all pens, and prompt at ev'ry need.

The wretch whom Av'rice bids to pinch and spare,
 Starve, cheat, and pilfer, to enrich an heir,
 Is coarse brown paper, such as pedlars chuse
 To wrap up wares, which better men will use.

Take next the miser's contrast, who destroys
 Health, fame, and fortune, in a round of joys.
 Will any paper match him? Yes, throughout,
 He's a true sinking paper, past all doubt.

The retail politician's anxious thought
 Deems this side always right, and that stark naught;
 He foams with censure, with applause he raves;
 A dupe to rumours, and a tool of knaves;
 He'll want no type his weakness to proclaim,
 While such a thing as fool's-cap has a name.

The hasty gentleman, whose blood runs high,
 Who picks a quarrel, if you step awry,
 Who can't a jest, a hint, or look endure:
 What is he? What? Touch-paper, to be sure.

What are our poets, take them as they fall.
 Good, bad, rich, poor, much read, not read at all?
 Them and their works in the same lot you'll find;
 They are the mere waste-paper of mankind.

Observe the maiden, innocently sweet,
 She's fair white paper, an unsullied sheet ;
 On which the happy man whom fate ordains,
 May write his name, and take her for his pains.

One instance more, and only one I'll bring ;
 'Tis the great man who scorns a little thing,
 Whose thoughts, whose deeds, whose maxims are his own,
 Form'd on the feelings of his heart alone ;
 True genuine royal paper is his breast ;
 Of all the kinds, most precious, purest, best.

CHANSON de Mons. DELILLE, pendant le Ministère de Mons. de
 TURGOT, 1755.

Sur l'Air " La bonne Avanture."

HONNEUR à nos beaux esprits,
 Encyclopédistes ;
 Du bonheur François épris,
 Grands économistes !
 Par leurs soins, au tems d'Adam ;
 Nous reviendrons—c'est leur plan :
 Momus les assiste.

Ce n'est plus de nos bouquins
 Que vient la science ;
 En eux ces fiers paladins
 Ont la sapience.
 Les Colbert & les Sully
 Nous paroissent grands—mais, fy !
 C'étoit l'ignorance !

On verra tous les états
 Entr' eux se confondre ;
 Les pauvres, sur leurs grabats,
 Ne plus se morfondre.
 Des biens on fera des lots,
 Qui rendront les gens égaux,—
 Le bel œuf à pondre !

Du même pas marcheront
 Noblesse & roture ;
 Les François retourneront
 Aux droits de la nature,
 Adieu, parlemens & loix,
 Et ducs, & princes, & rois,—
 La belle avanture !

Lors,

Lors, devenus vertueux
 Par philosophie,
 Les François auront des dieux
 A leur fantaisie.
 Nous reverrons un oignon
 A Jésus damer le pion :—
 La bonne folie !

Alors, adieu, sureté
 Entre sœurs & frères,
 Sacremens & parentés
 Seront des chimères :
 Chaque père imitera
 Noé * quand il s' enivra :
 Liberté plénière !

Plus des moines languoureux,
 Des plaintives nonnes :
 Au lieu d' adresser aux cieux
 Matines & nones,
 Nous verrons ces bien heureux
 Danser, abjurant leurs vœux,
 Galantes chaconnes.

Prisant des novations
 La fière sequelle,
 La France des nations
 Sera le modèle :
 Et cet honneur nous devons
 Aux Turgot & compagnons ;
 Besogne immortelle !

A qui nous devons le plus
 C'est à notre Maître ;
 Qui, se croyant un abus,
 Ne voudra plus l'être.
 Ah ! qu'il faut aimer le bien
 Pour de roi n'être plus rien !
 J'enverrois tout paitre,
 Oh gué,
 J'enverrois tout paitre !

Free IMITATION of the above.

HAIL! great wits, and state physicians,
 Philosophic politicians,
 Fraternizing dispositions,
 Dearest friends of France, Sir !

* Ne faut-il pas lire *Lot* au lieu de *Noé* ?

Soon

Soon shall be restor'd to man
 Golden days—(so runs their plan)—
 As when first the world began :
 Then let us laugh and dance, Sir !

Not from musty volumes now, Sir,
 Shall we wisdom seek to know, Sir ;
 All must to these heroes bow, Sir,
 Sapience' self possessing.
 Sully once, in days far hence,—
 Colbert—pass'd for men of sense :—
 Fudge—all fudge, and mere pretence,
 Now the world's confessing.

Rank shall soon exist no longer,—
 No distinction but the stronger ;—
 Decency with rags and hunger
 Shall together lie, Sir.
 Mixing what the world has got,
 Each shall fairly take his lot,
 Equals all—old claims forgot :
 Pretty fish to fry, Sir !

Lords and tinkers, *vis-à-vis*, Sir,
 Shall sit down and sip their tea, Sir :
 Frenchmen once again shall see, Sir,
 Rights of Nature ruling.
 Laws and justice, then, adieu !
 Princes, Dukes,—we want not you :—
 Kings may strike their colours too :
 There 'll be dainty fooling.

Frenchmen, good and virtuous grown, Sir,
 Through philosophy alone, Sir,
 Shall have, each, a god of 's own, Sir,
 To his cut and fancy.
 Christians having had their day,
 Egypt's hallow'd onion may
 Once again come into play :—
That's somewhat like a tansy !

Licence then all sins shall cover,
 Brother be receiv'd for lover,
 Ties of blood be all got over,
 Scruples nought that weigh, Sir,
 Like the Ptolemies of old *,

* Altered, for obvious reasons, from the original.

Or the Persians, as we're told
Near relations may be bold :—
Vive la Liberté, Sir !

Lazy monks no more shall dwell, Sir,
Or pale nuns in cloister'd cell, Sir,
Fast and penance now farewell, Sir,
Matins, nones *, and vespers.
Such poor devils, all set free,
Vows and veils renounce, you'll see,
And, round Liberty's fair tree,
Dance with merry step, Sirs !

Men admiring this fam'd junto,
And the bliss they've brought us unto,
Ev'ry nation soon will run to
Such sure means of glory :—
This proud boast do Frenchmen owe
First to Turgot, years ago,
Now to Robespierre and Co.
Chiefs renown'd in story.

One there is, who, heart and voice, Sir,
With his people would rejoice, Sir,
Nay, resign his rule of choice, Sir,
Would it good command 'em.
Yet must he love virtue well,
Who for nought a crown would sell !
Such advisers I'd soon tell
How to teach their grandam !!!

PROLOGUE to " Every one has his Fault." *By the Rev. Mr.*
NARES. Spoken by Mr. FARREN.

OUR Author, who accuses great and small,
And says so boldly, there are faults in all,
Sends me with dismal voice and lengthen'd pliz,
Humbly to own one dreadful fault of his ;
A fault, in modern Authors not uncommon,
It is—now don't be angry—He's *a woman*.

Can you forgive it ? Nay, I'll tell you more,
One who has dar'd to venture here before,
Has seen your smiles, your frowns,—tremendous sight !
Oh, be not in a frowning mood to-night !

* The masses formerly said at nine in the morning.

The play, perhaps, has many things amiss :
Well, let us then reduce the point to this,
Let only those who have no failings hiss.

The rights of women, says a female pen,
Are, to do every thing as well as men ;
To think, to argue, to decide, to write,
To talk, undoubtedly—perhaps, to fight,
(For females march to war, like brave Commanders,
Not in old Authors only—but in Flanders).

I grant this matter may be strain'd too far,
And Maid 'gainst Man is most uncivil war.
I grant, as all my City friends will say,
That Men should rule, and Women should obey ;
That nothing binds the marriage contract faster,
Than our—a " Zounds, Madam, I'm your Lord and Master."
I grant their nature and their frailty such,
Women may make too free—and know too much.
But since the sex at length has been inclin'd
To cultivate that useful part the mind ;
Since they have learnt to read, to write, to spell ;—
Since some of them have wit—and use it well ;
Let us not force them back with brow severe
Within the pale of ignorance and fear,
Confin'd entirely to domestic arts,
Producing only children, pies, and tarts :
The fav'rite fable of the tuneful Nine,
Implies that female genius *is divine*.

Then drive not, Critics, with tyrannic rage,
A supplicating fair-one from the stage ;
The Comic Muse, perhaps, is growing old,
Her lovers, you well know, are few and cold.
'Tis time then freely to enlarge the plan,
And let all those write Comedies—that can.

EPILOGUE. By M. P. ANDREWS. Spoken by Mrs. MATTOCKS.

" **E**ACH has his fault," we readily allow,
To this decree our dearest friends must bow ;
One is too careless, one is too correct,
All, save your own sweet self, has some defect ;
And characters to ev'ry virtue dear,
Sink from a hint, or suffer by a sneer.

" Sir

" Sir Harry Blink ! Oh, he's a worthy man,
 " Still anxious to do all the good he can ;
 " To aid distress, would share his last poor guinea,
 " Delights in kindness—but then, what a ninny !"

Lady doll Primrose says to Lady Sly,
 " You know, Miss Tidlikins ? Yes—looks awry—
 " She's going to be married—that won't mend it ;
 " They say she'll have a fortune—and she'll spend it.
 " I hope your Ladyship visits Lady Hearty,
 " We meet to-night—a most delightful party.
 " I don't like Dowagers who would be young,
 " And 'twixt ourselves, they say—she has a tongue."

If such the general blame that all await,
 Say, can our Author 'scape the general fate ?
 Some will dislike the saucy truths she teaches,
 Fond batchelors, and wives who wear the breeches.

" Let me be wedded to a handsome youth,"
 Cries old Miss Mumblelove, without a tooth.
 " These worn-out Beaux, because they have heavy purses,
 " Expect us spinsters to become their nurses.
 " To love and be beloved's the happy wife ;
 " A mutual passion is the charm of life."

Marriage is Heav'n's best gift, we must believe it,
 Yet some with weak ideas can't conceive it.
 Poor Lady Sobwell's grief the Town wou'd stun ;
 " Oh, Tiffany ! your mistress is undone."
 " Dear Ma'am—I hope my Lord is well—don't cry."—
 " Haven't I cause ?—The monster will not die—
 " The reason why I married him is clear,
 " I fondly thought he could not live a year :
 " But now his dropsy's better, and his cough—
 " Not the least chance for that to take him off.
 " I, that could have young husbands now in plenty,
 " Sha'n't be a widow till I'm one-and-twenty—
 " No lovely weeds—No sweet dishevell'd hair—
 " Oh ! I could cry my eyes out in despair." [*Sobbing and crying.*]

Sir Tristram Testy worn with age and gout,
 Within all spleen, and flannel all without,
 Roars from his elbow-chair, " Reach me my crutches ;
 " Oh ! if death had my wife within his clutches,
 " With what delight her funeral meats I'd gobble,
 " And though not dance upon her grave, I'd hobble ;

" No

" No longer then my peace she could unhinge,
 " I shou'd cut capers soon— [*Tries to jump, and stumbles.*
" Zounds what a twinge !"

These playful pictures of discordant life,
 We bring to combat discontent and strife;
 And, by the force of contrast, sweetly prove,
 The charms that wait on fond and faithful love;
 When suited years and pliant tempers join,
 And the heart glows with energy divine,
 As the lov'd offspring of the happy pair
 Oft climb the knee the envied kiss to share.

Such joys this happy country long has known,
 Rear'd in the Cot, reflected from the Throne;
 Oh! may the glorious zeal, the loyal stand
 Which nobly animate this envied land,
 Secure to every breast, with glad increase,
 The heart-felt blessings of domestic peace!

STANZAS. *Written by LORD CAPEL, when he was a Prisoner in the
 Tower, during CROMWELL's Usurpation.*

BEAT on, proud Billows! Boreas, blow!
 Swell, curl'd waves, high as Jove's roof;
 Your incivilities do plainly show
 That innocence is Tempest-proof.
 Tho' surly Nereus frowns, my thoughts are calm:
 Then strike, Affliction, for thy wounds are balm.

That which the world miscalls a jail
 A private closet is to me,
 Whilst a good Conscience is my bail,
 And Innocence my liberty:
 Locks, bars, and solitude, together met,
 Make me no prisoner, but an Anchoret.

Here Sin—for want of food—must starve,
 Where tempting objects are not seen;
 And these strong walls do only serve
 To keep rogues out, and keep me in:
 Malice is now grown charitable, sure;
 I'm not committed, but I'm kept secure.

And

And whilst I wish to be retired,
 Into this private room I'm turn'd,
 As if their wisdom had conspir'd
 The Salamander should be burned :
 Or, like those Sophists who would drown a fish,
 I am condemned to suffer what I wish.

The Cynic hugs his poverty,
 The Pelican her wilderness,
 And 'tis the Indian's pride to be
 Naked on frozen Caucasus :—
 Contentment feels no smart—Stoics we see
 Make torments easy by their apathy.

I'm in this cabinet lock'd up,
 Like some high-prized Margarite ;
 Or, like some great Mogul or Pope,
 I'm cloistered up from public sight ;—
 Retiredness is a part of Majesty,
 And thus, proud Sultan, I'm as great as thee !

These manacles upon mine arm
 I as my mistress' favours wear ;
 And, for to keep mine ancles warm,
 I have some iron shackles there :—
 These walls are but my garrison—this cell—
 Which men call jail—is but my citadel.

Thus he that struck at Jason's life, • •
 Thinking to make his purpose sure,
 By a malicious friendly knife
 Did only wound him to his cure :—
 Malice, we see, wants wit for what is meant ;
 Mischief oftentimes proves favour by the event.

Altho' I cannot see my King,
 Neither in person nor in coin,
 Yet Contemplation is a thing
 That renders what I have not mine :—
 My King from me no adamant can part,
 Whom I do wear engraven in my heart.

Have you not heard the Nightingale ;
 A prisoner close kept in a cage,
 How she doth chaunt her woful tale
 In that her narrow hermitage ?—
 Even that her melody doth plainly prove,
 Her boughs are trees, her cage a pleasant grove.

I am that bird which they combine,
 Thus to deprive of liberty ;
 And though my corpse they can confine,
 Yet maugre that my soul is free :—
 Tho' I'm mur'd up, yet I can chirp and sing,
 Disgrace to Rebels !—Glory to my King !

My soul is free as is the ambient air
 Which doth my outward parts include,
 Whilst loyal thoughts do still repair
 To company my solitude :—
 What tho' they do with chains my body bind,
 My King alone can captivate my mind !

CAPEL.

LEMERIUS, in the Year 1618, quoted the following Latin Verses, which he says were written by a Protestant Advocate of the Parliament of Paris 50 Years before that Time.

“ **F**ESTINAT propere cursu, jam temporis ordo,
 Quo locus, et Franci Majestas prisca Senatus,
 Papa, Sacerdotes, Missæ, Simulachra, Deique
 Fictitii atque omnis superos exosa potestas
 Judicio Domini *justo* sublata peribunt.”

In the dark volume of resistless fate
 What various changes threaten Gallia's state !
 Within the period of one luckless hour
 The Roman pontiff's arrogated power,
 The monarch's lawless and despotic sway,
 The venal senates that his will obey,
 The mass, vile mummary, the priest's deceit
 The sculptured idol, superstition's cheat ;
 All that the soul in slavish fetters bind,
 Debase the soul or vilify mankind ;
 These, while eternal justice rules this ball,
 These, these, by Heav'n's own high behest, *shall* fall,
 In endless ruin and confusion hurl'd,
 A dread example to a wond'ring world.

Account of Books for 1793.

A Catalogue of engraved British Portraits from Egbert the Great to the present Time, consisting of the Effigies of Persons in every Walk of Human Life; as well those whose Services to their Country are recorded in the Annals of the English History, as others whose Eccentricity of Character rendered them conspicuous in their Day; with an Appendix, containing the Portraits of such Foreigners as, either by Alliance with the Royal Families of, or Residence as Visitors in, this Kingdom, or by deriving from it some Title of Distinction, may claim a Place in the British Series, methodically disposed in Classes, and interspersed with a Number of Notices, biographical and genealogical, never before published. By Henry Bromley. 4to.

THE above long title is sufficiently indicative of the contents of a work, which, from a mere superficial view of it, for we confess we do not possess sufficient vertù and connoisseurship to enter into a minute critical examination of it, appears to us to be executed with considerable accuracy, and on which most extraordinary pains and diligence must have been bestowed: it possesses not for general readers the entertainment afforded by Granger's Biographical History,

which first introduced the taste for this study, but, from the greater number, as well as from the improved method, of arranging and classing the pictures, we doubt not but it will prove a great acquisition to amateurs, and of more utility to them than Mr. Granger's work.

Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India, and Regulation of Trade in the East Indies, and Outlines of a Plan of Foreign Government, of Commercial Economy, and of Domestic Administration, for the Asiatic Interests of Great Britain, 4to 1793. By — Bruce.

HOWEVER important India affairs have become, the study of them has been in a great measure confined to the directors and company's servants; to the ministers to whom his majesty has assigned the public duty of connecting the political and commercial proceedings of the company with the general interests and prosperity of the empire; and to parliament, to whom both the directors and the executive power are responsible.

It had now, however, become necessary to lay before the legislature and the public the events and circumstances from which a plan
fo

for the future government of the British territories in India, and regulation of the trade to the East-Indies must proceed; and with a view to this object, Mr. Bruce has compiled the laborious work of which the following is an outline:

In the introduction the leading events in the history of Hindostan and of the East India company are explained, as the source from which the successive plans upon the subject of India affairs have proceeded, as well as the system upon which the British interests in the East are at present administered.

In the first part of this work a digest of the plans from the conquest of the company, till their affairs came to be placed under the controul of the state, and from that period to the present times, is brought under review, that the political and commercial principles which must direct in the future administration of Indian affairs might be fully perceived.

In Part II. the outlines of a plan of foreign government, of commercial economy, and of domestic administration, are submitted to examination. The foreign government is deduced from the history of India, and from the mixed tenure of conquests and of treaties by which Great Britain holds its possessions. The judicial, financial, and military powers required to administer this government with effect are explained, in their relation to both of these sources of information.

The connexion of the East-India trade with the revenues of the provinces and with the revenues of the nation is next examined; and suggestions for the improvement of the export trade, and of the cir-

cuitous trade within the company's limits, and of the import trade, are submitted to consideration. A sketch of the constitution of the courts of directors and proprietors, and of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, concludes the work.

The authorities upon which the whole of this detail rests, have been obtained either from the records of the company and from the archives of the state, or from the communications of those whose official and local knowledge qualify them to aid their country upon this important occasion.

Mr. Bruce has employed much industry in collecting from different quarters the most authentic information on the subject of which he treats, and we have no doubt but that his work will prove a very valuable acquisition to the students of oriental politics.

The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies, in two volumes. By Bryan Edwards, Esq. of the Island of Jamaica, 4to. 1793.

THE general history of the West Indies being already sufficiently known, and the principal events relating to their discovery, conquest and settlement, having employed the pens of several celebrated Spanish and French writers, in more connected and early periods, the author of this valuable work has made the chief objects of his performance particularly applicable to later times, and the present civil and political state of the British colonies, with their agricultural and commercial condition and

E e

interests,

interests, and the means by which they have achieved, and may maintain, their riches and importance. At the same time, our author has not omitted to collect, from various authorities, any essential occurrence in the ancient histories of the West Indies, or any important event, either local or general, which has taken place since they were first explored by the renowned Columbus. And although Mr. Long has, in our own time, in his history of Jamaica, taken a very extensive view of the western hemisphere, yet the fundamental materials of the work before us are entirely original, and, considered either for novelty or magnitude, comprehend such a mass of intelligence, so interesting and instructive, that we cannot hesitate to place Mr. Edwards in the highest rank in the annals of the historic literature of Great Britain. We shall present our readers with the plan of the work itself, from the author's own words :

“ To present the reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West Indian islands.

To explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them.

To describe the manners and dispositions of the present inhabitants, as influenced by climate, situation, and other local causes ; comprehending an account of the African slave trade, some observations on the negro character and genius, and reflections on the system of slavery established in our colonies :

To furnish a more comprehensive account than has hitherto appeared of the agriculture of the sugar islands in general, and of their rich and valuable staple commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton in particular ;—and finally

To display the various and widely extended branches of their commerce ; pointing out the relations of each towards the other, and towards the several great interests, the manufactures, navigation, revenues, and lands of Great Britain.

These, together with several collateral disquisitions, are the topics on which I have endeavoured to collect and convey to the public useful and acceptable information.”

Previous to proceeding to investigations, merely of a political and commercial nature, our author enters on a retrospective survey of the state and condition of the West Indian islands when first discovered by Columbus, and on a delineation of the most prominent features in the character and genius of their ancient inhabitants, a task which, from having resided many years in the countries of which he writes, he is fully competent to, and enabled to judge of the influence of climate and situation, on the disposition, temper, and intellects of the inhabitants, better than many of those writers, who, without the same advantage, have undertaken to compile systems, and establish conclusions on this subject.

“ On the other branches of my work, says Mr. Edwards, great part, I presume to think, will be new to many of my readers. I have not met with any book that even pretends to furnish a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the origin and progress of our national settlements

settlements in the tropical parts of America. The system of agriculture practised in the West Indies, is almost as much unknown to the people of Great Britain as that of Japan. They know indeed, that sugar, and indigo, and cotton, and coffee, are raised and produced there; but they are very generally, and to a surprising degree, uninformed concerning the method by which those and other valuable commodities are cultivated and brought to perfection.

"On the subject of the slave-trade and its concomitant circumstances, so much has been said of late by others, that it may be supposed there remains but little to be added by me. It is certain, however, that my account both of the trade and the situation of the enslaved negroes in the British colonies, differs very essentially from the representations that have been given, not only in a great variety of pamphlets and other publications, but also by many of the witnesses that were examined before the house of commons. The public must judge between us, and I should be in no pain about the result, if the characters of some of those persons who have stood forth on this occasion as accusers of the resident planters, were as well known in Great Britain as they are in the West Indies. What I have written on these subjects has at least this advantage, that great part of my observations are founded on personal knowledge and actual experience; and with regard to the manners and dispositions of the native Africans, as distinguished by national habits and characteristic features, I venture to think that my remarks will be found both

new and interesting." We have to regret, that it would take us beyond the limits of our plan, to render adequate justice to the merits of this valuable work. We can do little more therefore, for the gratification of our readers, than to select some detached specimens, and recommend the work itself to their perusal; in which there are, in both volumes, upwards of a thousand pages, abounding with useful information for the statesman and the philosopher, as well as for the planter and the merchant, and others concerned in the affairs of the West Indies.

We have already presented our readers with the prospectus of the undertaking, as set forth by the author; and we now can assure them that Mr. Edwards has faithfully fulfilled the arduous task in which he engaged.

In regard to the original inhabitants of the West Indian islands, subdued by the Spaniards, there has long since ceased to be any other vestiges of those unhappy people than their bones, occasionally discovered in dreary caverns.

In the islands of St. Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, Mr. Edwards computes the number of the aborigines to have been about three millions; differing on this point from Les Casas, who states it at six millions; 1,200,000 of whom inhabited St. Domingo.

The fate of these mild, unoffending, and harmless people, is related by our author in the following strains of pathetic elegance:

"All the murders and desolations of the most pitiless tyrants, that ever diverted themselves with the pangs and convulsions of their fellow-creatures, fall infinitely short

of the bloody enormities committed by the Spanish nation, in the conquest of the new world; a conquest, on a low estimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species! But, although the accounts which are transmitted down to us of this dreadful outrage are authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute, the mind, shrinking from the contemplation, wishes to resist conviction, and to relieve itself by incredulity: such, at least, is the apology which I would frame for the author of the *American History* (Dr. Robertson), when I find him attempting, in contradiction to the voice and feelings of all mankind, to palliate such horrible wickedness. Yet the same author admits, that, in the short interval of fifteen years subsequent to the discovery of the West Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Hispaniola from a million to sixty thousand. It is in vain that he remarks on the bodily feebleness of these poor Indians, and their natural incapacity for labour. Such a constitutional defect, if it existed, entitled them to greater lenity; but the Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without rest or intermission, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their sufferings. Such as attempted resistance, or to escape, their merciless tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. They disregarded sex and age, and with impious and frantic bigotry even called in religion to sanctify their cruelties. Some, more zealous than the rest, forced their miserable captives into the water, and, after administering to them the rite of baptism, cut their throats to prevent their apostasy! Others

made a vow to hang, or burn, thirteen every morning, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles! Nor were these the excesses only of a blind and remorseless fanaticism, which, exciting our abhorrence, excites also our pity; the Spaniards were actuated in many instances by such wantonness of malice as is wholly unexampled in the wide history of human depravity. P. Martyr relates, that it was a frequent practice among them to murder the Indians in Hispaniola in sport; or merely, he observes, to keep their hands in use. They had an emulation which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow; and wagers frequently depended on this hellish exercise. To fill up the measure of this iniquity, and demonstrate to the world that the nation at large participated in the guilt of individuals, the court of Spain not only neglected to punish these enormities in its subjects; but, when rapacity and avarice had nearly defeated their own purposes, by the utter extirpation of the natives of Hispaniola, the king gave permission to seize on the unsuspecting inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, and transport them to perish in the mines of that island. After reading these accounts, who can help forming an indignant wish, that the hand of heaven, by some miraculous interposition, had swept these European tyrants from the face of the earth? On the whole, if we consider of how little benefit the acquisition of these islands has since proved to the Spanish nation, and count over the cost of the conquest, we must find it extremely difficult to include such an event as the massacre of
ten

ten millions of innocent people (comprehending the butcheries in Mexico and Peru) amongst the number of those partial evils, which ultimately terminate in general good. Nor can we possibly reconcile its permission to our limited ideas of infinite wisdom and goodness! Divines therefore justly conclude, that no stronger proof than that which arises from hence need be given of the existence of a future state, wherein the unequal distribution of misery and happiness in this life shall be adjusted; *when the crooked shall made straight, and the rough places plain* *."

We shall conclude our account of this valuable work by extracting from it for our readers, a general view and topographical description of each of our West India islands: to begin, therefore, with the most important.—

JAMAICA

Is situated in the Atlantic ocean, 4000 miles S. W. of England. It has the island of Hispaniola at the distance of 30 leagues to the east: the island of Cuba about the same distance to the north: the gulph of Honduras to the west; and Carthagea, on the great continent of South America, distant 145 leagues to the south. The center of Jamaica lies in about 18° 12' north latitude, in longitude about 76° 45' west from London. From these data the geographical reader will perceive that the climate, although tempered and greatly mitigated by various causes, which in this work are explained, is extremely hot, with little variation from January

to December; that the days and nights are nearly of equal duration; there being little more than two hours difference between the longest day and the shortest; that there is very little twilight; and finally, that when it is 12 o'clock at noon in London, it is about seven in the morning in Jamaica.

The island is 150 miles in length, and on a medium of three measurements at different places, about 40 miles in breadth. These data, supposing the island to have been a level country, would give 3,840,000 acres; but a great part consisting of high mountains, the superficies of which comprise far more land than the base alone, at a moderate estimate, allowing on that account $\frac{1}{4}$, which is 240,000, makes a total of 4,080,000. Of these it is found by a return of the clerk of the patents, that no more than 1,907,589 were, in November 1789, located or taken up by grant from the crown. Thus it appears that upwards of one half the lands are considered as of no kind of value, the expence of taking out a patent being of no great account, and even of the located lands little more than a million is at present in cultivation.

The island is divided into three counties, which are named Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishes, one town, and thirteen villages. The town is that of St. Jago de la Veza, or Spanish town, the capital of the island: it is situated on the banks of the river Cobre, about six miles from the sea, and contains between 5 and 600 houses, and about 5000 inha-

* Vol. I. p. 83.

bitants, including free people of colour. It is the residence of the governor or commander in chief, who is accommodated with a superb palace; and it is here that the legislature is convened, and the court of chancery and the supreme court of judicature are held.

The county of Surrey contains seven parishes, two towns, and eight villages. The towns are those of Kingston and Port Royal: the former of which is situated on the north side of a beautiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, when repeated desolations by earthquake and fire had driven the inhabitants from Port-Royal. It contains 1665 houses, beside negro huts and warehouses. The number of inhabitants in the year 1788 was 6539; of free people of colour 3230; of slaves 16,659;—total number of inhabitants, of all complexions and conditions, 26,478. It is a place of great trade and opulence. Many of the houses in the upper part of the town are extremely magnificent; and the markets for butchers meat, turtle, fish, poultry, fruit, and vegetables, &c. are inferior to none. And since the surrounding country is become cleared of wood, this town is found to be as healthful as any in Europe. Port-Royal, once a place of the greatest wealth and importance in the West Indies, is now reduced by repeated calamities to three streets, a few lanes, and about 200 houses. It contains, however, the royal navy yard, for heaving down and refitting the king's ships; the navy hospital, and barracks for a regiment of soldiers. The fortifications are in excellent order, and vie in strength with any fortress in the king's dominions.

Cornwall contains five parishes, three towns, and six villages. The towns are Savanna la-mar, on the south side of the island; and Montego bay and Falmouth on the north. The former was almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful hurricane and inundation of the sea in 1780. It is now partly rebuilt, and may contain from 60 to 70 houses. Montego bay is a flourishing and opulent town; it consists of 225 houses, 33 of which are capital stores or warehouses, and contains about 600 white inhabitants. Falmouth, or, as it is more commonly called, the Point, is situated on the south side of Martha Brae harbour, and including the adjoining villages of Martha Brae, and the rock, is composed of 220 houses.

The whole number of inhabitants of Jamaica, of all complexions and conditions, may be stated as follows:

Whites	-	30,000
Freed negroes and people of colour	-	10,000
Maroons	-	1,400
Negro slaves	-	250,000
Total		291,400

The trade of this island will best appear by the quantity of shipping and the number of seamen to which it gives employment, of which the total to all parts is 400 vessels, containing 78,862 tons, navigated by 8,845 men.

The amount of the exports of the different productions of the island, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788, from

from the inspector general's account appears to be as follows :

Sugar	-	840,548 cwt.
Rum	-	2,543,025 gal.
Melasses	-	6,416 do.
Pimento	-	616,444 lbs.
Coffee	-	6,395 cwt.
Cotton wool	-	1,906,467 lbs.
Indigo	-	27,623 do.
Ginger	-	4,816 cwt.
Cacao	-	82 do.
Tobacco	-	18,140 lbs.
Mahogany	-	5,878 tons
Logwood	-	6,701 tons

Miscellaneous articles, value in pounds sterl. } £.147,286

Total value in English money
£2,136,442.

The total of imports for the same period of time, amounts in English money to the sum of £.1,496,232.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

BARBADOES.

Is situated in 13° 10' N. lat. and in longitude 59° W. from London. It is about 21 miles in length and 14 in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, most of which is under cultivation. In 1786, the numbers of the inhabitants were 16,167 whites, 838 free people of colour, and 62,115 negroes. The exports on an average of 1784, 1785, and 1786, were 9,554 hog-sheads of sugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum, 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton, exclusive of some smaller articles, as aloes, sweet-meats, &c. of which the quantities are not ascertained. The total value of the exports in English money is 539,605l.

Barbadoes is divided into 5 districts and 11 parishes, and contains 4 towns, Bridge-town, Ostins or Charles town, St. James's, and Streights-town. Bridge-town, the capital, before it was destroyed by the fires of 1766, consisted of about 1,500 houses, which were mostly built of brick, and it is still the seat of government, and may be called the chief residence of the governor, who is provided with a country villa, called Pilgrims, situated within a mile of it: his salary was raised by Q. Anne, from 1200 to 2000l. per annum; the whole of which is paid out of the exchequer, and charged to the account of the four and a half per cent. duty.

GRENADA.

Contains about 80,000 acres of land, though the quantity in actual cultivation has never exceeded 50,000 acres. The exports of the year 1787, from Grenada and its dependencies, were 175,548 cwt. of sugar, 670,390 gallons of rum, 4300 gallons of melasses, 8912 cwt. of coffee, 2716 cwt. of cacao, 2,062,427 lbs. of cotton, 2810 lbs. of indigo, and various miscellaneous articles, as hydes, dying woods, &c. of the value of 64,545l. and the total amount of the exports in English money, was 614,909l. sterling.

This island is divided into six parishes, and its chief dependency, Carriacou, forms a seventh parish; the capital town is called St. George. The white inhabitants are not supposed to exceed 1000, the number of negroes are 23,926, and the people of colour 1116.

The

The governor's salary is 3200*l.* currency *, which is raised by a poll tax on all slaves.

St. VINCENT and its Dependencies.

St. Vincent contains about 84,000 acres. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is supposed to be held by the Charaibs. All the remainder is thought to be incapable of cultivation or improvement.

The island, or rather the British territory within it, is divided into five parishes, of which, only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780; whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, called Kingston, the capital of the island, and the seat of the government, and three villages that bear the name of towns; but they are inconsiderable hamlets, each of a few houses only.

The number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to government, to be 1450 whites, and 11,853 negroes.

The several islands dependant on the St. Vincent government are,
1. Bequia, containing 3700 acres;
2. Union, containing 2150 acres;
3. Canouan, containing 1777 acres;
4. Muilique, containing about 1200 acres; and the little islets of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Ballesau, each of which produces a little cotton.

The exports from St. Vincent and

its dependencies, between 5th Jan. 1787, and 5th Jan. 1788, were as follows: 65,028 cwt. of sugar, 88,266 gallons of rum, 9656 gallons of melasses, 634 cwt. of coffee, 761,880 lbs. of cotton, 143 cwt. of cacao, and miscellaneous articles, to the value of 2591*l.* making altogether a total of 186,450*l.* in English money.

DOMINICA

Contains 186,436 acres of land, and is divided into ten parishes. The town of Roseau is at present the capital of the island, and is situated in the parish of St. George, being about 17 leagues from Prince Rupert's bay; it contains about 500 houses. This island is 29 miles in length, and 16 miles in breadth.

The number of white inhabitants, of all descriptions and ages, appear, by the last returns to government in 1788, to be 1236; of free negroes, &c. 445, and of slaves 14,967. There are also from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives of Charaibes, properly so called. They are a very quiet inoffensive people, speak a language of their own, and a little French, but none of them understand English.

The exports of this island are as follow: 71,302 cwt. of sugar, 63,392 gallons of rum, 16,803 gallons of melasses, 1,194 cwt. of cacao, 18,149 cwt. of coffee, 11,350 lbs. indigo, 970,816 lbs. of cotton, 161 cwt. of ginger, and miscellaneous articles, amounting to 11,912*l.* Total value 302,987*l.*

* The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 per cent. worse than sterling.

LEEWARD CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

The following islands have since the year 1672, constituted one distinct government, the governor being styled captain general of the Leeward Charaibean islands. He visits each occasionally, but his chief seat of residence is Antigua.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S

Lies in 17° 15' north latitude, and 63° 17' west longitude: it is about 14 leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and 4000 to pasturage.

This island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns and hamlets. Basseterre, the capital, contains about 300 houses.

The present number of white inhabitants is computed at 4000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes; and there are about 300 blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

NEVIS.

This beautiful little spot is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea; the circumference of its base not exceeding eight English leagues.—The general produce of sugar (its only staple production), is about 4000 hogshheads.

This island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes: it contains a town called Charlestown, the seat of government, and a port of entry.

The present number of white inhabitants is stated not to exceed

600; while the negroes amount to about 10,000.

ANTIGUA

Is upwards of 50 miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land; of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of sugar and pasturage annexed; its other principle staples are cotton-wool and tobacco.

It seems to me, on the whole, that the island has progressively decreased both in produce and white population. The last accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year the white inhabitants of all ages and sexes were 2590. and the enslaved negroes 37,808; and I believe that 17,000 hogshheads of 16 cwt. are reckoned a good saving crop.

Antigua is divided into six parishes and eleven districts, and contains six towns and villages. No island in this part of the West Indies can boast of so many excellent harbours. Of these, the principal are English Harbour and St. John's, both well fortified; and at the former the British government has established a royal navy yard and arsenal, and conveniences for careening ships of war.

The inhabitants of Antigua have encouraged in a particular manner the endeavours of the society known by the name of the *amitas fratrum* (commonly called Moravians), to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth; the number of converted negro-slaves under the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was

In Antigua exactly 5465.

In

In St Kitt's, a new mission, 80.
In Barbades and Jamaica, about 100.

In St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, about 10,000.

In Surinam, about 400

Still living in the West Indies, and Surinam 16,045 as nearly as can be ascertained from the latest accounts.

MONTSERRAT.

Of this little island, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious discussion. It was discovered at the same time with Saint Christopher's, and derived its name from a supposed resemblance which Columbus perceived in the face of the country, to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona.

It is about three leagues in length and as many in breadth, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two thirds are very mountainous or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In sugar 6000 acres, in cotton, provisions, and pasturage, 2000 each. None other of the tropical staples are raised. Its average crops, from 1784 to 1788, were 2737 hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. 1007 puncheons of rum, and 275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be seen in a table annexed to this article. They were

produced by the labour of 1300 whites, and about 10,000 negroes.

The government is administered in this, as in the other islands, by a legislature of its own, under the captain-general. The council consists of six members, and the assembly of eight, two from each of the four districts into which it is divided; and the proportion which Montserrat contributes to the salary of the captain-general is 400*l.* per annum.

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Of the Virgin Islands I have so few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuse me of inattention or idleness in my researches. I have however solicited information of those whom I thought were most likely to afford it; but if my inquiries were not slighted, my expectations were not gratified.

The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islets and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and Danes. The English hold Tortola and Virgin Gorda, Iosvan Dykes, Guana, isle Beef, and Thatch Islands, Anegada Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt island, Peter's island, and several others of little value. The Danes possess Santa Cruz*, Saint Thomas, with about twelve smaller islands dependent thereon,

* St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, belonged originally to the French, and was sold by them to the Danes in 1733, for the sum of 75,000*l.* Its inhabitants are chiefly English, and the lands being exceedingly fertile, the produce of this little island (most of which I believe is smuggled into Great Britain as the produce of Tortola) is very considerable, particularly sugar.

and

and St. John, which last is of importance as having the best harbour of any island to the leeward of Antigua, and the Spaniards claim Crab island, the Green or Serpent island, the Tropic Keys, and Great and Little Passage.

The chief, and almost the only staple production of these islands, are sugar and cotton. Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either I have no ac-

count, nor can I venture even to guess at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation. Tortola itself is not more than fifteen miles long and six miles broad. The exports of 1787 will presently be given, and I have only to add, that they were raised by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

AN ACCOUNT of the CARGOES, and the Value thereof, exported from the Islands of St. Christopher's, MONTserrat, ANTIGUA, NEVIS, and the VIRGIN ISLANDS, between the 5th of January 1787, and the 5th of January 1788. From the Inspector General's Accounts.

	Sugar.	Rum.	Molasses.	Indigo.	Cotton.	Dying woods in value.	Miscellan. Articles in value.	Total.
	Cwt.	Gallons.	Gallons.	lbs.	lbs.	£.	£.	£.
St. Christopher's - -	235528	—	8154	—	484640	—	5989	—
Antigua - - -	284526	—	5910	—	160510	—	4143	—
Montserrat and Nevis	110284	—	1313	—	92472	—	352	—
Virgin Islands - - -	79203	—	2011	—	289077	—	6651	—
Grand Total - -	709541	1361648	17388	494	1028699	17134	90165	1483710

In surveying these islands collectively, the circumstance that first presents itself to notice is, the burthen of the four and half *per cent.* on their exported produce, to which they are all subject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own assemblies, was, in most other cases, as well as the Virgin Islands, the price of a constitutional legislature, and a communication of the common privileges of British subjects.

It would without doubt be satisfactory to the reader to be furnished with an account of the produce of this duty, and the particulars of its disposal, but no such information to my knowledge has of late been given to the public. The last return that I am possessed of is dated so long ago as the year 1735. From whence it appears that the whole money collected on this account in twenty-one years (from Christmas 1713 to Christmas 1734) amounted to 326,529l. 3s. 3½d. sterling.

From the nett money paid into the Exchequer the governor-general of these islands receives a salary of 1200l. sterling, exclusive of the several sums granted him by the colonial assemblies*, and I believe that salaries are allowed from the same fund to the lieutenant-general, and the several lieutenant-governors. I have been informed too that the governors of the Bahama and Bermudas islands are likewise paid out of this duty. The balance which remains after these, and

some other deductions are made, is wholly at the king's disposal.

But it is impossible not to observe that almost all the islands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been for many years past progressively on the decline, and it is therefore probable that the present net produce of this duty is not more than sufficient to defray the several incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up and even augmented by purchase, because as the lands have become impoverish'd, they have required a greater expence of labour to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not increased in the same degree, nothing could have saved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of sugar in the market of Europe.

It appears from authentic accounts laid before parliament, that the import of sugar into Great Britain from all the British West India islands (Jamaica excepted) has decreased in the course of twenty years from 3,762,804 cwt. to 2,563,228 cwt.; the difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be less than 400,000l. sterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on those islands which are subject to the duty in question, to the effect of which, therefore, the deficiency must be chiefly attributed: for being laid not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on industry, and a

* These grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Kitt's, 1000l. currency each; Nevis, 400l.; Montserrat, 400l.; Virgin Islands, 400l. The usual rate of exchange is 165 per cent. These sums therefore added to 1200l. sterling paid out of the Exchequer, make his whole salary 3000l. sterling per annum.

penalty which falls heaviest on the man who contributes most to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues of the mother country. It is considered by the planters as equal to 10 *per cent.* on the net produce of their estates for ever. Under such a burthen, which, while it oppresses the colonies, yields a profit of no great consideration to the crown, they have been unable to stand a competition with the British planters in the other islands, and have been depressed still more by the rapid growth and extensive opulence of the French colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the spirit of improvement, and much of that land which, though somewhat impoverished by long cultivation, would still, with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, because the produce of the poorest soil is taxed as high as that of the most fertile.

To the loss arising from decrease of produce, accompanied with an increase of contingent expences, must be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages sustained in St. Christopher's alone, by De Grasse's invasion in 1782, from the destruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were estimated at 160,000*l.* sterling, which sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves, of no less than forty shillings. The annual taxes for defraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the islands, are also exceedingly burthensome; besides parish taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the

clergy, and the relief of the poor.

But, under all these and the other discouragements which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother country, must fill every reflecting mind with surprise and admiration. An extent of cultivated territory, not equal to one-tenth part of the county of Essex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance that demonstrates, beyond all abstract reasoning, the vast importance to Great Britain of having sugar islands of her own. At the same time, it is both amusing and instructive, to consider how little the present returns from these islands are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessors; or rather it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weaknesses of man productive of good. The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, similar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico, to Spain.

The nation was told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Abot, Frobinsher, and Gilbert; and it is a lamentable display of the power of avarice on the human mind, to behold the sagacious and learned Raleigh bewildered in the same folly! Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wise enough to acknowledge that gold and silver have only an artificial and

and relative value ; that industry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great sources of national prosperity.

The produce of these islands, however, though of such value to the mother-country, is raised at an expence to the cultivator, which perhaps is not equalled in any other pursuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expence, too, that is permanent and certain ; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other ; owing to the calamities to which these countries are exposed, both from the hands of God and man ; and it is mournful to add, that the selfish or mistaken policy of man is sometimes more destructive than even the anger of Omnipotence !

At the time that I write this (1791) the humanity of the British nation is tremblingly alive to the real or fictitious distresses of the African labourers in these, and the other islands of the West Indies : and the holders and employers of those people seem to be marked out to the public indignation for proscription and ruin. So strong and universal a sympathy allows no room for the sober exercise of reason, or it would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race must depend greatly on the condition and circumstances of their owners. Oppression towards the principal will be felt with double force by his dependents, and the blow that wounds the master, will exterminate the slave.

The propriety of these remarks

will be seen in subsequent parts of my work, when I come in course to treat of the slave-trade and slavery ; and to consider the commercial system of Great Britain towards the West Indian dependencies, of which I have now completed the catalogue. Here, then, I might close the third book of my history ; but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of Bahama and Bermudas *, to which indeed it was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a distinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpose ; finding myself possessed of scarce any memorials concerning the civil history of those islands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatises with which the shelves of the booksellers are loaded. To repeat, therefore, what may be found in books that are always at hand, were to manifest disrespect to the reader, and disregard to myself. Of the present state of the Bahama islands, I need not be ashamed to acknowledge my ignorance, inasmuch as even the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations, were unable to obtain satisfactory information concerning it.

To their lordships inquiries, in 1789, as to the extent of territory in those islands, the quantity of land in cultivation, the number of white inhabitants, productions, and exports, &c. the only answer that could be obtained from the gover-

* I have also passed over unnoticed the small islands of Anquilla and Barbuda, as being of too little importance to merit particular description. The former belongs to the Leeward Island government, the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

nor was this, "that it was at that time impossible to ascertain any of those particulars." It appears, however, from the testimony of other persons, that these islands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of 2 cwt.; that the inhabitants (who in 1773 consisted of two thousand and fifty-two whites, and two thousand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years considerably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their present numbers no precise account is given.

Concerning Bermudas governor Brown is more explicit. From his answers to their lordships' queries, it appears, that they contain from twelve to thirteen thousand acres of very poor land, of which nine parts in ten are either uncultivated, or reserved in woods for the supplying of timber for building small ships, sloops, and shallops for sale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants, and the vessels which they furnish being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

Of the land in cultivation no part was appropriated to any other

purpose than that of raising Indian corn, and esculent roots and vegetables (of which a considerable supply is sent to the West Indian islands) until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great success, there not being at present more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

The number of white people of all ages in Bermudas, is five thousand four hundred and sixty-two; of blacks, four thousand nine hundred and nineteen*.

Thus it appears that the lands become less fertile as we recede from the tropics; and were there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propensity in the greater part of mankind to under-rate what they have in actual possession, it would require but little effort to convince the public of the vast importance of our West Indian dependencies; of which the progressive growth has now been traced from the first settlement. What remains is to convey that conviction to the English reader. This, then, after taking a cursory survey, for the gratification of curiosity, of the present inhabitants and the system of agriculture, is the chief object of Mr. Edwards in his second volume.

* It were an act of great injustice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable testimony which governor Brown has transmitted to government concerning their treatment of their negro slaves, who behaved both as sailors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned if it was in their power. There were several instances wherein they had been condemned with the vessel and sold, and afterwards found means to escape; and through many difficulties and hardships returned to their master's service. In the ship *Regulator*, a privateer, there were seventy slaves; she was taken and carried into Boston; sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas; nine others returned by the way of New York; one only was missing, who died in the cruise or in captivity." *Report of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade, Part 3.*

THE CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Conduct of France. Opening of the Scheldt. The French Decree of Fraternity. Clubs and Societies of Republicans and Levellers. Associations formed to counteract them in London and every part of the Kingdom. Militia embodied. Parliament summoned. Internal condition of France. Diminution of the Party in Opposition. Speech from the Throne. The Address moved. Debate on the Address in the House of Commons and House of Lords. Debate in the House of Commons on bringing up the Report of the Address. The motion of Mr. Fox for sending a Minister to negotiate with France. Debate on that Motion. General Reflections. 1

CHAP. II.

General Remarks. Debate on the Alien Bill in the House of Lords. Marquis of Lansdown's Motion to send a Minister to France. Mr. Pitt's Motion to address his Majesty to communicate the Orders received by Lord Gower when he quitted Paris. Those Orders brought up by Mr. Dundas. Parliamentary Conversation thereon. Debates on the Alien Bill in the House of Commons. Assignat Bill. Bill for prohibiting Naval Stores, Arms, &c. The Corn Indemnity Bill. Messages from his Majesty relative to the Correspondence between Lord Grenville and Mr. Chauvelin. The same taken into Consideration by both Houses of Parliament. Addresses to his Majesty thereon. A Message from his Majesty to the Commons, announcing a public Declaration of War by the French against his Majesty and the United Provinces. The same taken into Consideration and an Address. His Majesty's Answer. The same Message to the Lords, and an Address. Mr. Fox moves Resolutions against the War. Resolutions moved by Mr. Grey on the same Subject. Petition from the Town of Nottingham praying a Reform in Parliament. Mr. T. Grenville moves Resolutions relative to contested Elections. Motion of M. A. Taylor against the Erection of Barracks. Mr. Dundas offers to the House of Commons a Statement of the Situation of Affairs in India. Debates in both Houses of Parliament on the Slave Trade. Mr. Sheridan's Motion relative to the Existence of Seditious Practises in this Country. General Observations. 35

CHAP. III.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons respecting the Hanoverian Troops. Similar Message to the House of Lords. Committee of Supply. Ways and Means. Army Extraordinaries. Surplus of the Consolidated Fund. Resolutions for continuing Taxes. Resolutions for issuing Exchequer Bills. Terms of the Loan. Million and an Half Bill. The Traitorous Correspondence Bill.

CONTENTS.

B. The Position of the East-India Company respecting the Renewal of their Charter. Report on a project forwarded by Mr. Dundas on Indian Affairs. Criminal Proposals for an American Neutral Treaty with France, by Mons. Le Brun. Commercial Credit Bill. Lord Alton's Motion brought forward in both Houses of Parliament. Scotch Peasants' Election. Mr. Hastings's Petition. Address to the House of Lords. Lord Rawlinson's Bill for amending the Laws respecting Debtors and Creditors. The Seven Catholic Bills. 100

CHAP. IV.

Petitions delivered to the House of Commons respecting a Reform in Parliament. Petition of the Association called the Friends of the People. Mr. Grey's Motion thereon. Petition of the Clergy of London and Westminster relative to the Tax upon Cattle. The North of Scotland relieved from the Duty upon Cattle raised coastwise. The Board of Agriculture established. Farnham Hop Bill. Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland. Several Acts passed therein. Project of a Representation in Scotland. An Association established there under the title of the British Convention. Sir C. Bunbury moves Resolutions respecting Convicts for Transportation. Mr. Whiston's Motion on the Executive Power. Lord Rodney's Pension continued to his Family. Monuments voted to Lords Rodney and Heathfield. Petitions to the Royal Burghs. Mr. Sheridan's Motion thereon. Compensation granted to Mr. Mudge. Report concerning Salaries and Fees of Office. Scotch Militia. Motion of Mr. Fox for procuring Peace. Speech from the Throne. Observations. 143

CHAP. V.

Affairs of France. Preliminary Observations. State of Parties in the Convention. Preparations for the Trial of Louis XVI. Reports of the Committees concerning it. The Order of conducting it. Criminating Papers produced. The Mayor conducts the King from the Temple to the Convention. His Conduct and Examination at the Bar of it. He demands Counsel to assist him in his Defence. Counsel are appointed him. His intermediate Employment in the Temple. His Return to the Bar of the Convention. His Defence delivered by M. Desyes, one of his Counsel. The King's Address to the Convention. He is found guilty, and condemned to die. The Court of Spain applies to the Assembly in behalf of the deposed Sovereign. State of the Votes on the occasion. The Preparation of Louis for his End. The King is allowed Mr. Edgeworth to attend him, as Priest and Confessor. Last Separation from his Family. Various Circumstances that accompanied and followed upon his Death. The Character of Louis XVI. Subsequent Circumstances. 189

CHAP. VI.

Events which followed from the Murder of Louis XVI. Correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin. The Departure of M. Chauvelin. M. Maret's Return to England. Conference proposed between Lord Auckland and General Dumourier. France declares War against England and Holland. Reflections on that Event. The Convention threatens to address the People of England. Dumourier proposes to take possession of Maestricht. His Return to the Army. Plan for attacking Holland. Breda besieged and taken. Klundert and Gertruydenberg besieged and taken. Williamstadt besieged. The French Army evacuates Klundert, and retreats to Antwerp. Maestricht besieged. New Constitution of France. Cagliari attacked by the French Fleet, which is repulsed. Advantages obtained over the French by the Imperial Army. France declares War against Spain. The Siege of Maestricht raised. The Battle of Neerwinden. Negotiation between the Austrian General and Dumourier. The latter retreats to Tournay, &c. Jacobin Deputies

scit

CONTENTS.

sent from Paris to Dumourier. Commissioners sent from the Convention to arrest that General. They are conveyed, by his Orders, as Prisoners to the Austrians. He quits France, and is received by the Austrians. Reflections. The French Army re-organized under General Dampierre. Action near St. Amand. Battle of Famars. Condé and Valenciennes surrender to the Imperial Arms. Mentz surrenders to the King of Prussia. Rebellion in La Vendée. Paoli denounced by the Citizens of Toulon 230

CHAP. VII.

Leading Parties in France. Proceedings of the National Convention. Establishment of a Revolutionary Tribunal for trying Offences against the State. Decree for the Protection of Property. Decrees for inflicting Punishment on Publications in favour of Monarchy. The Sentence of Outlawry decreed against all Persons attempting a Counter-Revolution. A Committee of Public Safety appointed. Its Powers specified. The Bourbon Family arrested. Decree respecting the Paper-Currency of France. Violent Contests between the Gironde and Jacobin Parties. Petitions presented by one of the Sections of Paris against certain Deputies. The Commons of the forty-eight Sections of Paris demand that certain Deputies should be impeached and expelled the Convention. Various Accusations brought against the Convention by a Deputation of the Faubourg of St. Antoine. Marat sent to the Abbey Prison: is tried, and acquitted. The Convention enter upon a Consideration of the new Constitution. A Commission of twelve Members of the Convention appointed for inspecting the Commonalty of Paris. Distracted State of the Convention. Forced Loan proposed. The Proceedings of the Commission of Twelve irritate the People. Its Dissolution decreed. Decrees respecting Public Instruction, and the Regulations of the Army. Paris in a State of Insurrection. A Deputation from the Revolutionary Committees appear at the Bar of the Convention. New Commotions in Paris. The Convention compelled to arrest certain Deputies: The New Constitution. Declaration of the Rights of Man. Observations. Report respecting the imprisoned Deputies. The Southern Provinces in a State of Revolt. Marat assassinated. Decree against Foreigners. Decree for rising in a Mass. Occurrences in the West Indies. Capture of Pondicherry. 254

CHAP. VIII.

Occurrences in the Low Countries. Actions at Lincelles. Expedition against Dunkirk. Surrender of Quesnoy. The French attack the Frontier Posts of the Allies. Prince Cobourg is forced to repass the Sambre. The Arrival of Sir Charles Grey, and a British Armament, at Ostend. French Armies augmented. State of the revolted Parts. An Army ordered against Marseilles, which surrenders. Toulon yielded to Lord Hood. Lyons besieged and taken by the Republican Army. Enormities practised on its Inhabitants. Custine recalled and beheaded. Cruelties exercised on the Queen—Her Trial and Murder. The New Calendar. Trial and Execution of Brissot, and several Members of his Party. Execution of the Duke of Orleans and Madame Roland. Bishops and Priests resign their Functions, and disclaim the Christian Religion before the Convention. Lines of Weissemburg forced by General Wurmser. The Allies defeated at Hagenau. Weissemburg re-taken. Siege of Landau raised. Toulon given up to the French. The French Fleet, Arsenals, and Storehouses destroyed. Occurrences on the side of Spain and Italy. Assistance given to Corsica. Lord Moira's Expedition to the Coast of France 272

CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE.

1—75

Births for the Year 1798	62
Marriages	63
Promotions	64
Deaths	69
Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in Council	74

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

Abstract of the New Constitution of France	76
Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere	79
Address to the Members of the Methodist Societies throughout England, from the Conference assembled at Leeds, August 6, 1793	81
Petition of the Society of the Friends of the People, praying for a Reform in Parliament, presented to the House of Commons by Charles Grey, Esq. on Monday, 6th May, 1793	82
Table of Parliamentary Patronage	94
Address of the Society of the Friends of the People to the People of Great Britain	98
A General Bill of Christenings and Burials for 1793	100
Table of the Quantity of Land, Number of Members, and Parts of Land Tax paid by each County	101
Account of the Net Produce of Taxes for one Year, ending January 5, 1793	102
State of the Barometer, Thermometer, and Pluviometer, for 1793	103
Supplies granted by Parliament for 1793	104
Prices of the Public Funds for the Year 1793	108
Public Acts passed in the third Session of the 17th Parliament of Great Britain	109
Abstract of an Act for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in this Kingdom, or resident, in certain cases	110
Average Prices of Corn for 1793.	240

STATE PAPERS.

Note sent by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville	114
Answer of Lord Grenville to the preceding Note	116
Official Note of the Executive Power of France, in answer to that of the British Minister	119
Note from Citizen Chauvelin to Lord Grenville	122
Reply by Lord Grenville to Mons. Chauvelin	125
Letter from Lord Grenville to M. Chavelin	<i>ibid.</i>
Letter from M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville	126
Answer of Lord Grenville to M. De Chauvelin	127
Letter from the same to the same, ordering his immediate Departure from the Realm, Jan. 24	<i>ibid.</i>
Message from his Majesty to the Houses of Lords and Commons, Jan. 28	128
Protest in the House of Lords against the Address, voted in answer to the preceding Message	<i>ibid.</i>
Protest by Earl Stanhope against a War with France, in consequence of the Rejection of his Amendment to the Address to his Majesty, moved by Lord Grenville, Feb. 1, 1793	130
Memorial presented by Lord Auckland, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces	131
Message	

C O N T E N T S.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, Feb. 11	133
The Will of Louis the Sixteenth, late King of the French, written by himself	<i>ibid.</i>
Declaration of the Regent of France	136
Letters Patent issued by the Regent of France, for the naming of a Lieutenant General of the Kingdom	138
Declaration of War, by the French National Convention, against England and Holland, Feb. 1	139
Manifesto of the States General of Holland, in answer to a Proclamation of General Dumourier	141
Declaration of the Prince of Orange and Nassau, made to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses, on Occasion of the present Circumstance	146
Declaration of the Imperial and Royal Junta charged with the Administration of the conquered Countries, by the Emperor and King	148
Letter of General Dumourier, Commander in Chief of the Northern Army, to the National Convention	149
General Dumourier to the French Nation	152
Second Proclamation of General Dumourier to the French Nation	157
Memorial presented to the States General by Lord Anckland, the British Ambassador, and Count Starhemberg, Imperial Envoy Extraordinary	159
Reply to the above Memorial by their High Mightinesses	160
Declaration and Decree of War against the French, by his Catholic Majesty, directed to his Council of State, of Castile, of War, Indies, Inquisition, &c. &c.	161
Note delivered, in the name of the Emperor, to the Palatine Chargé d' Affaires at Vienna, relative to the neutral conduct hitherto observed by the Electors Palatine and of Bavaria	163
Letter written by the Elector of Mentz to General Dumourier	164
Letter from General Dumourier to Lord Grenville	165
Lord Grenville's Answer	<i>ibid.</i>
His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 21	166
Proclamation of General Ricardos, commanding the Spanish Army against the French	167
Manifesto of the City of Marseilles to the French Nation	<i>ibid.</i>
Preliminary Declaration by Admiral Lord Hood to the Inhabitants of Toulon	171
Proclamation by Lord Hood to the Inhabitants in the Towns and Provinces of the South of France	<i>ibid.</i>
Declaration made to Admiral Lord Hood	172
Proclamation made by Lord Hood, on taking possession of Toulon, Aug. 28, 1793	173
Note delivered by Mr. Keene, Chargé d' Affaires from his Britannic Majesty, to the Members of the Cabinet of the King of Sweden	174
Answer of the Court of Stockholm to the above	<i>ibid.</i>
Note delivered on the 30th of July to the High Chancellor of Sweden, by the Russian Chargé d' Affaires	175
Declaratory Memorial to the Court of Denmark, respecting its Navigation during the War with France, delivered by the British Minister at Copenhagen	176
Answer returned by the Court of Denmark to the above	178
Counter Declaration of the Court of Denmark, in reply to the Memorial delivered by the British Minister	180
Answer of the Court of Denmark to the Note delivered by the Russian Ambassador on the 10th of August ult. to the same purport as that delivered to the High Chancellor of Sweden, by the Imperial Russian Ambassador	183
Proclamation of Admiral Langara to the French at Toulon, on the 27th of Oct.	184
Declaration of War by France against Genoa	185
Memorial	

CONTENTS.

Memorial presented on the 8th of October 1793, to M. De Serristori, Minister for Foreign Affairs at Florence, by Lord Hervey, the English Minister	186
Answer	187
Declaration of the Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of Malta to the Court of Naples, dated September 12, 1793	188
Address of the Prescribed Deputies of the National Convention, ordered to be sent to the French Nation	189
Address of the National Convention to the French, printed by its order, and sent to all the Departments, and to the Armies	192
Memorial addressed by the Arch-Duke Charles to the States of the Austrian Netherlands, requesting a Supply from the Subjects of the Emperor in those Provinces, for the purpose of defraying the Expenses of the War	195
Proclamation issued by Lieutenant-Colonel White Locke, Commander of the Expedition from Jamaica to St. Domingo, on his arrival at that Island	196
Declaration sent by his Majesty's Command, to the Commanders of his Majesty's Fleet and Armies employed against France, and to his Majesty's Ministers, on the 16th of October 1793	199
Notes transmitted by Lord Robert Fitzgerald, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to the Swiss Cantons, to the Helvetic Body	202
Answer of the Swiss Republic to Lord Robert Fitzgerald's Declaration	204
Official Note from the Ministers of the Allied Courts to M. Count de Bernstorff, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the King of Denmark	205
Answer of the Danish Minister, Count de Bernstorff	<i>ibid.</i>
Reply of the British Minister to the Answer of M. de Bernstorff	206
Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on opening the Session, Jan. 10, 1793	<i>ibid.</i>
Prayer in the House of Lords of Ireland against the Bill for preventing unlawful Assemblies, July 10	207
Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, on closing the Session, August 16	208
Manifesto or Public Declaration of the Court of Spain, explanatory of its Sentiments towards the French Nation	210
Proclamation by the President of the United States of America	211
A second Proclamation of the President of the United States of America	212
Citizen Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to Mr. Jefferson, American Secretary of State	213
Address of the President of the United States of America to the House of Representatives, Dec. 3, 1793	214
Message from the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress	218
Declaration of the King of Prussia respecting the March of his Troops into Poland	219
Protest of the Serene Confederated Republic of Poland against the violent Entrance of the Prussian Troops into its Territories	221
Edict of the Empress of Russia, addressed to her Senate on the 8th of February, 1793	224
Manifesto and Declaration of his Prussian Majesty to the City of Dantzick	226
Declaration of the Emperor of Germany respecting the Affairs of Poland	<i>ibid.</i>
Ukase of the Empress of Russia relative to the Partition of Poland	227
Prussian Declaration on the same Subject	229
Russian Declaration	231
Notes delivered on the 25th of April, by the Illustrious General Confederation, to H. E. Mr. De Sierers, Ambassador Extraordinary of her Majesty the Empress of Russia, in answer to those of this Minister, under date of the 18th ult.	233
Universal, published in the name of the Empress in the heretofore Polish Provinces, now under her Dominion	235
Remonstrance	

C O N T E N T S.

Remonstrance made to the Count de Sievers, the Russian Ambassador, on the Part of the King and the States of Poland, by the Chancellor of the Crown, and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania	236
Note delivered to M. de Sievers to the same Purport	237
Answer of the Russian Ambassador to the above	238
Decree of the Diet, passed on the 2d of September, at Grodno, empowering the Deputation to treat with the Prussian Minister	239
Declaration of the Diet, King, and Republic of Poland, assembled at Grodno, protesting against the forcible Partition of Poland	240

C H A R A C T E R S.

Anecdotes of Dr. Franklin, extracted from the Memoirs of his Life, written by himself	241
Letter from the late Dr. Price to a Gentleman in Philadelphia, on the Death of Dr. Franklin	253
Character of Dr. Franklin, by one of his intimate Friends	254
Account of Mr. John Smeaton, by Mr. John Holmes	255
An Account of the late Earl of Mansfield	260
Character of John Munsey, Esq. of Patterdale-hall	277
Reception of B. Columbus in St. Domingo	280
Account of the wretched condition of the Sub-tenants in the Hebrides	281
Account of an African Tribe of Robbers	282
Character of the Hottentots	285

N A T U R A L H I S T O R Y.

Description of the Double-horned Rhinoceros of Sumatra	292
Description of a Species of Chætodon, called by the Malays Ecan Bonna	293
Description of a Grotto at Swatara, by the Rev. Peter Miller	294
The African Society's Report	295
Account of an extraordinary Change, not hitherto described, which, under certain circumstances, takes place in the Human Body after Death	299
Fairy-rings accounted for	305
Description of the Tarantula, and Method taken to cure those bit by it	<i>ibid.</i>
Description of the Sugar-cane, and conjectures respecting its Antiquity and Introduction into Europe	307
Account of the Pimento, or Allspice	310
Account of the Animals of New South Wales	311
Description of a Farm in Flanders	314
State of Agriculture in Japan	316
Large Sheep	323

U S E F U L P R O J E C T S.

Paper issued by the Commissioners of the Board of Agriculture	324
Letter to Michael Hillegras, Esq. respecting the covering of Houses with Copper. From Dr. Franklin.	326
Letter from the same to Samuel Rhodes, Esq. on the same Subject	327
Explanation of a new Invention for stopping the Progress of Fire on board of Ships	329
An Improvement on Metallic Conductors, or Lightning Rods	330
Effects of Mud, as a Manure	331
An easy and expeditious Method of dissipating the noxious Vapours commonly found in Wells and other subterraneous Places	333
A Method of draining Ponds in level Grounds	<i>ibid.</i>
Account	

C O N T E N T S.

Account of the Inventor and Invention of the Art of hardening and polishing Leather	334
Observations on the Treatment of Gun-shot Wounds	337

ANTIQUITIES.

Lawrence Hide's Speech to the King of Poland	341
Directions in what Part of Greece to search for Statues and Antiquities	342
Queen Elizabeth's Speech at the Camp at Tilbury	344
Ditto to both Houses of Parliament	<i>ibid.</i>
Extracts from Allyn's Journal	345
Account of the taking of King James, and bringing him to Faversham	350
An Account of some of the Antiquities of Babylon found in the Neighbourhood of Bagdad, &c.	352
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Wilmot to Joseph Planta, Esq. Secretary to the British Museum	358
Copy of Oliver Cromwell's Letter, presented by J. Wilmot, Esq. to the British Museum	360
A Dissertation on the ancient carved Stone Monuments in Scotland, &c.	<i>ibid.</i>
Anecdotes of Dress	362

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Art of Swimming	367
The Way to make Money plenty in every Man's Pocket	368
Hints	369
Necessary Hints to those who would be rich	370
On early Marriage	371
On the Painting of the Ancients	372
Cow-keepers of Middlesex	375
London Brick Fields	378
House and Grass Lambs	<i>ibid.</i>
Comments on Sterne	379

P O E T R Y.

Ode for the New Year, 1793	399
Ode for his Majesty's Birth-day	400
An Epitaph on the late John Elwes, Esq.	401
A Gipsy Ballad—by Peter Pindar	403
An Ode to Prudy—by the same	<i>ibid.</i>
Cantata—by the same	404
Paper. A Poem. By Dr. Franklin	405
Chanson de Mons. Delille, pendant le Ministere de Mons. de Turgott, 1755	407
Free Imitation of the above	408
Prologue to "Every One has his Fault"	410
Epilogue to the above	411
Stanzas, written by Lord Capel, when he was a Prisoner in the Tower	413
Prophetic Verses written by a Protestant Advocate of the Parliament of Paris	415

Account of Books for 1793.

A Catalogue of engraved British Portraits, from Egbert the Great to the present Time, &c.	416
Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India, &c.	<i>ibid.</i>
The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies	417







BOUND

JUN 1 1933

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
LIBRARY

3 9015 02818 0688

